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Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

**Social Affairs,
Science and
Technology**

**Affaires sociales,
des sciences et
de la technologie**

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Tuesday, January 8, 1991

Le mardi 8 janvier 1991

Issue No. 28

Fascicule n° 28

Third Proceedings on:

Troisième fascicule concernant:

Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department
of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and
to amend certain Acts in relation thereto

Projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère
du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté
et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence

APPEARING:

COMPARAÎT:

The Hon. Gerry Weiner, Minister of State
(Multiculturalism and Citizenship)

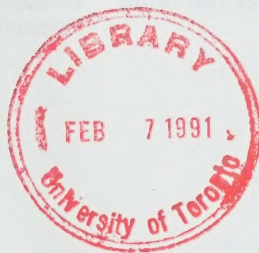
L'honorable Gerry Weiner, Ministre d'État
(Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté)

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

TÉMOINS:

(Voir à l'endos)



THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(or Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(or Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

(Quorum 4)

Pursuant to Rule 66(4), membership of the Committee was amended as follows:

The name of the Honourable Senator Bosa for that of the Honourable Senator Bonnell (*January 7, 1991*).

The name of the Honourable Senator Kinsella for that of the Honourable Senator Spivak (*January 7, 1991*).

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT
DES AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES
ET DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(ou Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(ou Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

(Quorum 4)

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Bosa substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Bonnell (*le 7 janvier 1991*).

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Kinsella substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Spivak (*le 7 janvier 1991*).

ORDER OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate* of June 7, 1990

"Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Spivak, seconded by the Honourable Senator Bielish, for the second reading of the Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain Acts in relation thereto.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Cochrane, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon L. Barnhart

Clerk of the Senate

ORDRE DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 7 juin 1990

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Spivak, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Bielish, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et modifiant certaines autres lois en conséquence.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Cochrane, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MARDI 8 JANVIER 1991
(52)

[Texte]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à 9 h 10, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (présidente).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs David, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Robertson et Thériault (5).

Autres sénateurs présents: L'honorable sénateur Peter Bosa pour l'honorable sénateur Lorne Bonnell et l'honorable sénateur Noel A. Kinsella pour l'honorable sénateur Mira Spivak; l'honorable sénateur Donald H. Oliver.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Comparaît:

L'honorable Gerry Weiner, ministre d'État (Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté).

Témoins:

Du Secrétariat d'État du Canada:

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État;
M. Richard Clippingdale, sous-secrétaire d'État adjoint, Politiques ministérielles et Affaires publiques;
M^{me} Shirley Serafini, sous-secrétaire d'État adjointe (Multiculturalisme);
M^{me} Mary Gusella, sous-secrétaire d'État associée;
M. Louis Reynolds, avocat général.

Du Congrès national des Italo-canadiens:

M^{me} Annamarie P. Castrilli, présidente sortante;
M. Celestino De Iuliis, vice-président.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 7 juin 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence.

Le ministre fait une déclaration et lui et ses adjoints répondent aux questions.

Au nom du Congrès national des Italo-canadiens, M^{me} Castrilli fait une déclaration; elle et son collègue répondent aux questions.

La présidente informe les membres que deux projets de loi, C-63 (Fondation canadienne des relations raciales) et C-37 (Langues patrimoniales), ont été référés au Comité. Des notes d'information ont été préparées à cet effet par le personnel de la recherche et sont distribuées aux membres présents.

L'honorable sénateur David propose,—Que le Règlement sur les soins prodigués aux anciens combattants soit référé au sous-comité des Affaires des anciens combattants.

La proposition, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1991
(52)

[Translation]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met this day at 9:10 o'clock a.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators David, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Robertson and Thériault (5).

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Peter Bosa for the Honourable Senator Lorne Bonnell, and the Honourable Senator Noel A. Kinsella for the Honourable Senator Mira Spivak; the Honourable Senator Donald H. Oliver.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

Appearing:

The Honourable Gerry Wiener, Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

Witnesses:

From the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada:

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Under Secretary of State;
Mr. Richard Clippingdale, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Corporate Policy and Public Affairs;
Mrs. Shirley Serafini, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Multiculturalism;
Mrs. Mary Gusella, Associate Under Secretary of State;
Mr. Louis Reynolds, General Counsel.

From the National Congress of Italian Canadians:

Mrs. Annamarie P. Castrilli, Past President;
Mr. Celestino De Iuliis, Vice President.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated June 7, 1990 respecting Bill C-18, An Act to Establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain acts in relation thereto.

The Committee heard from the Minister who, along with his assistants, answered questions.

On behalf of the National Congress of Italian Canadians, Mrs. Castrilli made a statement; she and her colleague answered questions.

The Chair informed the Committee that two bills—Bill C-63 (Canadian Race Relations Foundation) and Bill C-37 (Heritage languages) have been referred to the Committee. Briefing notes had been prepared by the research staff and were distributed to the members in attendance.

The Honourable Senator David moved that the regulation concerning care given to war veterans be referred to the Veterans Affairs Sub-Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

À 11 h 35, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTÉ:

Le greffier du Comité

Serge Pelletier

Clerk of the Committee

At 11:35 o'clock a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTEST:

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, January 8, 1991

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, to which was referred Bill C-18, to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and to amend certain Acts in relation thereto, met this day at 9:00 a.m. to give consideration to the bill.

Senator Lorna Marsden (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, I call the meeting to order. As senators can see, we are dealing this morning with Bill C-18. Several members of this committee had asked that the minister be invited to attend to respond to questions. We had also promised representatives of the National Congress of Italian Canadians that they would be invited to appear. Then we proceeded to cancel that appearance about four times. However, the Past President, Annamarie Castrilli, will be here later on.

Honourable senators, two new bills had been referred to us in the meantime, Bill C-63, to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, and Bill C-37, to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute. I have asked that the background notes for those bills be distributed. Perhaps, since the minister is here with us this morning, we could raise questions about those two other bills before the second group of witnesses appear on Bill C-18, so that we can at least begin the study on them.

Senator Marshall has asked that we look at the veterans' health care regulations information kit. Perhaps we will get to that later on this morning.

Honourable senators, we shall proceed to hear the minister and other witnesses on Bill C-18, to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain acts in relation thereto. I welcome the minister. We have been looking at this bill for longer than we had intended to and have had a number of witnesses raise questions, about which the minister is no doubt fully briefed. I would ask him to proceed with his statement.

The Hon. Gerald Weiner, Minister of State (Multiculturalism and Citizenship): Thank you, Madam Chairman. I do have some preliminary remarks, after which we would be happy to answer any senators' questions. We hope that those clarifications will allow a speedy approval to what you have indicated has been a rather lengthy process in the establishment of a new Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

Seated to my right is my Deputy Minister, the Under-Secretary, Jean Fournier. To my left is our new Associate Under-Secretary, Marie Gusella, and to my right, the Assistant

TÉMOIGNAGES

Ottawa, le mardi 8 janvier 1991

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie auquel a été déféré le projet de loi C-18, *Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté* et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence, se réunit aujourd'hui à 9 h pour examiner le projet de loi.

Le sénateur Lorna Marsden (présidente) occupe le fauteuil du président.

La présidente: Honorables sénateurs, je déclare la séance ouverte. Comme les sénateurs peuvent le constater, nous examinons ce matin le projet de loi C-18. Plusieurs membres de notre comité ont demandé que le ministre soit invité à comparaître pour répondre aux questions. Nous avons en outre promis aux représentants du Congrès national des Italo-canadiens qu'ils seraient invités à comparaître. Nous avons par la suite annulé leur comparution à quatre reprises. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'ancienne présidente, Annamarie Castrilli, sera ici un peu plus tard.

Entre-temps, deux nouveaux projets de loi nous ont été déferés. Il s'agit du projet de loi C-63, *Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales* et du projet de loi C-37, *Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales*. J'ai demandé que l'on distribue des notes d'information au sujet de ces deux projets de loi. Puisque le ministre est avec nous ce matin, j'ai pensé que nous pourrions peut-être lui poser des questions au sujet de ces deux autres projets de loi avant la comparution du deuxième groupe de témoins qui commentera le projet de loi C-18, de sorte que nous puissions au moins commencer l'examen de ces projets de loi.

Le sénateur Marshall nous a demandé d'examiner la trousse d'information au sujet du règlement concernant les soins de santé des anciens combattants. Nous aborderons peut-être cette question plus tard ce matin.

Honorables sénateurs, nous allons maintenant entendre le ministre et d'autres témoins sur le projet de loi C-78, *Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté* et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence. Je souhaite la bienvenue au ministre. Notre examen du projet de loi dure depuis plus longtemps que prévu et le ministre a certainement été pleinement informé des questions qui ont été soulevées par un certain nombre de témoins. J'aimerais inviter le ministre à faire une déclaration liminaire.

L'honorable Gerald Weiner, ministre d'État (Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté): Merci, Madame la présidente. J'ai effectivement quelques observations liminaires à faire, après quoi je me ferai un plaisir de répondre aux questions des sénateurs. J'espère que ces éclaircissements permettront une approbation rapide de ce projet de loi créant le nouveau ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté puisque, vous l'avez dit vous-même, beaucoup de temps y a été consacré.

Assis à ma droite se trouve le sous-secrétaire d'État, Jean Fournier. À ma gauche, notre nouveau sous-secrétaire d'État adjoint, Marie Gusella, et à ma droite Shirley Serafini, sous-

[Text]

Under-Secretary for the Multiculturalism Sector, Shirley Serafini.

I am pleased to be here with you today.

Ce projet de loi est important parce que nous avons travaillé dessus presque deux ans.

I have reviewed the work of your committee and am impressed by the thoughtfulness of it.

The Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship has two main responsibilities: first, to promote the understanding of today's multicultural society and to ensure equality of participation, and second and equally important, to ensure active participation of Canadians in the life of their country through the active exercise of their citizenship. These become the central points with which we will deal this morning: the promotion of understanding, equality and the full opportunity that should be afforded to all Canadians to participate.

Le nouveau ministère reconnaît que la société multiculturelle d'aujourd'hui est au coeur de ce que représente le fait d'être Canadien.

This is the Canadian reality—it is a multicultural nation. It recognizes that Canadians also define themselves through their citizenship and the civic rights and responsibilities of that citizenship.

Multiculturalism and citizenship are the cornerstones of how we define ourselves as Canadians. Ils sont totalement liés l'un à l'autre. Ils représentent le Canada d'aujourd'hui. Le multiculturalisme d'aujourd'hui est différent de celui d'hier.

With the Multiculturalism Act in 1988, we moved away from a mere program for the few to a policy for all Canadians. We moved multiculturalism into today's realities, combatting racism, seeking equality of participation and striving for excellence. Citizenship is more than a legal status or the means to acquire it. It is about understanding Canada, our traditions, values and principles.

La «citoyenneté» signifie comprendre et promouvoir les droits de la personne ici et à l'étranger. Elle signifie encourager l'alphabétisation et aussi le bénévolat.

En résumé, la «citoyenneté» signifie ceci: prendre une part active à la vie de la nation.

The Multiculturalism Act set out our government's new policy for multiculturalism. Soon I hope to introduce a new and expanded Citizenship Act, which would give new meaning to citizenship. Multiculturalism and citizenship in large part reflect the nature of our country. The bill senators are examin-

[Traduction]

secrétaire d'État adjoint pour le secteur du Multiculturalisme.

Je suis heureux d'être ici avec vous aujourd'hui.

This is an important bill on which we have been working for almost two years now.

J'ai été impressionné par le sérieux du travail accompli par votre comité.

Le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté a deux principales responsabilités: d'abord de promouvoir la compréhension de la société multiculturelle d'aujourd'hui et d'assurer à tous des chances égales d'y participer, ensuite, responsabilité toute aussi importante, d'assurer la participation active des Canadiens à la vie de leur pays grâce à l'exercice actif de leur citoyenneté. Voilà donc les deux éléments principaux dont nous traiterons ce matin: la promotion de la compréhension et la possibilité pour tous les Canadiens de participer pleinement et sur un pied d'égalité à la vie de la société.

The new Department recognizes that today's multicultural society is a fundamental aspect of the Canadian identity.

Voilà ce qu'est la réalité canadienne: une nation multiculturelle. Il reconnaît que les Canadiens se définissent également par leur citoyenneté et par les droits et les responsabilités civiques qui se rattachent à cette citoyenneté.

Le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté sont les deux déterminants essentiels de l'identité canadienne. They are indissolubly linked. They define today's Canada. The multiculturalism of today is different from that of yesterday.

En 1988, la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* nous a permis de remplacer un simple programme qui s'adressait à une poignée de gens par une politique à l'intention de tous les Canadiens. Nous avons fait du multiculturalisme une réalité d'aujourd'hui, en combattant le racisme, en recherchant une participation sur un pied d'égalité et en visant l'excellence. La citoyenneté représente plus qu'un simple statut juridique ou les moyens de l'acquérir. Elle signifie comprendre le Canada, nos traditions, nos valeurs et nos principes.

Citizenship is about understanding and promoting human rights here and abroad. It is about encouraging literacy and voluntary action.

In short, citizenship means taking an active part in the life of the nation.

La *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* a établi la nouvelle politique de notre gouvernement en matière de multiculturalisme. J'espère présenter bientôt une nouvelle loi sur la citoyenneté qui donnera une nouvelle signification à la citoyenneté. Le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté reflètent dans une grande

[Text]

ing puts into place the machinery for the efficient planning and delivery of our policy and programs.

I thank senators for this opportunity and I also wish them the very best for the new year. I look forward to fruitful opportunities and continuing involvement in looking at the other bills we have before us.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Weiner. We will now move to questions. I call upon Senator David.

Le sénateur David: Monsieur le ministre, nous avons entendu plusieurs groupes de témoins et ainsi il s'est produit une petite confusion dans nos esprits que je crois vous allez pouvoir certainement bien clarifier.

Lorsque nous regardons l'ensemble des lois qui traitent des langues officielles, de la citoyenneté et du multiculturalisme, nous avons l'impression que le Canada se divise en sections, jusqu'à un certain point: vous avez les premiers habitants de la nation, tous les peuples autochtones, qui doivent être protégés par toute une législation: vous avez les deux peuples fondateurs qui sont protégés par les lois des langues officielles principalement, suite également à la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.

Depuis plusieurs années nous avons introduit l'égalité pour tous les groupes d'immigrants de diverses origines, d'où la politique du multiculturalisme. Reste la citoyenneté, qui est la preuve que vous donnez à un citoyen canadien.

Déjà, j'avais demandé à monsieur Fournier, dans cette espèce de mosaïque que certains appellent la tapisserie canadienne, pourquoi votre ministère avait choisi de mettre cette loi sous l'enseigne du multiculturalisme et de la citoyenneté plutôt que de l'inverse, plutôt que de la citoyenneté, donnant à ce mot une certaine priorité par rapport au multiculturalisme, qui était un effet secondaire extrêmement agréable. Cela qui ne veut pas dire qu'ils sont des citoyens secondaires mais comme une addition, en définitive, à la pluralité de notre nation canadienne.

On nous a répondu qu'après mûre réflexion votre ministère avait choisi cette inversion. Nous aimerions avoir une explication claire, s'il est possible, sur ce qui semble être une prédominance du multiculturalisme sur la citoyenneté. Peut-être que je me trompe dans cette interprétation mais j'aimerais une réponse à cette question. Je crois que monsieur Fournier n'étant pas le ministre pouvait difficilement répondre autre chose, à savoir que vous aviez beaucoup réfléchi à cette question et que vous en étiez venu à cette conclusion.

L'honorable M. Weiner: Je vous remercie, sénateur David. Je suis convaincu que monsieur Fournier a clarifié le sujet de la même manière que je vais essayer de le faire. C'est un homme avec qui maintenant j'ai le plaisir de travailler depuis ces dernières deux années.

Il y a maintenant presque deux ans, le premier ministre a pris la décision très logique d'établir un nouveau ministère. Nous avons vécu peut-être une quinzaine d'années sous une

[Traduction]

mesure la nature de notre pays. Le projet de loi que les sénateurs sont en train d'examiner met en place le mécanisme nécessaire à la planification et à la réalisation efficaces de nos programmes et de notre politique.

Je remercie les sénateurs de m'avoir donné cette occasion et je leur offre mes meilleurs vœux pour la nouvelle année. Je me réjouis à l'avance des occasions que nous aurons de continuer à travailler ensemble pour examiner les autres projets de loi à l'étude.

La présidente: Merci, Monsieur Weiner. Nous allons maintenant passer aux questions. Je donne la parole au sénateur David.

Senator David: Mr. Minister, having heard several groups of witnesses, we have become some what confused, but I think you will be able to provide the clarifications we need.

Looking at the legislation on official languages, citizenship and multiculturalism, one has the impression that Canada is divided into sections, up to a certain point. There are the very first habitants of the country, all the native peoples, who must be protected by a whole series of laws. The two founding peoples are protected mainly by the official languages legislation which flowed from the commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Several years ago, we introduced equality for all groups of immigrants of various origins through the policy on multiculturalism. Then there is citizenship, which is the proof of equality given to Canadian citizens.

I had already asked Mr. Fournier why your department had chosen to call it an act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship rather than the opposite, rather than the Department of Citizenship and Multiculturalism, which would give Citizenship some kind of priority over Multiculturalism, which would have been extremely nice in what some call the Canadian Mosaic. That does not mean that they are second class citizens but rather that they are an addition to the plurality of our Canadian nation.

We were told that your Department had chosen this inversion after careful consideration. We would like some clear explanation, if possible, of what seems to be the predominance of multiculturalism over citizenship. I may be mistaken in my interpretation, but I would appreciate an answer. I believe that Mr. Fournier, not being the Minister, could only say that you had given careful consideration to the matter and that you had come to that conclusion.

Hon. Mr. Weiner: Thank you, Senator David. I am convinced that Mr. Fournier explained the decision in much the same manner as I will try to explain it, since I have had the pleasure of working with him for the last two years.

Almost two years ago, the Prime Minister took the very logical decision of creating a new department. For some fifteen years we only had a multiculturalism policy. It goes back to

[Text]

politique multiculturelle. Cela a commencé en 1971. Je suis peut-être le onzième ministre chargé de cette responsabilité.

De plus en plus, dans les dernières années, nous avons vu une reconnaissance d'une réalité multiculturelle. C'est une réalité que la face du Canada a vraiment changée. Nous avons vu que cela était une caractéristique fondamentale maintenant de la société canadienne.

Nous ne sommes plus la nation que nous étions dans les années '50. Notre image est une image d'aujourd'hui, si nous nous regardons dans le miroir. En nous donnant cette image multiculturelle, je trouve que c'est maintenant un processus de maturation. Nous voulons tous être un; nous voulons tous être majoritaires et non une minorité. La chose que nous voulons tous c'est un passeport canadien, être Canadien. Je trouve que c'est un processus de maturation de devenir canadien et d'avoir tous les droits et toutes toutes les opportunités de voir nos rêves se réaliser.

Alors, de marier le multiculturalisme à la citoyenneté dans un ministère, cela veut dire que le multiculturalisme a grandi dans la citoyenneté. Maintenant la citoyenneté est exprimée totalement dans cette vision.

Sans doute il était peut-être logique de penser qu'il y avait d'autres espèces de noms que nous avions la possibilité de choisir.

Comme je vous l'ai dit, parmi lesquels vous aurez un ministère. C'est un acte technique. Ce n'est pas nécessairement de la politique. Toutes les politiques découlent de ce que nous voulons faire maintenant. Les programmes de relations sociales, notre support communautaire et les programmes pour préserver et promouvoir les langues du patrimoine sont mariés dans notre politique. Pour moi, c'est assez clair. Nous avons une réalité. Cette réalité a grandi dans notre citoyenneté. Certainement, nous avons vu dernièrement cette crise d'identité qui est peut-être le fait canadien. Je ne veux pas dire que nécessairement les choses ont changé. Plus cela change, plus cela reste pareil. Nous avons maintenant 124 ans presque. Nous avons encore cette discussion où nous nous demandons qui nous sommes. Nous allons avoir maintenant la Commission Spicer qui commence, je pense, aujourd'hui ses délibérations avec beaucoup d'espoir de donner aux Canadiens la chance de s'exprimer. Il y a beaucoup d'attention de portée sur le fait multiculturel à la Commission Spicer et ce qu'elle fera, ce sera la réalité.

Quand nous parlons de multiculturalisme, nous parlons de ce que nous avons commencés. Nous avons essayé de faire quelque chose pour donner à tous les Canadiens la chance d'être inclus. Maintenant, je trouve que c'est une autre étape de marier cela à la citoyenneté. C'est pourquoi je trouve que c'est une progression naturelle.

Senator David: Mr. Minister, I understand very well the importance of multiculturalism and the fact that, you say, it is married with citizenship. However, when we talk about priorities, how does that fit within all the policies of bilingualism and biculturalism? For example, how does it fit with the recommendations of the B & B Commission? Many witnesses have asked that there be a multiculturalism commissioner as there is for bilingualism. What is the future of these aspects

[Traduction]

1971. I think I am the eleventh minister responsible for multiculturalism.

Over the last few years, the multicultural reality has become better recognized. Canada has really changed. We have now recognized that this is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society.

We are no longer the nation we used to be in the fifty's. The image we have of ourselves is an image of today. After giving ourselves such a multicultural image, we must now let it mature. We want to form a whole, we want to be a majority and not a minority. The one thing we all want is to have a Canadian passport, to be Canadian. I believe that becoming Canadian and acquiring all the rights and opportunities to achieve our dreams involves a process of maturation.

Therefore, marrying multiculturalism to citizenship in one department, means that multiculturalism has grown within citizenship. Citizenship is now totally expressed within that vision.

It may have been logical to think that we could have chosen among other names. As I have said, you will have a department. This is a technical act. It does not necessarily reflect a political choice. All our initiatives, the social relations programs, our support for community-based activities, the programs to preserve and promote heritage languages are all consistent with our policy. That is quite clear to me. We have a reality. That reality has grown within our citizenship. Certainly, we are witnessing an identity crisis which may also be part of the Canadian reality. I do not mean to say that things have changed. The more things change, the more they remain the same. We are now almost 124 years old and we are still asking ourselves who we are. The Spicer Commission is holding today the first of its public hearings which will give Canadians throughout the country a chance to express themselves. The Spicer Commission pays a lot of attention to multiculturalism, and its conclusion will reflect that reality.

When we talk about multiculturalism, we talk about some of the programs we have introduced. We have tried to include all Canadians. The time has now come to marry multiculturalism and citizenship. This is why I feel this is a natural progression.

Le sénateur David: Monsieur le Ministre, je comprends très bien l'importance du multiculturalisme et le fait, comme vous disiez, qu'il est marié à la citoyenneté. Cependant, lorsque nous parlons de priorités, est-ce que cela cadre avec les politiques de bilinguisme et de biculturalisme? Par exemple, comment cela cadre-t-il avec les recommandations de la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme? De nombreux témoins ont demandé que l'on nomme un commissaire au mul-

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and how do you see the integration of this mosaic which is becoming a puzzle?

Mr. Weiner: I see a nation, Canada, strengthened by its diversity, unified politically and culturally by its diversity, a nation with a very rich and powerful human resource, our most effective resource, which must once and for all allow for the full and equal participation of all its citizens. We have still far too many who are excluded or who are not allowed to participate to any great extent in the process. In 1988, with the passage of the world's first Multiculturalism Act, we provided government with a mechanism for intervention, a mechanism to help society direct itself to face the challenges of the future, and to show how all of its members can be included. That act also established the crossgovernment commitment; it gives a minister the authority under the act to work not only within his or her jurisdiction but within the jurisdiction of all the federal government, and also in collaboration with colleagues in other departments and, in fact, with all levels of government and the public and private sectors. For the first time it is a clear statement of intervention, of a government's desire to help manage a society which, in my mind, was not available before.

There are other models of societies that have tried to segregate citizens and allow them to live in separate fashion. Some have tried processes of assimilation which have not worked at all in any society. We could spend the morning reviewing the last 2,000 years of how unhelpful those methods of assimilation have been. We have seen in our own lifetime, under the most excruciating and horrifying circumstances, where nations have tried to cleanse themselves, and the complete disaster that has been for mankind. We have before us an opportunity, through this legislation, to help an entire nation understand the value of our citizenship and the value of full participation.

Some felt that a commissioner or some form of watchdog might have been essential. My own feeling is that it was never essential, because we have mechanisms in terms of public accountability. We have parliamentary committee committees and the Senate committees.

We have designed a Canadian Multiculturalism Advisory Committee, composed of distinguished Canadians, who represent many of the institutions within our society, to help us in our understanding of those institutions, to show how those institutions can better reflect our diversity, and to help those institutions grow with the Canadian reality. It is a dilemma, but it is an easy dilemma. We have a linguistic duality that all of us recognize and want to share in eagerly and be involved in fully. Whatever background or whatever roots we have come from, we have very quickly become comfortable, whether that be in Quebec. C'est vrai que j'ai commencé ma vie comme un anglo-québécois, d'une famille qui vient de l'est de l'Europe. Si vous demandez à mon fils, il est plutôt franco-québécois. Il est beaucoup plus à l'aise dans la langue française où il a trouvé la plupart de ses amis ou peut-être une amie en particulier. En effet, c'est une espèce d'intégration. Je trouve, d'une part, aucun inconvénient d'avoir ces possibilités de partager la beauté des deux groupes linguistiques culturels majoritaires ou

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ticulturalisme comme nous en avons un pour le bilinguisme. Quel est l'avenir de ces éléments et comment envisagez-vous l'intégration de cette mosaïque qui devient un casse-tête?

M. Weiner: Je vois une nation, le Canada, renforcée par sa diversité, unifiée politiquement et culturellement par sa diversité; une nation qui dispose de ressources humaines riches et puissantes, ce sont nos ressources les plus précieuses; une nation qui doit une fois pour toute permettre la pleine participation de tous ses citoyens sur un pied d'égalité. Il y a encore beaucoup trop de gens qui sont exclus ou à qui on ne permet pas de participer pleinement à la vie du pays. En 1988, en adoptant la première loi au monde sur le multiculturalisme, nous avons doté le gouvernement d'un mécanisme d'intervention, d'un mécanisme qui aidera la société à relever les défis de l'avenir et qui fera en sorte que tous ses citoyens soient inclus. Cette loi engage tous les ministères du gouvernement; elle donne au ministre le pouvoir d'agir non seulement dans son propre ministère mais également en collaboration avec ses collègues des autres ministères du gouvernement fédéral ainsi qu'avec tous les ordres du gouvernement et avec les secteurs publics et privés. C'est la première fois qu'un gouvernement exprime aussi clairement son pouvoir d'intervention, son désir d'aider à diriger une société, ce qui, à mon avis, n'existait pas auparavant.

Il existe d'autres modèles de sociétés qui ont tenté de séparer les citoyens et de leur permettre de vivre d'une façon différente. Dans certaines sociétés, on a essayé, en vain, de les assimiler. Nous pourrions passer la matinée à discuter de l'échec de ces méthodes d'assimilation au cours des 2 000 dernières années. Nous avons vu de notre vivant, dans les circonstances les plus atroces et les plus horribles, que ces méthodes d'assimilation dans certains pays ont été un désastre total pour l'humanité. Le projet de loi à l'étude nous donne la possibilité d'aider une nation entière à comprendre la valeur de notre citoyenneté et de la pleine participation.

Certains estiment qu'un commissaire ou une sorte de gendarme serait peut-être essentiel. Personnellement, j'estime que cela n'a jamais été essentiel car nous disposons de mécanismes en matière de responsabilité publique. Nous avons des comités parlementaires et des comités sénatoriaux.

Nous avons créé un comité consultatif du multiculturalisme, comité dont les membres distingués représentent bon nombre des institutions de la société, afin de nous aider à mieux comprendre ces institutions, afin de démontrer comment de telles institutions peuvent mieux refléter notre diversité et afin d'aider ces institutions à s'épanouir dans la réalité canadienne. C'est un dilemme, mais il peut être facilement résolu. Nous reconnaissons tous la dualité linguistique et nous sommes tous désireux d'y participer pleinement. Quels que soient nos antécédents ou nos origines, nous nous sommes adaptés très rapidement, que ce soit au Québec. It is true that I was born a Quebec anglophone and that my family is from Eastern Europe. But if you ask my son, he will tell you that he is a francophone from Quebec. He is much more fluent in French as most of his friends, and maybe one girl friend in particular, are francophones. Indeed, it is a kind of integration. I see no problem whatsoever in having the opportunity to share the beauty of both majority or minority cultural linguistic groups

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minoritaires de notre pays et d'autre part, d'avoir les expériences de mes racines.

I understand who I am to begin with. It is important to me to understand who I am. I want to preserve that understanding and pass it on to my children and their children. I want to share those values with others. That marries so well and harmonizes beautifully.

Canada is in a unique position to show leadership to the world. In fact, countries from around the world have been coming to us to help them understand what our policy really is. They think it has useful application to their own situation in dealing with how people do come together; how they live together in peace and tranquillity, how they grow and mature, and how much more effective as a nation you become as a result of the full participation of your people.

Senator David: I will pass to others now.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator David. We will come back to you if there is time for a second round.

Senator Bosa: Mr. Minister, the first thing I want to say is that I should like to congratulate you on an article that you wrote, which appeared in the *Toronto Star*. I do not have the date, but I think it appeared approximately 18 months ago. It was entitled: "Building a Nation out of Cultural Diversity". I found it most interesting and probably the best definition of multiculturalism that I ever read.

Having said that, I should also like to congratulate you on having created the Department of Multiculturalism. I felt that it was long overdue and am pleased that it finally came about. However, I am disappointed with some of the responsibilities that have been included in the department that should not have been, and with some that are absent and should have been included in the responsibilities of the department. I am referring specifically to the inclusion in this department of ministerial responsibility for the literacy program and the voluntary action program. Frankly, I do not see what this has to do with multiculturalism. Perhaps you might be able to enlighten me on that point.

The other aspect that is missing from this bill and should have been included is a settlement branch. That would make eminent sense to me, because immigrants who come here and people who belong to minority groups are probably in greater need of assistance in settlement than they are in need of voluntary action or literacy programs.

I am a great supporter of the policy. I have seen the policy evolve from the time Mr. Trudeau introduced it in 1971 to the formation of the Council on Multiculturalism and the establishment of various programs such as the language assistance program and the establishment of the Multiculturalism Act, and now the department.

There has been a steady progression, but in the last couple of years there has been a regression. For example, the Multiculturalism Committee of the House of Commons, in their publication entitled: *Multiculturalism: Building the Canadian Mosaic*, made several recommendations, one of which Senator David touched upon a moment ago, namely, the appointment

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of our country while being able to benefit from the experience of my background or my roots.

D'abord, je comprends qui je suis. Il n'apparaît important de comprendre qui je suis. Je veux le préserver et le transmettre à mes enfants et à leurs enfants. Je veux partager ces valeurs avec d'autres. Cela se marie si bien et s'harmonise parfaitement.

Le Canada est très bien placé pour faire preuve de leadership dans le monde entier. De fait, du monde entier on vient nous demander d'expliquer en quoi consiste vraiment notre politique. Et j'estime qu'elle pourrait s'appliquer dans ces pays pour aider les gens à vivre ensemble dans la paix et la tranquillité, à s'épanouir et à mieux mûrir, et à devenir une nation beaucoup plus efficace grâce à la pleine participation du peuple.

Le sénateur David: Je vais maintenant céder la parole à d'autres.

La présidente: Merci, sénateur David. Nous reviendrons à vous si nous avons le temps de faire un deuxième tour de table.

Le sénateur Bosa: Monsieur le ministre, je voulais tout d'abord vous féliciter pour l'article que vous avez écrit dans le *Toronto Star*. Je n'ai pas la date, mais je pense que cet article a été publié il y a environ 18 mois. Il était intitulé *Building a Nation out of Cultural Diversity*. J'ai trouvé cet article des plus intéressants, et c'est sans doute la meilleure définition du multiculturalisme que j'aie lue.

Ceci dit, j'aimerais également vous féliciter pour avoir créé le ministère du Multiculturalisme. À mon avis, ce ministère s'est fait attendre longtemps, et je suis heureux qu'il ait enfin été créé. Cependant, je suis déçu que l'on ait attribué certaines responsabilités à ce ministère alors qu'elles n'auraient pas dû l'être, et que d'autres responsabilités en sont absentes alors qu'elles auraient dû être incluses. Je veux parler plus précisément du fait que l'on ait inclus les responsabilités du nouveau ministre en ce qui a trait au programme d'alphabetisation et de bénévolat. Franchement, je ne vois pas ce que cela a à voir avec le multiculturalisme. Vous pourriez peut-être m'éclairer à ce sujet.

Par contre, on a omis d'inclure dans le projet de loi une direction de l'établissement. À mon avis, cela aurait été très logique, car les immigrants qui arrivent ici et les gens qui appartiennent à des groupes minoritaires ont sans doute un plus grand besoin d'aide en matière d'établissement qu'en matière de d'alphabetisation ou de bénévolat.

J'appuie sans réserve la politique. J'ai vu la politique évoluer à partir du moment où M. Trudeau l'a présentée en 1971 jusqu'à la formation du Conseil sur le multiculturalisme et l'établissement de divers programmes comme le Programme d'aide à l'apprentissage de langues et l'établissement de la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme*, et aujourd'hui le ministère.

Il y a eu une progression constante, mais au cours des quelques dernières années, il y a eu une régression. Par exemple, le Comité de la Chambre des communes sur les multiculturalisme a fait plusieurs recommandations dans son rapport intitulé *Multiculturalisme: Cimentier la mosaïque canadienne*. Le sénateur David a parlé de l'une de ces recommandations tout à

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of a commissioner so that the policies of multiculturalism would be implemented. This would be similar to the duties of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

However, that did not take place. There was a commitment in that report for certain funds to be allocated to the department. However, those funds were cut back without a consensus of the committee which is a departure from past experience. There has always been a consensus to whatever affected multiculturalism. In the past, the opposition and the government always acted in unison, except for this situation.

In response to Senator David's question you stated that there are other mechanisms for the implementation of the policy. You mentioned specifically the committee in the House of Commons and the Senate committee. I suggest, Mr. Minister, that the committee in the House of Commons is ineffective. It is made up mostly of government members. They have not questioned the estimates that came before that committee, and did not protest the cutback of funds, which is an important role that the commissioner, or watchdog, should play.

There is also now no accountability. there is imply an ad hoc approach to problem-solving. It is true that I can raise a question in the Senate, or perhaps someone can raise a question in the House of Commons, but there is no authority that will take the matter to its conclusion as a commissioner would.

Perhaps you would now like to answer some of those questions. While you are doing so, I will look at other parts of the bill which give me some concern.

Mr. Weiner: I thank you for your warm comments, Senator, and for your appreciation of the article which I felt would begin to lay out fairly my feelings about what multiculturalism really is.

As I have tried to indicate, we have before us a technical design. The formation of the department is technical. As it evolves, there could certainly be instances in the future when we may feel that some elements or components may be better handled by this or that department. What we are trying to do is to promote social justice and equality. Equality is what we underline in terms of the full right of citizenship which guarantees the full and equal participation of each one of us. There will be a department which will focus the attention and challenge of society on bringing forward this cross-government commitment.

I take no particular issue with your preferring to have one element or another in this technical department. However, I am comforted in knowing that these elements of citizenship are critical for equal participation. I suppose the most fundamental violation of an individual human right is the inability to read or to write. Thus, literacy is the heart of citizenship. I know that you, Senator Bosa, have worked your whole life as a volunteer. The amount of time that is contributed by individuals in the Canadian mosaic on a volunteer basis annually is enormous. I read somewhere that the value of this contribution

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l'heure, notamment la nomination d'un commissaire qui veillerait à la mise en œuvre des politiques de multiculturalisme. Il aurait des responsabilités semblables à celles du commissaire aux langues officielles.

Toutefois, cela n'a pas été le cas. Dans le rapport en question, on s'était engagé à doter le ministère d'un certain budget. Cependant, le montant de ces fonds a été réduit sans le consensus du comité, alors qu'auparavant on avait toujours obtenu le consensus lors des décisions touchant le multiculturalisme. Dans le passé, l'opposition et le gouvernement ont toujours agi à l'unisson, sauf dans ce cas.

En réponse à la question du sénateur David, vous avez dit qu'il existe d'autres mécanismes de mise en œuvre de la politique. Vous avez parlé notamment du comité de la Chambre des communes et du comité sénatorial. Je dirais, monsieur le ministre, que le comité de la Chambre des communes est inefficace. Il est composé principalement de députés ministériels. Ils n'ont pas posé de questions au sujet du budget principal des dépenses dont ils ont été saisis et ils n'ont pas protesté contre la réduction du budget, rôle important que le Commissaire devrait jouer.

À l'heure actuelle, il n'y a aucune obligation de rendre compte. On procède simplement cas par cas. Il est vrai que je peux poser une question au Sénat, ou que quelqu'un peut peut-être poser une question à la Chambre des communes, mais personne n'a la responsabilité d'aller jusqu'au bout comme un commissaire le ferait.

Vous pourriez peut-être maintenant répondre à certaines de ces questions. Pendant, ce temps j'examinerai les autres articles du projet de loi qui me préoccupent.

M. Weiner: Sénateur, je vous remercie de vos chaleureux commentaires et de ce que vous avez dit au sujet de l'article dans lequel j'exprime assez bien mes sentiments au sujet de ce que constitue vraiment le multiculturalisme.

Comme j'essayais de vous l'expliquer, la création du ministère est un processus technique. Au fur et à mesure que le mandat du ministère évoluera, il y aura certainement des circonstances dans lesquelles nous estimerons que tel ou tel ministère serait mieux placé pour prendre la responsabilité de certains éléments. Ce que nous tentons de faire, c'est de promouvoir la justice sociale et l'égalité. L'égalité est l'élément le plus important pour ce qui est du plein droit à la citoyenneté qui garantit une participation pleine sur un pied d'égalité pour chacun d'entre nous. Il y aura un ministère qui portera à l'attention de la société le défi qui consiste à mener à bien l'engagement pris par tous les ministères du gouvernement à cet égard.

Le fait que vous préférez que tel élément plutôt que tel autre soit inclus dans ce ministère technique ne me pose pas de problème. Quoi qu'il en soit, il me réconforte de savoir que les éléments de la citoyenneté sont essentiels à la participation égale. Je pense que le droit individuel le plus fondamental est la capacité de lire et d'écrire. Ainsi, l'alphabétisation est au cœur de la citoyenneté. Je sais que vous, sénateur Bosa, avez travaillé toute votre vie en tant que bénévole. Les Canadiens passent énormément de temps chaque année à travailler comme bénévoles. J'ai lu quelque part que la valeur de ces heures de béné-

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is approximately \$20 billion annually. Literacy, voluntary action and human rights are central to citizenship.

We are dealing with some very essential elements of what we consider a Canadian to be. There is no doubt that at some time in the future, others who may be sitting around this table or elsewhere may decide that there could be some other elements. When we look at the evolution of the Department of Secretary of State, which was first formed in 1867, we see that, obviously, there were some elements included then which were moved or adjusted.

I was privileged to play an active part from the time of my election in 1984 in terms of the creation of the Department of Multiculturalism. The question at the time was whether or not it would be a small secretariat or group of people with sufficient strength to bring forward the type of commitment necessary to help Canada understand what its reality is. In other words, the issue was to go forth and build the partnerships necessary to make sure that all in Canadian society would be fully involved.

A decision that was taken very early on was that we would not have a Department of Multiculturalism, per se. I applaud those who considered the options and chose to put in place a Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship. We must have had a crystal ball to have envisioned the clouds that would be hanging over our heads in terms of the identity crisis that has come upon us. Here is a clear statement of how well a department can speak to our identity and to our vision of what is Canada. Whether that took a commissioner, a parliamentary committee or a group of Canadians brought together from coast-to-coast called the Canadian Multiculturalism Advisory Committee does not matter. That committee will be publishing its annual report very shortly, a report which will be widely distributed. The findings of the committee are already the subject of considerable discussion.

There is now before us a growing commitment from Canadians from coast to coast to understand how much better things can work when full involvement is allowed. I say very clearly that this program has to come out of church and school basements into the boardrooms of Canada. It has to provide opportunities for each one of us in every single one of our institutions. We now have that opportunity before us. We have a department which speaks to the fulfilment of that need. We have the mechanism to force it now in Canadian society through the Multiculturalism Act which provides the legal framework. Indeed, we are trying to enshrine other processes in laws such as those which deal with the Race Relations Institute and the Heritage Languages Institute.

You know, Senator Bosa, how difficult it is to pass laws. It is just as difficult to undo them. Once something is enshrined in law it will be there for eternity, which speaks well for our desire to make sure that we put some of these firm underpinnings in place.

I would enjoy having more money to carry out the work of this department. I do not relish having to work in times of greater restraint. What we have tried to do is to establish a

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volat totalisait environ 20 milliards de dollars par an. L'alphabétisation, le bénévolat et les droits de la personne sont au cœur de la citoyenneté.

Ce sont à notre avis, des déterminants essentiels de l'identité canadienne. Il ne fait aucun doute qu'à l'avenir d'autres personnes qui seront assises ici autour de cette table pourront décider d'inclure d'autres éléments. Lorsque nous regardons l'évolution du ministère du Secrétariat d'État qui a été créé en 1867, nous constatons que certains éléments ont été déplacés ou adaptés.

Depuis mon élection en 1984, j'ai eu le privilège de jouer un rôle actif dans la création du ministère du Multiculturalisme. À l'époque, il s'agissait de savoir s'il s'agirait d'un petit secrétariat ou d'un groupe de gens qui auraient suffisamment de force pour obtenir le genre d'engagement nécessaire pour aider le Canada à comprendre sa réalité. En d'autres termes, il s'agissait de mettre sur pied les partenariats nécessaires pour veiller à ce que tous puissent participer pleinement à la vie de la société canadienne.

On avait décidé dès le début de ne pas créer un ministère du multiculturalisme comme tel. Je félicite ceux qui ont étudié les possibilités et choisi de mettre en place un ministère du multiculturalisme et de la citoyenneté. Nous avions certainement une boule de cristal puisque nous avons su prévoir la crise d'identité que nous connaissons à l'heure actuelle. Cela montre clairement jusqu'à quel point un ministère peut témoigner de notre identité et de notre vision de ce qu'est le Canada. Peu importe que nous ayons un commissaire, un comité parlementaire ou un comité consultatif sur le multiculturalisme qui réunisse un groupe de Canadiens d'un océan à l'autre. Ce comité publiera son rapport annuel très prochainement, et ce rapport sera largement diffusé. Les conclusions du comité font déjà l'objet d'un débat considérable.

Les Canadiens d'un océan à l'autre comprennent de plus en plus que les choses fonctionnent beaucoup mieux lorsque l'on permet à tous de participer pleinement. Je veux qu'il soit bien clair que ce programme doit s'étendre des sous-sols d'églises et d'écoles jusqu'aux salles des Conseils d'administration du Canada. Il doit offrir des chances égales à chacun d'entre nous, dans chacune de nos institutions. Nous avons donc aujourd'hui cette possibilité. Nous avons un ministère qui vient répondre à ce besoin. La *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* nous donne le cadre juridique qui nous permet de faire respecter ce principe dans la société canadienne. Nous tentons en outre d'inclure d'autres processus dans la loi, notamment en ce qui concerne la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales et l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Vous savez, sénateur Bosa, combien il est difficile d'adopter des lois. Il est tout aussi difficile de s'en débarrasser. Une fois qu'un principe est inclus dans une loi, il y est pour l'éternité, ce qui démontre bien notre désir de nous assurer de mettre fermement en place de tels principes.

J'aimerais avoir davantage d'argent pour mener à bien le travail de mon ministère. Il ne me sourit guère d'être obligé de travailler à une époque de grandes compressions budgétaires.

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process whereby others can participate in the partnership. It is not simply federal funding or the funding of this ministry which becomes the vital cog, but the full funding of all departments of government at all levels. We have seen in the past year how effective such partnerships can be. There are many programs which have been developed with other provinces and with municipalities in the public and private sectors. Such programs have even been established with other departments of the federal government when additional funding for critical initiatives to the nation were brought forward.

Senator Bosa: When was that additional funding made?

Mr. Weiner: I can give you specific figures. For example, we looked at the opportunity of developing better police-community relations, starting with minority communities. We started off with some consultations, and before we knew it we had the national police relations strategy. We started with some of our own money, but in addition there was money from the Solicitor General and money injected by other levels of government. We are beginning to see an envelope of funding which is very significant.

Senator Bosa: Do you mean security forces?

Mr. Weiner: We are talking about police initiatives where we are instrumental in working with police and communities to help both the police in their understanding of the community and the community in its understanding of the police.

Two years ago there was a pilot project with one police department—the City of Vancouver—for the hiring of visible minorities and native youth. The program worked so well that this past year there were 16 police departments involved in the process. I have indicated my desire to double that to some 32 police departments.

In addition, we are looking at a resource centre that will be established at the Canadian Police College. We have an ongoing committee of deputy ministers that are helping to devise a police strategy. I have on my advisory council a police chief—Chief Jim Harding of the Halton Regional Police Department—who provides significant advice. He has some very modern ideas about policing and prevention. That is the kind of work we could be doing in terms of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship being a catalyst.

Senator Bosa: I am pleased that that is taking place. I should like to ask a few more questions.

The Chairman: Before you do, let me say that we have 15 minutes left with the minister. There are four senators who would perhaps like to ask questions. I would ask you to be brief.

Senator Bosa: Was there a sounding of public opinion recently to determine whether support for the policy of multiculturalism is at the same level or whether it is increasing or declining?

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Nous avons tenté d'établir un processus par lequel d'autres peuvent participer au partenariat. Notre programme n'est pas simplement financé par notre ministère, mais par tous les ministères du gouvernement à tous les niveaux. Dans le passé, nous avons pu constater jusqu'à quel point de tels partenariats peuvent être efficaces. De nombreux programmes ont été mis sur pied avec d'autres provinces et avec des municipalités dans les secteurs public et privé. De tels programmes ont été mis sur pied avec d'autres ministères du gouvernement fédéral lorsque des fonds additionnels ont été libérés pour des initiatives d'importance critique pour la nation.

Le sénateur Bosa: Quand ces fonds additionnels ont-ils été consentis?

M. Weiner: Je peux vous donner des chiffres précis. Par exemple, nous avons examiné la possibilité de développer de meilleures relations entre les collectivités et la police, en commençant par les collectivités et la police, en commençant par les collectivités minoritaires. Nous avons commencé par tenir des consultations et, très rapidement, nous avons une stratégie nationale sur les relations avec la police. Au départ, nous avons dû financer nous-mêmes le projet, mais le ministère du Solliciteur général et d'autres paliers du gouvernement y ont également injecté des fonds. L'enveloppe commence à être très importante.

Le sénateur Bosa: Voulez-vous parler des forces de sécurité?

M. Weiner: Nous parlons d'initiatives policières et du rôle important que nous jouons aux côtés de la police et de la collectivité afin de les aider à se comprendre mutuellement.

Il y a deux ans, un corps de police, celui de Vancouver, a mis en œuvre un programme d'embauche de candidats appartenant à une minorité visible et de jeunes autochtones. Ce programme a tellement bien réussi que l'an dernier 16 corps de policiers s'étaient engagés dans la même voie. J'ai annoncé que je veux doubler ce chiffre pour atteindre quelque 32 corps policiers.

En plus, nous considérons l'établissement d'un centre de ressources au Collège canadien de la police. Un comité permanent de sous-ministres nous aide à élaborer une stratégie concernant la police. Mon conseil consultatif comprend un directeur de police—le directeur Jim Harding du *Halton Regional Police Department*—qui nous fournit des conseils importants. Il a des idées très avancées sur le travail policier et la prévention. C'est ce genre de travail que nous pourrions entreprendre pour faire en sorte que le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté soit un agent catalyseur.

Le sénateur Bosa: Je suis content d'apprendre que cela se fait. Je voudrais poser encore quelques questions.

Le présidente: Avant que vous ne le faisiez, je voudrais dire qu'il nous reste quelques minutes avec le ministre. Quatre sénateurs voudraient poser encore quelques questions. Je vous demande donc d'être bref.

Le sénateur Bosa: Est-ce qu'on a récemment sondé l'opinion publique pour savoir si l'appui à l'égard de la politique de multiculturalisme reste au même niveau ou s'il accroît ou diminue?

[Text]

Mr. Weiner: To my knowledge we have not done that, but I know others have. I have read other soundings from the private sector in particular, but our department has not taken such a sounding.

Senator Bosa: Will there be a clear definition of multiculturalism at some point in the near future in order that the public can take at face value what is meant by multiculturalism?

Mr. Weiner: You are holding my definition, senator. You have just agreed that it is a good definition. I will see that that has the widest dissemination possible.

Senator Bosa: Is that the definition?

Mr. Weiner: I helped write it. I have been sending it out to thousands of people, and I will continue to do so.

Senator Bosa: Will there be a funding level where no cuts will be made so that, once the level has been established, the multicultural community will know that the level will not be decreased at will or at the whims of the government?

Mr. Weiner: I am not the Minister of Finance, as you know, senator. On an annual basis we seek as much funding as possible. In terms of the two new institutes, for example, they both will be funded by endowments and operational funding for a five-year period. They both have the opportunity to seek outside funding because they will be non-profit organizations and able to give tax receipts.

My own experience is in building partnerships. The National Literacy Secretariat is a model. Whatever envelope of money you have, you are able to leverage it by working out partnerships with provincial and municipal governments. Indeed, when all Canadians recognize the importance of what we are doing, they are prepared to contribute in a very active way. I have recognized this in my relationship with the business community and the voluntary sector. I am enthused that when the message gets out about the usefulness and benefit of having this program and having Canadians understand full participation, the funds will be there. The funds are not what is deficient. What is deficient sometimes is the goodwill and the understanding.

We know that racism is bred in ignorance. I like to help people in their understanding. It is important that there be a ministry that is able to be proactive and move in quickly to tackle any area of indifference. If you spent a day or a month with me, you would recognize that we look at every initiative on a daily basis to see how we can help all Canadians understand the usefulness and richness of our society and the dynamics of helping all of us participate fully.

The Chairman: Thank you, Senator Bosa. Again, I should like to call everyone's attention to the time.

Senator Thériault: Madam Chairman, I do have questions. However, I do not think one can reflect on the importance of this bill before us in such a short time. Therefore, I will pass.

[Traduction]

M. Weiner: À ma connaissance, ce sondage a été fait mais par d'autres que nous. J'ai lu notamment des sondages du secteur privé mais notre ministère n'a pas effectué un tel sondage.

Le sénateur Bosa: Est-ce qu'il y aura dans un proche avenir une définition précise du multiculturalisme pour que le public puisse avoir une bonne compréhension de ce que veut dire le multiculturalisme?

M. Weiner: Vous avez ma définition dans vos mains, sénateur. Vous venez juste de convenir que c'est une bonne définition. Je vais m'assurer qu'elle ait une diffusion aussi large que possible.

Le sénateur Bosa: C'est la définition que nous devons retenir?

M. Weiner: J'ai aidé à le rédiger. Je l'ai envoyé à des milliers de gens, et je vais continuer de le faire.

Le sénateur Bosa: Le ministère sera-t-il doté d'un budget qui ne sera pas réduit par la suite afin que les collectivités multiculturelles sachent que le niveau, une fois établi, ne baissera pas selon les volontés et les caprices du gouvernement?

M. Weiner: Comme vous le savez, je ne suis pas ministre des Finances. Chaque année nous demandons autant de ressources que possible. Pour ce qui est des deux nouveaux instituts, par exemple, ils recevront tous les deux une dotation et des fonds opérationnels pour cinq ans. Ils pourront solliciter des fonds à l'extérieur puisque ce sont des organismes sans but lucratif qui pourront émettre des reçus pour fins d'impôt.

J'ai de l'expérience notamment dans l'établissement de partenariats. Le Secrétariat national à l'alphabétisation constitue un modèle. Les fonds dont on dispose ont un pouvoir multiplicateur si l'on travaille en partenariat avec les gouvernements provinciaux et municipaux. D'ailleurs, quand les Canadiens se rendent compte de l'importance de cette démarche, ils sont prêts à contribuer d'une façon très active. Je me suis rendu compte de cela dans nos relations avec le monde des affaires et les organismes bénévoles. Je suis emballé, parce que je crois que quand les Canadiens comprendront l'utilité et les avantages de ce programme et de la pleine participation, les fonds se matérialiseront. Ce n'est pas l'argent qui manque. Ce qui manque parfois ce sont la bonne volonté et la compréhension.

Nous savons que l'ignorance enfante le racisme. J'aime aider les gens à comprendre. Il est important qu'il existe un ministère qui puisse être dynamique et agir rapidement pour combattre l'indifférence. Passez un jour ou un mois avec moi, et vous constaterez que nous réexaminons cette initiative quotidiennement pour voir comment nous pouvons aider tous les Canadiens à comprendre l'utilité et la richesse de notre société et la dynamique de la pleine participation pour tous.

La présidente: Merci, sénateur Bosa. Je vous rappelle à tous que l'heure tourne. Sénateur Robertson.

Le sénateur Thériault: Madame la présidente, j'ai quelques questions. Cependant, je ne crois pas que nous pouvons traiter de l'importance de ces projets de loi en si peu de temps. Alors, je passe.

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The Chairman: I should like to deal with Senator Bosa's question about the definition. This question has arisen in this committee many times because witnesses have brought it to our attention. Some of the witnesses, as you know, fear that the creation of this department will create a ghetto and not an opportunity. I know that is not your intention, but the lack of a definition about multiculturalism has raised a number of questions.

I should like to come back to that aspect, but in a different way. Treasury Board guidelines require that there be program evaluation. It is quite clear that it is the intention of this department to establish programs. You have talked about the need for state intervention, and it is clear you intend this to be an activist department. How would such programs be evaluated in the absence of a definition either in Bill C-18 or in Multiculturalism Canada, the mother bill of this bill? In what sense are the descriptions that you have written of what you would like multiculturalism to be—and I am not in disagreement with them—operational for the purposes of knowing whether or not public funds are well spent and whether program objectives have been realized?

Mr. Weiner: The question is a natural and logical one. We began with a Multiculturalism Act, which clearly set out a definition of multiculturalism.

The Chairman: Mr. Minister, I have the act in front of me. Where is the definition? In the Citizenship Act virtually every term is defined. In the Multiculturalism Act, under the section of definitions, section 2, it describes a federal institution and a minister, but it does not describe multiculturalism.

Mr. Weiner: I read this as a definition, but I can understand that you would want further elaboration to this definition. Senator Bosa, who spoke a few minutes before, must be quite pleased with the definition that I gave to multiculturalism.

Senator Bosa: But this is a speech, Mr. Weiner.

Mr. Weiner: No, it is a laid-out definition. My own sense is that we have a technical matter before us today. That matter is to design a department. This department has, as one of its elements, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, an act that was passed in 1988 under Bill C-93. It does attempt to make a definition.

There could be modifications or changes to that definition or what the policy may well be. We had an active discussion throughout on whether, within a technical department, we can go back and start defining, because we would have to define multiculturalism and citizenship.

However, Madam Chairperson, you asked a question on accountability and the Treasury Board, so I will let Mr. Fournier come in on that. Perhaps he can help us to see how that fits in with the definition.

The Chairman: Before Mr. Fournier does that, let us see if we can sort this out. You keep saying that there is a definition. In fact, when Mr. Fournier appeared before us the last time, he set off this whole line of questioning by saying that there

[Traduction]

La présidente: Je voudrais aborder la question du sénateur Bosa au sujet de la définition. Le comité a souvent discuté de cette question parce que les témoins l'ont portée à notre attention. Certains des témoins, comme vous le savez, craignent que la création de ce ministère crée un ghetto plutôt qu'une occasion. Je sais que cela n'est pas votre intention, mais l'absence de définition du multiculturalisme a soulevé plusieurs questions.

Je voudrais revenir là-dessus, mais d'une autre façon. Les critères du Conseil du Trésor exigent un programme d'évaluation. Il est évident que ce ministère a l'intention d'établir des programmes. Vous avez mentionné le besoin d'intervention de l'état et vous projetez clairement que le ministère entreprendra des activités. Comment évaluera-t-on ces programmes, étant donné que ni le projet de loi C-18 ni la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* qui a donné naissance à ce projet de loi ne renferment une définition? Jusqu'à quel point les descriptions que vous avez rédigées de votre conception du multiculturalisme—et je ne les conteste pas—sont-elles utiles pour déterminer si les fonds publics sont dépensés à bon escient et si les objectifs ont été atteints?

M. Weiner: La question est naturelle et bien logique. D'abord, il y a eu la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* qui renfermait une définition précise du multiculturalisme.

La présidente: Monsieur le Ministre, j'ai la Loi sous les yeux. Où se trouve la définition? Dans la *Loi sur la citoyenneté*, pratiquement chaque terme est défini. Dans la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme*, l'article 2 définit une institution fédérale et un ministre, mais pas le multiculturalisme.

M. Weiner: Pour moi cela constitue une définition, mais je comprends que vous souhaitiez en obtenir une plus détaillée. Le sénateur Bosa, qui a parlé il y a quelques minutes, doit être très content de la définition que j'ai donnée du multiculturalisme.

Le sénateur Bosa: Mais il s'agit d'un discours, M. Weiner.

M. Weiner: Non, c'est une définition établie. D'après moi, il s'agit aujourd'hui d'une question technique, c'est-à-dire de la conception d'un ministère. La *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme*, adoptée en 1988 en vertu du projet de loi C-93, est un des éléments de ce ministère. Elle essaie de fournir une définition.

On pourrait modifier la définition ou apporter des changements à la politique. Du début à la fin, nous avons discuté avec beaucoup d'intérêt pour savoir si, dans un ministère technique, nous pouvons faire marche arrière et commencer à donner des définitions, parce qu'il nous faudrait alors définir le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté.

Toutefois, madame la présidente, vous avez posé une question au sujet de l'obligation de rendre compte et du Conseil du Trésor et je vais donc demander à M. Fournier d'intervenir. Il pourra peut-être nous aider à comprendre comment cela s'accorde avec la définition.

La présidente: Avant que M. Fournier n'intervienne, essayons de tirer cela au clair. Vous persistez à dire qu'il y a une définition. En fait, quand M. Fournier a témoigné devant nous la dernière fois, il a amorcé cette série de questions en

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was a definition in the Multiculturalism Act of 1988. So we went back as a committee and looked for it.

As you can see, under the section of definitions, section 2, there is nothing here that defines "multiculturalism". Section 3 describes the policy of multiculturalism, which goes on at great length and gives a lot of very nice objectives, some of which may be operational and quite a few of which may not be operational. It is very ambitious and I do not object to that, but it does not constitute a definition. Yet, when we look at the Citizenship Act, we find definitions for citizen, citizenship, citizenship judge, court, everything.

I appreciate what Mr. Fournier is about to tell us is on the technical side, but this is an important political problem, not only for people who are activists in the multiculturalism community, but for others who get very worried. One of the difficulties in the debate surrounding the Meech Lake Accord was precisely the lack of clear definition that people could understand in common. I am not making a comparison here, but I am saying that politically, this is a very sensitive issue. You say that there is a definition in the multiculturalism bill. What do you mean precisely?

Mr. Weiner: Certainly, we do not have before us a discussion on Bill C-93 and whether or not the definition that we read into it is adequate. What we have before us, which was previously passed by the Parliament of Canada, is a bill in which, I feel, there is sufficient opportunity to elaborate on definition, and we have the basis for the definition of "multiculturalism". The bill gives the minister and the department the opportunity to further elaborate and clarify the process. It could well be that if we had before us Bill C-93, we would want to do something further about the definition that you have talked about. Indeed, I have gone much further in my own elaboration of the definition of what "multiculturalism" means to help Canadians understand. However, we do not have before us Bill C-93. We are talking about Bill C-18, which is technical.

The Chairman: Yes, but, with respect, when we have asked about Bill C-18, we have been referred back to Bill C-93. I understand that you have a definition, so why did you not put it in the bill? Would you accept an amendment to Bill C-18 that would include such a definition?

Mr. Weiner: No, because I am not a long-standing expert in such technicalities with regard to government departments. Does the Department of Forestry, for example, have a definition of "forest" or "forestry"? Are there other technical departments that have recently been brought forward by the Federal Government? This is a mechanism to manage a government program and a government activity. It refers, as I said, to an act which was previously passed and that you, Madam Chairperson, feel needs further elaboration.

I myself have felt that it needs further elaboration. I have been well able to provide that elaboration because the act guarantees the commitment of the government and the ability to operate under that overall commitment. You feel that what we have before us today is not sufficient ground. As I have

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disant qu'il y avait une définition dans la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme de 1988*. Notre comité a donc décidé de la chercher.

Comme vous le voyez, dans l'article des définitions, article 2, il n'y a rien qui définisse le «multiculturalisme». L'article 3 décrit la politique de multiculturalisme, qui est très détaillée et établi beaucoup de beaux objectifs dont quelques-uns peuvent être réalisables et dont un bon nombre ne le seront peut-être pas. C'est très ambitieux et je ne le conteste pas, mais cela ne constitue pas une définition. Pourtant quand nous examinons la *Loi sur la citoyenneté*, il s'y trouve une définition pour citoyen, citoyenneté, juge de la citoyenneté, cour, tout.

Je comprends ce que M. Fournier est sur le point de nous dire au sujet de l'aspect technique, mais cela constitue un enjeu politique important, tant pour les militants dans les collectivités multiculturelles que pour les autres qui s'en préoccupent beaucoup. Une des difficultés dans le débat concernant l'Accord du lac Meech était notamment le manque d'une définition précise que les gens pouvaient comprendre en commun. Je ne fais pas de comparaison ici, mais je dis que du point de vue politique, c'est une question très délicate. Vous dites que la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme* comporte une définition. Que voulez-vous dire exactement?

M. Weiner: Clairement, nous ne sommes pas en train de discuter du projet de loi C-93 et pour savoir si la définition qu'il renferme est satisfaisante ou non. Nous sommes saisis d'un projet de loi déjà adopté par le Parlement du Canada et dans lequel, à mon avis, il y a une possibilité suffisante de préciser une définition, et nous avons les éléments de base d'une définition du «multiculturalisme». Le projet de loi donne au ministre et au ministère la possibilité d'aller plus loin et de clarifier ce processus. Si nous étions saisis du projet de loi C-93, nous pourrions chercher à rendre la définition dont vous avez parlé plus claire. D'ailleurs, je suis allé beaucoup plus loin dans ma propre explication de la définition du multiculturalisme, dans le but d'aider les Canadiens à comprendre. Pourtant, nous ne discutons pas du projet de loi C-93, mais du projet de loi C-18, qui est technique.

La présidente: D'accord, mais permettez-moi de dire que lorsque nous avons posé des questions au sujet du projet de loi C-81, on nous a renvoyé au projet de loi C-93. Je crois comprendre que vous avez une définition, alors pourquoi ne pas l'inclure dans le projet de loi? Accepteriez-vous un amendement au projet de loi C-18 qui inclurait une Telle définition?

M. Weiner: Non, parce que je n'ai pas une longue expérience de ce genre de questions techniques en ce qui a trait aux ministères. Par exemple, le ministère des Forêts a-t-il une définition du terme «forêt» ou «foresterie»? Est-ce que le gouvernement fédéral a récemment établi d'autres ministères techniques? Il s'agit d'un mécanisme pour gérer un programme du gouvernement et une activité de l'État. Il fait référence, comme je l'ai dit, à une loi qui a déjà été adoptée et qui selon vous, Madame la présidente, mérite quelques précisions.

Personnellement, je partage votre avis. Il m'a été facile de fournir ces précisions parce que la loi garantit l'engagement du gouvernement et la possibilité de fonctionner dans le cadre de cet engagement. Vous êtes d'avis que le projet de loi à l'étude aujourd'hui ne suffit pas. Je le répète, c'est un processus diffé-

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said, it is a different process. I mean, have we ever actually defined the terms of a department when that department was being established?

The Chairman: Yes, right here in the Citizenship Act. You have talked about this legislation lasting for an eternity.

Mr. Weiner: It is not a department.

The Chairman: I am saying that it should have been done in Bill C-93, but failing that, perhaps it should be done in Bill C-18. Let me put it to you this way: Goodness knows, I am in favour of a strong multiculturalism policy, so we do not have any quarrel with regard to objective. However, if I were one of a newlyarrived group of citizens in Canada feeling highly vulnerable, it would scare me that Bill C-93 and Bill C-18 are so loose. I am not suggesting or imputing in any sense bad motives to your government, but goodness knows how subsequent governments may behave in this country. It seems to me to be a very dangerous loophole not to define what is meant. Perhaps the definition could be changed later. However, I am preventing Mr. Fournier from answering.

Senator David: May I come back to your question? Here is the definition: "citoyen" Citoyen canadien. "citoyenneté" Citoyenneté canadienne. That is not a real definition. That is no more precise than the absence of the definition of "multiculturalism", unless you can find something else in this law that gives a more precise definition.

The Chairman: Senator David, if you start at the top, you will see what "certificate of citizenship, naturalization, renunciation, child" and so on mean. You can see that all these terms are operational—we know what Canada is and so on. However, when we look at multiculturalism policy in section 3 of the Citizenship Act, we see some highly laudable objectives, but what will happen in a court of law? We do not know because we have not had to face that yet. However, we have heard other witnesses on this question.

Senator David: I am not trying to answer for the minister because he can defend himself better than I, but "culturalism" in itself demands a broad definition, and then you add to it the prefix "multi" which makes it even broader. In my field of health they have tried for two centuries to come up with a good definition and the definition continues to get larger and larger. Now the definition of the World Health Organization is, "bien-être physique, mental, économique et psychologique". When you try to come up with a definition, you have to cover all the possibilities, and perhaps it is better to have no definition.

Mr. Weiner: The senator has proven a point.

The Chairman: I am afraid not.

Senator Thériault: To prove a point on a political basis is a different thing.

Mr. Weiner: It is not political.

Senator Thériault: I thought that Mr. Fournier was about to give some answers to the Chairman. With all due respect,

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rent. Je veux dire, avons-nous en réalité jamais défini les modalités d'un ministère au moment de l'établir?

La présidente: Oui, jusqu'ici, dans la *Loi sur la citoyenneté*. Vous avez dit que cette loi durera une éternité.

M. Weiner: Ce n'est pas un ministère.

La présidente: J'ai dit que cela aurait dû être fait dans le projet de loi C-93, mais à défaut de cela, il faudrait peut-être y remédier dans le projet de loi C-18. Voilà ce que je veux dire: Dieu sait que j'appuie une politique ferme de multiculturalisme, donc ne nous disputons pas à propos de l'objectif. Cependant, si je faisais partie d'un groupe de citoyens récemment arrivés au Canada et si je me sentais vulnérable, j'aurais peur de voir à quel point les projets de loi C-93 et C-18 sont flous. Je n'impute aucune arrière-pensée à votre gouvernement, mais Dieu seul sait comment les gouvernements ultérieurs de ces pays risquent de se comporter. D'après moi, le manque d'une définition claire constitue une échappatoire très dangereuse. On pourrait peut-être modifier la définition plus tard. Cependant, j'empêche M. Fournier de répondre.

Le sénateur David: Puis-je revenir à votre question? Voici ma définition: "citoyen": citoyen canadien, "citoyenneté": "citoyenneté canadienne". Ce n'est pas une vraie définition. Ce n'est pas plus précis que le manque de définition du «multiculturalisme», à moins que vous ne puissiez trouver quelque chose d'autre dans cette loi qui constitue une définition plus précise.

La présidente: Sénateur David, si vous commencez au début, vous allez voir des définitions de «certificat de citoyenneté, naturalisation, répudiation, enfant», etc. Vous voyez que tous ces termes sont utiles—par exemple, nous savons ce qui constitue le Canada. Cependant, si nous examinons la politique de multiculturalisme dans l'article 3 de la *Loi sur la citoyenneté*, nous y trouvons des objectifs très louables, mais que se passera-t-il devant un tribunal? Nous ne le savons pas parce que nous n'avons pas encore été aux prises avec cette question. Cependant, nous avons entendu d'autres témoins à ce sujet.

Le sénateur David: Je n'essaie pas de prendre la place du ministre parce que je crois qu'il peut se défendre mieux que moi, mais «culturalisme» en soi exige une définition très générale et quand on ajoute le préfixe «multi», le champ s'élargit davantage. Dans mon domaine de la santé, on essaie depuis deux siècles de trouver une bonne définition et celle-ci continue de s'élargir davantage. L'actuelle définition qu'en donne l'Organisation mondiale de santé est: «bien-être physique, mental, économique et psychologique». Quand on essaie de proposer une définition, il faut envisager toutes les possibilités et il vaut peut-être mieux de ne pas avoir de définition du tout.

M. Weiner: Le sénateur a fait valoir un argument pertinent.

La présidente: Je crains que non.

Le sénateur Thériault: Avancer un argument d'ordre politique est autre chose.

M. Weiner: Ce n'est pas politique.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je croyais que M. Fournier allait donner des réponses à la présidente. En toute déférence, le

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Senator David has made a political point, but I would like to hear Mr. Fournier's answer.

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sénateur David a avancé un argument politique, mais j'aimerais entendre la réponse de M. Fournier.

Senator David: It is not a political point.

Le sénateur David: Ce n'est pas un argument politique.

The Chairman: Excuse me. Let us let the minister and Mr. Fournier respond.

La présidente: Excusez-moi. Écoutons les réponses du ministre et de M. Fournier.

Mr. Weiner: I was just saying that the senator was speaking to the rigidity of what might be the position now, and what it may have been a year or two years ago. An evolutionary process takes place. You allow it to do so, and you change from time to time the definition and mannerism that is completely consistent with everything that has been done in establishing a department. Let us hear from Mr. Fournier on the technical comments.

M. Weiner: Je disais que le sénateur parlait de la rigidité de la position actuelle et de ce qu'elle a pu être il y a un an ou deux. Il s'agit d'évolutif. On permet cette évolution et on change de temps en temps la définition et son application pour le rendre conforme avec tout ce qui a été fait dans l'établissement d'un ministère. Entendons les commentaires techniques de M. Fournier.

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Under-Secretary of State, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada: I would only add that through 1985 and 1986 when Bill C-93 was discussed with many groups and in the House, consideration was given to the matter of defining "multiculturalism". The best advice that we could come up with at that point in time was that which is contained in Bill C-93, and I refer members of the committee to the last "whereas" that is contained in the preamble of Bill C-93, as well as to sections 3(1)(a) and 3(1)(b) of Bill C-93 which are under the heading "Multiculturalism Policy of Canada". Together, as they relate to multiculturalism legislation in this country, provincial or other multicultural bills across the world, they provide the best and most up-to-date definition of "multiculturalism".

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État, Secrétariat d'État du Canada: Je voudrais simplement ajouter que durant 1985 et 1986, quand le projet de loi a été discuté avec beaucoup de groupes et à la Chambre, on a considéré la question d'une définition de «multiculturalisme». Les données les plus intéressantes à ce sujet figurent dans le projet de loi C-93 et à ce propos je renvoie les membres du Comité au dernier «ATTENDU QUE» figurant au préambule ainsi qu'aux alinéas 3(1)a) et 3(1)b) du même projet de loi, sous la rubrique «Politique multiculturelle du Canada». C'est là que vous trouverez la définition la plus juste et la plus à jour du multiculturalisme, telle qu'elle s'applique chez nous au niveau national et provincial.

Undoubtedly, as this country continues to discuss matters relating to identity, citizenship, official languages, native people and multiculturalism—and the Minister referred earlier to the Spicer process as one forum for such discussions—these definitions contained in Bill C-93 will evolve and Parliament will undoubtedly want to consider modifying, modernizing and updating the definition of "multiculturalism" that it agreed to three years ago.

Au fur et à mesure que l'on discutera des questions se rapportant à l'identité, à la citoyenneté ou aux langues officielles, au peuple autochtone et au multiculturalisme—le ministre a invoqué tantôt la Commission Spicer où il sera justement question de ces problèmes—les définitions figurant au projet de loi C-93 évolueront et le Parlement étudiera l'opportunité de retoucher à nouveau la définition du «multiculturalisme» retenue il y a trois ans.

The Chairman: Thank you. Senator Thériault?

La présidente: Merci. Sénateur Thériault?

Senator Thériault: I just have a brief comment on what bothers me. I am not questioning your intention and the expertise of the federal government in drafting legislation. As you know the art of drafting legislation is one that is forever evolving. Every one of us who has been involved over the last 20 or 30 years realizes that. Here, you are asked a question by the Chairman of this committee who has concerns, which are shared by other people, that there is a lack of definition in this bill. You are asked point blank if you would consider amendments, and the answer is arrogant at the least. You say no. That is what I find hard to accept.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je ne mets pas en doute votre intention ni la compétence du gouvernement fédéral en ce qui concerne la rédaction du projet de loi. Mais la rédaction des textes législatifs est un processus qui évolue sans cesse, ce que savent fort bien tous ceux qui ont participé à la vie politique depuis une vingtaine d'années. Or, la présidente du Comité a fait valoir, comme d'autres personnes d'ailleurs, que le projet de loi ne contient pas de définition. On vous a donc demandé si vous envisageriez des modifications au projet de loi, à quoi vous avez répondu, non, avec arrogance, qu'il n'en était pas question, ce que je trouve inadmissible.

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The Chairman: I think that is more a statement. Are you seeking a response, Senator Thériault?

Senator Thériault: No. If you had suggested amendments and if they had given reasons for not accepting them, then I would have to accept that. However, the Chairman is not the first to raise that concern; it was raised by previous witnesses. There are people who have genuine concerns. You are asked politely if you would consider amendments and you say no. I think that is a waste of time.

Senator Robertson: Madam Chairman, surely, if Senator Thériault was listening, it was not a flat no. The minister went on to refer to the areas that he felt covered the definition, as did the deputy. I cannot see that as being arrogant.

The Chairman: Perhaps when we get to the question of what we are going to do with the bill, we can resolve this issue.

Senator Bosa: I wonder if the minister could give an undertaking to look at this matter and perhaps come up with some modification in the future, in the next round of amendments, because the multiculturalism bill comes before Parliament quite frequently. We do not expect you to have included everything in one bill, but since these points of contention have arisen over the consideration of this bill, perhaps they should be taken into consideration during the next round of amendments.

Mr. Weiner: Madam Chairperson, there was nothing intended in my "no" that should have given the impression of any arrogance. The question, which I had hoped was the one I was addressing myself to, was whether I would consider having a definition placed in this particular bill, and for valid reason, the logic of which we discussed a few minutes later—the rigidity of a definition today and the fact that definitions are not normally in technical departments—I did not think it was appropriate to consider a definition with this bill, but it did not preclude my own understanding that Bill C-93 is evolutionary and that we are constantly examining and better defining what we do, as I myself have publicly been defining for the last two years what "multiculturalism" actually means and its links to citizenship and so on. Certainly, I would be very eager to bring forward those suggestions that will strengthen our commitment.

Now, I would be remiss if I did not at least want to be excused from what could be seen as the closing of a door. That was not the intent at all. I simply wanted to indicate that, with Bill C-18, we are looking at a technical process that establishes the department and that has nothing to do with the program area, which is an evolutionary one because two years ago we knew a lot less about some of the race relations areas that it was possible to work in. That is not to say that we do not have significant problems. There is enough indifference and lack of understanding from coast to coast that all of us as Canadians have to address. If any of that is going to be helpful, then certainly, we will want to move in that direction.

[Traduction]

La présidente: C'est une déclaration, mais pas une question que vous venez de faire. Voulez-vous obtenir une réponse, sénateur Thériault?

Le sénateur Thériault: Non. Si vous aviez proposé des amendements et s'ils avaient expliqué pourquoi c'était inacceptable, j'aurais compris. D'ailleurs, la présidente, n'est pas la seule à avoir soulevé cette question qui avait déjà été évoquée par d'autres témoins. Ces gens vous posent des questions poliment et vous demandent si vous pourriez éventuellement envisager des amendements, à quoi vous opposez une fin de non recevoir. Je trouve donc que nous perdons notre temps.

Le sénateur Robertson: Si le sénateur Thériault avait écouté attentivement, il n'aurait pas pu dire qu'on lui a opposé une fin de non recevoir, car le ministre ainsi que le sous-ministre ont invoqué justement la question de la définition. Je ne vois pas comment on peut les accuser d'avoir été arrogants.

La présidente: On trouvera sans doute une solution à ce problème au moment où nous déciderons du sort que nous réserverons à ce projet de loi.

Le sénateur Bosa: Le ministre pourrait-il s'engager à revoir cette question au moment où des amendements seront à l'étude, étant donné que le Parlement est saisi périodiquement de la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme*? On ne pouvait pas s'attendre à ce que tout soit inclus dans le projet de loi, mais puisque ces questions ont été soulevées, on pourra peut-être les évoquer au moment du prochain train d'amendements.

M. Weiner: Madame la présidente, je n'avais certainement pas l'intention de faire preuve d'arrogance en répondant par la négative. À la question de savoir si on pourrait inclure une définition dans le présent projet de loi, j'avais répondu par des arguments bien étayés à savoir que des définitions seraient réellement trop rigides et que, de toute façon, elles ne figurent pas normalement dans des textes législatifs émanant de ministères techniques; dès lors, il n'était pas opportun, à mon avis, d'en inclure une dans le projet de loi C-93. Ce qui n'empêche que ce projet de loi évolue sans cesse car nous cherchons continuellement à préciser nos définitions, ce que j'ai fait d'ailleurs moi-même, au cours des deux dernières années, en expliquant notamment ce que nous entendons par multiculturalisme et la façon dont cette notion se rattache à celle de citoyenneté.

Il ne faudrait donc surtout pas croire que j'oppose une fin de non recevoir à vos questions. Je vous ferai simplement remarquer que le projet de loi C-18 contient uniquement les modalités techniques pour la création du ministère; ce projet de loi n'a donc strictement rien à voir avec les différents programmes qui, eux, évoluent sans cesse, car il y a deux ans à peine, nous avions une idée bien moins claire qu'aujourd'hui de certaines difficultés qui se présentent dans le domaine des relations raciales. Je ne cherche pas à minimiser les difficultés, car d'un bout du pays à l'autre, on pourrait citer de nombreux cas d'indifférence et d'incompréhension. Donc, nous ne manquons pas de prendre en compte toute mesure susceptible d'être utile.

[Text]

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Minister. I think that is a great help and we will look forward to that. In the meantime, perhaps you could provide us with whatever operational definitions will accompany program evaluation under Treasury Board guidelines; that is, when independent evaluators examine your programs, what definition will they be using, in operational terms? I think that would be helpful.

As you know, we now have the Heritage Languages Act and the Race Relations Foundation before us, and we will be dealing with those, I hope, next Tuesday morning at this time. We have not yet discussed in committee the question of witnesses and so on, but if there is anything in the one minute remaining that you would like to add on those bills, it would be very welcome.

Mr. Weiner: I appreciate your interest, and we do want to bring those two matters forward together as quickly as possible. I have already indicated how important it is to enshrine them in law and to continue the process of heritage language preservation in the country, sharing the rich resource that many communities and individuals have from coast to coast.

In terms of the race relations initiatives, it is important that an effort develop across the country in building the information base and those partnerships that will help Canadians in their understanding. I would say we are at a very critical juncture in our history, and the sooner we put both into place, the more effective and challenging a nation we will be.

The Chairman: We will give them very careful consideration. Thank you very much. We will take a short break.

Short Recess.

The Chairman: We are very happy to have, at last, after many cancellations and false starts, witnesses from the National Congress of Italian Canadians. We have with us today Ms. Annamarie Castrilli, who is the Past President, and Mr. Celestino De Iuliis, who is the new First Vice-President. We hope that you and your colleagues understand that the previous cancellations were not due to lack of enthusiasm but due to the schedule in the Senate.

Mme Annamarie P. Castrilli, présidente sortante, Congrès national des Italo-canadiens: Je vous remercie, madame la présidente.

Nous sommes très heureux d'être ici ce matin et d'avoir cette opportunité de vous présenter notre position. The delay, I take it, was due to uncontrollable circumstances, and we take no offence.

The submission of the National Congress of Italian Canadians is already before you. It has been tabled. What we propose to do today is simply to give a summary of what has already been tabled and then perhaps answer some of your questions.

The National Congress of Italian Canadians, as you know, is the umbrella organization for some one million Canadians of Italian origin. From its beginnings, the Congress has had, as a mandate, to be the national advocacy voice of Italian Canadians on national issues, and also for Canadians in general. Within this context, the National Congress has always had a keen interest in the area of multiculturalism and has stressed

[Traduction]

La présidente: Voilà qui est une bonne nouvelle, monsieur le ministre, je vous en remercie. Pourriez-vous, entre-temps, nous donner la liste des définitions opérationnelles utilisées pour l'évaluation de vos programmes conformément aux directives du Conseil du Trésor?

Vous savez sans doute que mardi prochain, la Fondation pour les relations raciales comparait devant le comité pour discuter avec nous de la *Loi sur les langues patrimoniales*. Nous n'avons pas encore discuté des témoins que nous allons inviter, mais si vous avez quelque chose à ajouter au sujet de ce projet de loi dans le temps qui nous reste, n'hésitez pas.

M. Weiner: Nous voudrions effectivement aller de l'avant avec ces deux projets de loi le plus rapidement possible. Je vous ai déjà expliqué qu'il est essentiel d'entériner ces mesures dans un texte législatif afin de conserver la langue patrimoniale et préserver le précieux patrimoine de toutes les communautés à travers le pays.

Pour ce qui est des relations raciales, il faut commencer par approfondir nos connaissances de façon à ce que les Canadiens puissent mieux se comprendre. Elles sont un jalon critique de notre histoire, il est essentiel que ces deux textes législatifs soient mis en œuvre le plus rapidement possible.

La présidente: Je puis vous assurer que nous les examinerons très attentivement. Nous prendrons maintenant une courte pause.

(Courte pause)

La présidente: Je souhaite la bienvenue aux représentants du Congrès des Canadiens d'origine italienne et notamment à M^{me} Annamarie Castrilli, ancienne présidente et M. Celestino De Iuliis, l'actuel premier vice-président. Je suis sûre que vous comprendrez que si nous avons été obligés d'annuler les réunions précédentes, ce n'est pas par manque d'intérêt, mais en raison de conflit dans nos horaires.

Mme Annamarie P. Castrilli (Past President, Congress of Italian Canadians.): Thank you Mrs. Chairman.

We are happy to have been invited to appear before the Committee to explain our position to you. Nous comprenons fort bien que ce retard est dû à des raisons indépendantes de votre volonté et nous ne nous en offusquons guère.

Nous vous avons remis un exemplaire de notre exposé et je me propose donc de vous en donner un résumé, après quoi nous vous ferons un plaisir de répondre à vos questions.

Le Congrès national des Italo-Canadiens regroupe environ un million de Canadiens d'origine italienne. Dès le début, le Congrès s'est fixé comme objectif d'être le porte-parole des Canadiens d'origine italienne relativement aux questions d'intérêt national, ainsi que le porte-parole des Canadiens en général. Le Congrès s'est toujours intéressé très vivement au multiculturalisme dont l'importance est capitale dans la société

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consistently its central role in Canadian society. We view multiculturalism now as the key to Canada's future, the common bond that will unite us as we become more sensitive to, and understanding of, each others' differences.

Canada, I think we all know, is a country which has a rich cultural diversity that is ever-increasing. Our last census figure in 1986 showed that 38 per cent of the population did not trace their origins to either Britain or France, which was already an increase of some 5 per cent over the 1981 census. Since 1986, there have been additional increases. With the new immigration policy, we can expect additional numbers yet again.

It is therefore critical to examine how the various cultures in this country should relate to one another. The growing diversity, as we have demonstrated in our paper, has led successive governments to accommodate these differences. Normally, multiculturalism has been seen as an adjunct to immigration policy. What we have failed to recognize is that multiculturalism, far from being a way of simply accommodating new immigrants, has now become an intrinsic part of our nationhood.

Canadian citizens everywhere are proud of their different ancestry and wish to preserve it. They do not understand why their origins should cause them to be treated differently from any other group of Canadians. The richness of these cultures and the tolerance they spawn should be encouraged by our governments and institutions if Canada is to grow and become a world leader in the next century. It is with the hope that such recognition can be accorded to multiculturalism that the congress has always participated in all discussions on this important issue.

Italian Canadians in particular have a deep sense of commitment to their homeland, which is Canada. At the same time, they have striven over the last 150 years to maintain their unique culture in the face of all odds and have achieved considerable success. To talk about Italian Canadians and similar minorities as newcomers would be a misnomer. Multiculturalism is not only for newcomers.

It is this focus on heritage within our community that leads us to value and respect the heritage of others. At this critical juncture in the history of our nation, we are firmly convinced that the key to national unity lies in the understanding that comes from sharing and appreciating each other's differences. In this context, our appearance before you today is extremely important. We view the Senate of Canada as the appropriate institution not only to review Bill C-18 but to assess the current status of multiculturalism and to make recommendations as to the objectives it must achieve. It is our hope that you will give the first comprehensive look at an issue that has been handled in piecemeal fashion over the last 20 years by other arms and levels of government, and that you will make suggestions that will recognize the legitimate aspirations of more than one third of the Canadian population.

In our brief we talked about a historical overview of Canada, which I will not repeat at this point, but it is to be recognized—and I think it is—that our whole focus on multiculturalism began with the Bilingualism and Biculturalism

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canadienne. Le multiculturalisme est à notre avis la pierre angulaire de l'avenir du pays, le lien qui nous unira tous et qui nous permettra de mieux comprendre nos différences.

Nous savons tous que le Canada est doté d'une vaste diversité culturelle qui ne cesse d'ailleurs de s'étendre. D'après le dernier recensement de 1986, 38 p. 100 de la population n'est originaire ni de Grande-Bretagne ni de France, soit une augmentation de 5 p. 100 par rapport au recensement de 1981. Depuis 1986, ce chiffre a encore augmenté et cette tendance devrait se renforcer en raison de la nouvelle politique d'immigration.

Il est donc essentiel de faire le point sur les liens qui s'établiront entre ces groupes de diverses origines culturelles. Comme nous le faisons remarquer dans notre exposé, les gouvernements par le passé ont pris en compte cette diversité croissante. Le multiculturalisme a toujours été considéré comme un auxiliaire de la politique d'immigration. En revanche, tout le monde n'a pas encore compris que le multiculturalisme est devenu partie intégrante du caractère national et non pas simplement une façon d'intégrer les nouveaux immigrants.

Les citoyens canadiens sont tous fiers de la diversité de leurs origines qu'ils tiennent d'ailleurs à préserver. Ils ne voient certainement pas pourquoi ils devraient faire l'objet d'un traitement spécial rien qu'en raison de leur origine. Nos gouvernements et institutions doivent encourager ces diverses cultures ainsi que la tolérance afin que le Canada puisse devenir un des grands pays du monde au siècle prochain. C'est d'ailleurs dans cette optique que le congrès a toujours participé aux discussions consacrées à cette question de première importance.

Les Canadiens d'origine italienne sont très dévoués envers le Canada qui est leur patrie. Ce qui ne les a pas empêchés, au cours des 150 années écoulées, d'essayer de maintenir leur culture malgré les difficultés auxquelles ils ont été confrontés et ils ont réussi. Il est faux de qualifier les Canadiens d'origine italienne de nouveaux arrivants. D'ailleurs, le multiculturalisme n'est pas destiné uniquement aux nouveaux arrivants.

C'est justement parce que nous tenons à notre propre patrimoine que nous respectons et estimons le patrimoine des autres. Nous sommes convaincus qu'en cette période critique de notre histoire, l'unité nationale sera cimentée grâce à la compréhension de nos différences. C'est pourquoi notre comparaison devant vous est extrêmement importante, car nous sommes d'avis qu'il incombe au Sénat non seulement d'examiner le projet de loi C-18, mais également de faire le point sur le multiculturalisme et de formuler des recommandations quant à ses objectifs. Nous espérons donc que vous entreprendrez la première étude approfondie de la question qui, au cours des dernières 20 années, a fait l'objet d'examen ponctuel par différents niveaux de gouvernement, et que vos suggestions prendront en compte les aspirations légitimes de plus du tiers de la population du Canada.

Je ne reprendrai pas ici l'aperçu historique que vous trouverez dans notre exposé, mais je tiens à souligner que le multiculturalisme remonte de fait à la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Mais très vite la discussion sur le carac-

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Commission. What started out as a discussion of the bicultural nature of Canada, however, soon became a discussion of something else. In Book IV of its report, the B & B Commission said about the ethnic position that it should come as no surprise that Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British are almost ignored and their presence in Canada is usually overlooked. That was in 1968, which is not so long ago.

In Book IV of its report, the Royal Commission made 16 recommendations which were intended to address the isolation of this group of Canadians. It was in response to these recommendations that Prime Minister Trudeau announced a multiculturalism policy in 1971 as a means of providing, in his words, "the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians".

Biculturalism was thus rejected in favour of multiculturalism because, and I quote:

... there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the aboriginal peoples and yet a third for all others.

The Prime Minister then concluded by saying:

For although there are two official languages, there is not official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other.

While the government response to Book IV spoke of policies addressed to all Canadians, the resulting programs were exclusively directed to the other ethnic groups, meaning the non-French and non-British Canadians. Later came the realization that the two dominant groups should be sensitized to the new cultural pluralism. Programs were initiated to this effect, and the majority attitude studies released in 1976 demonstrated that cultural pluralism was not divisive.

Multiculturalism has been somewhat reinforced by the incorporation of Section 27 into the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which requires that the Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation of the multicultural heritage of all Canadians. This section is, however, not a guarantee of multiculturalism, but only a rule of interpretation pertinent to the Charter.

The introduction of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was intended as a further indication of the need to recognize the reality of cultural diversity. However, as we have documented in previous briefs, the act contains some serious shortcomings. For instance, the act is clearly directed primarily to the other ethnic groups. It fails to give any definition of multiculturalism, despite what the minister might have suggested earlier. It sets forth provisions that are largely discretionary and not mandatory in nature, and provides no enforcement mechanisms of any kinds.

Before dealing with the substance of the legislation before us, namely Bill C-18, we wish to express our concern about the haste with which both the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and Bill C-18 were rushed through the legislative process to date. These are critical laws in critical times which demand the full reflection of our best minds. It is our view that the Senate is performing a most useful service to our country by pausing to think about the proper role for multiculturalism and to care-

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rière biculturel du Canada s'est transformée et, dans le volume IV de son rapport, la Commission fait remarquer qu'on ne tient pratiquement aucun compte au Canada des Canadiens d'origine autre que française ou britannique. Ceci remonte à 1968, ce qui n'est pas si longtemps.

Dans le volume IV de son rapport, la Commission royale a fait seize recommandations visant justement cette catégorie de Canadiens. C'est à la suite de ces recommandations que M. Trudeau, premier ministre à l'époque, a lancé sa politique du multiculturalisme en 1971, politique qui selon ses propos devait assurer la liberté culturelle des Canadiens.

Le biculturalisme a donc été rejeté en faveur du multiculturalisme pour la raison suivante:

Il n'est pas question d'instaurer une politique culturelle pour les Canadiens d'origine britannique ou française, une autre pour les autochtones et une troisième pour le reste.

Le premier ministre concluait sur ces mots:

Bien que nous ayons deux langues officielles, nous n'avons pas de culture officielle et aucun groupe ethnique n'a préséance sur un autre.

Même si, en principe, la politique du gouvernement s'adressait à l'ensemble des Canadiens, les programmes mis en place visaient exclusivement des Canadiens qui ne sont de souche ni française ni britannique. Ce n'est que par la suite qu'on a compris qu'il fallait sensibiliser les deux groupes dominants à ce nouveau pluralisme culturel. Des programmes ont donc été lancés et des études publiées en 1976 montrent que le pluralisme culturel n'est pas porteur de division.

Le multiculturalisme a par ailleurs été renforcé par l'article 27 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, selon lequel la Charte doit être interprétée de façon à préserver le patrimoine culturel de tous les Canadiens. Toutefois, cet article ne garantit pas le multiculturalisme, il sert simplement de règle d'interprétation pour la Charte.

L'adoption de la *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme* devait en principe confirmer la réalité de la diversité culturelle du pays. Cependant, nous avons déjà eu l'occasion par le passé de signaler dans nos mémoires certaines lacunes de cette loi. Ainsi la loi traite essentiellement de divers groupes techniques et ne contient pas de définition de multiculturalisme en dépit de ce que le ministre a dit à ce sujet. De plus, les dispositions de la loi sont facultatives et non pas obligatoires et rien n'est prévu pour faire respecter leur application.

Avant de passer aux dispositions du projet de loi C-18, je tiens à souligner que la hâte avec laquelle la *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme* et le projet de loi C-18 ont été étudiés est à notre sens préoccupante. En effet, ce sont des textes législatifs de première importance qui, en cette période difficile, exigent qu'on y réfléchisse longuement. Nous sommes donc d'avis que le Sénat rendu un fier service au pays en examinant le rôle qu'il convient d'attribuer au multiculturalisme ainsi que

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fully consider what the effects of this proposed legislation will be. Any department of multiculturalism must be carefully mandated and organized to be a real force in the realization of the aspirations of all Canadians, and must never allow or contribute to the segregation of Canadians by ethnic origin. To be separate but equal is not to be equal at all.

Our view of Bill C-18 has found the legislation wanting, and we urge you to consider making recommendations to improve the current draft. While the notion of a separate Department of Multiculturalism may be desirable, some key amendments must be made, in our view, in order to achieve effective multiculturalism. We hope our recommendations will be viewed by the Senate in the spirit of constructive criticism, which is our intention.

The first issue we wish to address is that the bill, like the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, offers no definition of multiculturalism. It is therefore not clear whether it will apply to all cultures or only to the non-French and non-British segments of the Canadian population. Without a clear statement that the department is applicable to all Canadians, the legislation is open to the interpretation that it is only for some Canadians, not for all. Surely it cannot be the intent of the government to create two classes of Canadians. We therefore recommend that a definition of multiculturalism be added to the bill to provide that multiculturalism means a recognition of the equality of all cultures and the right of such cultures to equal treatment, equal protection under the law and equal benefit of the law. This is consistent with the language used in section 15 of the Charter, guaranteeing equality to all Canadians.

Our second recommendation deals with the role of the Department of Multiculturalism. To be effective, any department of multiculturalism must have clear responsibility for the implementation and monitoring of multiculturalism throughout government. Such a department must be charged with developing government-wide multicultural policies and ensuring that all government departments and personnel promote and adhere to such policy. It must be the central body responsible for a co-ordinated approach to multiculturalism. We therefore recommend that any department of multiculturalism be clearly identified as the principal department responsible for all government multicultural policies and initiatives.

The mandate of a department, in our view, must also include services to all Canadians.

The Chairman: Excuse me. For the sake of the translators, may I ask you to slow down.

Ms. Castrilli: Yes, Madam Chairman. I am mindful of the time.

The mandate of the department, in our view, must include services to all Canadians. Without that stipulation, any department would be seen as a vehicle for special interest groups, whose right to equality have not yet been recognized. A department should oversee cultural programs of interest to all Canadians.

In its brief presented in 1987, to which Senator Bosa alluded earlier, the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism recommended an appropriate list of functions for which a new department should be responsible. The inclusion of a wide

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les effets probables du projet de loi. Le ministère du Multiculturalisme doit être organisé de façon à pouvoir concrétiser les aspirations de l'ensemble des Canadiens et ne doit surtout pas tolérer, ni, à plus forte raison, favoriser la ségrégation des Canadiens selon leur origine. En effet, la séparation et l'égalité sont incompatibles.

À notre avis, le projet de loi C-18 laisse à désirer et nous vous engageons donc vivement à proposer des modifications. Si la constitution d'un ministère chargé du multiculturalisme est en principe une bonne chose, des amendements sont à notre avis indispensables si l'on veut obtenir un multiculturalisme efficace. Nous espérons donc que le Sénat tiendra compte de nos recommandations.

Tout d'abord, le projet de loi tout comme la *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme* ne définissent pas la notion de multiculturalisme et il n'est donc pas clair si ces dispositions s'appliqueront à toutes les cultures ou uniquement aux Canadiens qui ne sont de souche ni française ni britannique. S'il n'est pas explicité que ce nouveau ministère intéresse l'ensemble des Canadiens, on pourra toujours prétendre que la loi vise non pas l'ensemble des Canadiens, mais uniquement certains d'entre eux. Or, le gouvernement n'a certainement pas l'intention de créer deux catégories de Canadiens. Nous proposons donc d'inclure une définition du multiculturalisme dans le projet de loi, définition selon laquelle on entend par multiculturalisme l'égalité de toutes les cultures, lesquelles sont égales devant la loi. Ceci est d'ailleurs conforme au libellé de l'article 15 de la Charte garantissant l'égalité de tous les Canadiens.

Notre deuxième recommandation traite du rôle du ministère du Multiculturalisme. Pour être efficace, le ministère du Multiculturalisme doit être chargé de la mise en œuvre et de la surveillance du multiculturalisme dans l'ensemble du gouvernement. Il doit donc élaborer les politiques multiculturelles du gouvernement et veiller à ce que tous les ministères et les fonctionnaires appliquent et respectent ces politiques. C'est le ministère qui doit veiller à une approche coordonnée du multiculturalisme. Il faut donc que le ministère du Multiculturalisme soit responsable au premier chef des politiques et des initiatives du gouvernement dans le domaine du multiculturalisme.

De plus, les services du ministère du Multiculturalisme doivent viser l'ensemble des Canadiens.

La présidente: Je m'excuse, mais je vous demanderais de ralentir pour permettre aux interprètes de vous suivre.

Mme Castrilli: Oui, madame la présidente. J'essaie d'utiliser le moins de temps possible.

Donc les services du ministère doivent être destinés à l'ensemble des Canadiens, sans quoi le Ministère sera considéré comme devant servir uniquement à certains groupes spéciaux dont les droits à l'égalité n'ont pas encore été entérinés. Le Ministère devrait donc prendre en charge des programmes culturels intéressant l'ensemble des Canadiens.

Dans son exposé présenté en 1987 auquel le sénateur Bosa a fait allusion, le Comité permanent du multiculturalisme a proposé toute une liste d'attributions pour un nouveau ministère. L'inclusion de toute une gamme de programmes culturels éma-

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range of cultural programs originating in all government departments would have the additional benefit of creating economies of scale, which, in our current economic times, would be welcome. We therefore recommend that any department of multiculturalism be given specific responsibility to administer all programs of a cultural nature that affect Canadians.

In order to be able to function effectively, a department of multiculturalism should be given adequate human and financial resources to fulfil the role set out for it. It should also be given sufficient resources to allow it to be independent of any currently existing departments. Without that independence, the implementation and monitoring functions we previously discussed will have no meaning or effect. We therefore recommend that any department of multiculturalism be separately constituted from any other government department, in particular from the Department of the Secretary of State, with sufficient resources to allow it to discharge its mandate.

The Canadian Multiculturalism Act, as has been noted above and as we represented in other briefs, denotes an interest in recognizing the existence of multiculturalism but lacks an effective protection and enforcement mechanism. In order to ensure that multiculturalism is a government priority, this legislation must be strengthened. To function effectively, a department of multiculturalism must be given strong legislative tools. We therefore urge you to recommend that the Canadian Multiculturalism Act be amended to require compliance with the government's multiculturalism policies.

We also feel that there is an opportunity to make additional recommendations in aid of multiculturalism. We are persuaded by the arguments which were originally made by the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism with regard to the creation of the commissioner of multiculturalism and a Cabinet committee on Multiculturalism. A commissioner of multiculturalism, modelled on the successful office of the commissioner of bilingualism, would bring, in our view, the important elements of visibility and a greater accountability to the implementation of multicultural policies. Moreover, a commissioner would perform a useful function in keeping the public informed on the status of multiculturalism and its advances, if any, on a regular basis. We are also persuaded that a cabinet committee on multiculturalism would facilitate the central importance of multiculturalism by ensuring that the highest levels of government take responsibility for this real fact of Canadian life and for the policies directed to it. We therefore recommend that serious consideration be given to the creation of a commissioner of multiculturalism and a cabinet committee on multiculturalism.

In conclusion, multiculturalism is a reality with which we all live in Canada today, but which has yet to be translated into and safeguarded by effective legislation. Bill C-18 does little to change the status quo. On the contrary, we fear that Bill C-18, if not amended as suggested, will cause a deterioration of the current state by creating arbitrary distinctions between Canadians of French and British origin and other Canadians. We cannot support any initiative that would undermine the fundamental equality of Canadians. At the very least, such legislation must include a clear definition of multiculturalism

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nant de différents ministères permettraient par ailleurs de réaliser des économies, ce qui, en cette période d'austérité, n'est pas sans importance. Nous recommandons donc que le ministère du Multiculturalisme soit chargé de l'administration de tous les programmes à caractère culturel destinés aux Canadiens.

Pour pouvoir fonctionner convenablement, le ministère du Multiculturalisme doit disposer de ressources humaines et financières suffisantes pour assumer ses responsabilités. Ses ressources doivent en outre être suffisantes pour assurer son indépendance, faute de quoi il ne pourra pas assumer ses fonctions de contrôle dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Il faut donc que le ministère du Multiculturalisme soit parfaitement autonome et surtout totalement indépendant du Secrétariat d'État et qu'il dispose de moyens suffisants pour lui permettre de remplir son mandat.

La *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme*, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, prend acte du multiculturalisme, mais rien n'est prévu pour en faire respecter les dispositions. Il faut donc renforcer cette loi si l'on tient à ce que le multiculturalisme devienne une des priorités du gouvernement. Pour pouvoir bien fonctionner, le ministère du Multiculturalisme doit disposer de textes législatifs adéquats. Nous vous engageons donc à recommander que la *Loi canadienne sur le multiculturalisme* soit modifiée de façon à ce que les politiques multiculturelles du gouvernement deviennent obligatoires.

D'autres mesures pourraient être prises pour renforcer le multiculturalisme. Ainsi, nous sommes d'accord avec la proposition du Comité permanent sur le multiculturalisme qui avait proposé que l'on nomme un commissaire au Multiculturalisme ainsi qu'un comité du Cabinet chargé de cette question. Le commissaire au Multiculturalisme, tout comme le commissaire aux Langues officielles, renforcerait le profil du multiculturalisme et garantirait son application. En outre, le commissaire tiendrait le public au courant de la situation du multiculturalisme et éventuellement de ses progrès. De plus, un comité du Cabinet sur le Multiculturalisme renforcerait le rôle de ce dernier en le confiant aux plus hautes instances du gouvernement. Nous proposons donc que l'on envisage de nommer un commissaire au Multiculturalisme et de constituer un comité du Cabinet chargé du Multiculturalisme.

Le multiculturalisme est donc une des réalités du Canada qui n'a toutefois pas encore été entériné dans un texte législatif. Le projet de loi C-18 ne changera rien à la situation actuelle. Bien au contraire, si ce projet de loi n'est pas modifié comme nous l'avons proposé, il risque d'aggraver les choses en créant des distinctions arbitraires entre les Canadiens de souche française et britannique et le reste des Canadiens. Nous ne pouvons pas donner notre aval à une mesure qui risque de saper l'égalité de tous les Canadiens. Il faut donc que cette loi à tout le moins comporte une définition claire du multiculturalisme.

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as applicable to all Canadians, and give any department of multiculturalism responsibility over government-wide programs that affect the cultural aspirations and the equality of all Canadians, regardless of ethnic origin. To support anything less would be contrary to our view of true multiculturalism.

We thank you for this opportunity and urge you, and through you the Senate, to consider our arguments and recommendations.

The Chairman: Thank you. You have made clear recommendations, and we have a number of senators who wish to ask questions. We will begin with Senator Lavoie-Roux.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je vous remercie, madame la présidente. Je voudrais tout d'abord remercier les représentants du Congrès national des Italo-canadiens pour leur mémoire.

Je voudrais d'une part, pour qu'il n'y ait pas d'ambiguïté, vous dire que, évidemment je suis tout à fait d'accord avec les objectifs poursuivis par le Congrès national des Italo-canadiens, tel que vous les décrivez dans les trois dernières pages de votre mémoire.

"To foster the evolution of a better Canadian society by promoting mutual understanding" and so on, and we promote activities among Canadians.

Lorsque j'arrive à ce que j'appellerais davantage le corps de votre mémoire, je dois vous dire que je suis un peu surprise.

Remarquez bien que j'aurais pu être née d'origine italienne. Je suis d'origine française mais c'est une circonstance historique. De la façon dont vous présentez les choses, c'est comme si, compte tenu de l'évolution démographique de la population canadienne, que la réalité historique du Canada doit être en quelque sorte modifiée en profondeur, de telle sorte que ceux qui constituent des groupes importants, le groupe italien en étant un. On a eu ici l'occasion de parler des groupes italien et allemand aussi.

C'est comme si vous voudriez faire... non pas une abstraction parce que vous dites «non, ils sont comme nous, les multiculturels» mais que vous voudriez les voir introduits dans cette notion du multiculturalisme.

Je me demande si c'est une réalité, du moins en 1990. Est-ce qu'elle le sera en l'an 2050, personne ne le sait. Je ne serai pas là pour le vérifier non plus!

Je trouve un peu surprenant que vous dites: il ne faut pas que nous soyons traités différemment des autres groupes. Je suis totalement d'accord en ce qui touche les éléments de discrimination et tout qui sont inscrits dans la Charte des droits et des libertés de la personne. On ne peut pas être discriminé pour l'emploi; on ne peut pas être discriminé pour la couleur; on ne peut pas être discriminé pour l'éducation, etc. Je suis d'accord avec tout cela.

Par exemple, si on retourne aux pages 7 ou 13 de votre mémoire, il y a plusieurs endroits où quand vous dites qu'il faut que tous les droits soient identiques et qu'il n'y a pas véritablement de culture au Canada. A la page 7, vous dites:

"For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. Consequently, there was no endorsement of

[Traduction]

lisme, s'appliquant à l'ensemble des Canadiens; en outre, le ministère du Multiculturalisme doit être chargé de l'ensemble des programmes du gouvernement touchant aux aspirations culturelles et à l'égalité de tous les Canadiens quelle que soit leur origine, faute de il ne s'agit pas, selon nous, d'un véritable multiculturalisme.

Nous vous remercions de nous avoir écoutés et nous espérons donc que vous voudrez bien tenir compte de nos recommandations.

La présidente: Merci. Plusieurs sénateurs voudraient vous poser des questions. Nous allons commencer par le sénateur Lavoie-Roux.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Thank you Mrs. Chairman. I wish first of all to thank the representatives of the National congress of Italian Canadians for their presentation.

Before going any further, I want to make it quite clear that I fully support the objectives of the National Congress of Italian Canadians as indicated on the last three pages of your presentation.

«Promouvoir l'évolution d'une meilleure société canadienne en encourageant une compréhension mutuelle», etc. et en encourageant des activités parmi les Canadiens.

When I get to what I would call the body of your brief I must tell you that I am somewhat surprised.

Sure enough, I could have been of Italian descent. I am of French origin, but that is a historical circumstance. The way you describe the situation, it is as if—taking into account the demographic evolution of the Canadian people—the historical reality of Canada must somehow be drastically changed so as to make up important groups, the Italian groupe being one. We also had here an opportunity to speak about Italian and German groups as well.

It is as if you wanted to make... no, not an abstraction because you say "no, multicultural people are like us," but you would want them included in the notion of multiculturalism.

I wonder whether that is a fact, at least in 1990. Will it be so in the year 2050, nobody knows. Nor will I be around to find out!

I find it rather strange that you should state: we must not be treated differently from the other groups. I quite agree with respect to anything that relates to the elements of discrimination and everything written in the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. There can be no discrimination in employment, no discrimination on the basis of colour, no discrimination on the basis of education, and so on. I agree with all that.

For instance, referring back to pages 7 or 13 of your brief, there are several references where you say that all rights must be identical and that there is not really a culture in Canada. On page 7, you say:

«Car bien qu'il y a deux langues officielles, il n'y a pas de culture officielle, et aucun groupe ethnique n'a préséance sur un autre. Il n'y a donc pas eu endorsement de la proposition du

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Book IV's proposal of integration within either of the two dominant cultures”.

J'aimerais que vous m'éclairiez davantage sur l'extension que vous donnez à ce multiculturalisme qui, finalement, envelopperait tous les citoyens, qu'ils soient d'origine anglo-saxonne, d'origine française ou d'autres origines, comme tous ceux qui se sont joints à nous.

C'est une question extrêmement fondamentale. Avec plus ou moins de succès (surtout si on regarde certaines provinces du Canada) on a reconnu un système d'éducation qui était français et anglais.

Est-ce que, si on ne veut pas parler d'aucune différence, il faudrait éventuellement envisager un système d'éducation qui puisse être italien, ukrainien ou allemand. Il semble que ce sont les trois groupes les plus importants. Peut-être qu'éventuellement l'on pourrait avoir du chinois aussi ou d'autres langues. Pour le moment tenons-nous-en aux grands groupes ethniques et culturels que nous connaissons présentement.

Peut-être que je donne trop d'extension à ce que vous avez voulu dire. Par exemple, quand vous parlez «they should not be treated differently from other groups», si vous êtes traités différemment de d'autres groupes sur une base à cause d'éléments de discrimination, je suis totalement d'accord avec vous.

Si pour vous les éléments de discrimination sont de ne pas avoir exactement la même chose et là, je pense particulièrement à l'éducation et aux langues officielles, en poussant les choses au bout, est-ce que l'Italien, l'Ukrainien et l'Allemand devraient devenir des langues officielles pour qu'il y ait vraiment aucune différence?

C'est un peu ce que je ressens dans votre mémoire. J'aimerais peut-être que vous m'expliquiez un peu plus exactement ce que vous voulez dire.

Mme Castrilli: Sénateur, vous m'excuserez si ma réponse est en anglais parce que c'est beaucoup plus facile pour moi.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Très bien, si c'est plus facile pour vous.

Mme Castrilli: La question que vous m'avez posée est très sérieuse et c'est le cas présenté dans notre mémoire.

The words that you quoted are not ours. When you go to page 7 we start our analysis—

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Book IV?

Ms. Castrilli: Book IV, yes, and the government responds thereto. What you quoted to me was the official government response. When the multiculturalism policy was announced it was said very clearly, and it is cited there, that there are no official cultures, there are two official languages. That is something that we have inherited as a tradition in the last 20 years. It is not our statement. This is where a definition would be helpful, because without a definition of multiculturalism we really are unclear as to what is meant.

Based on Book IV, I understand multiculturalism to mean clearly something different from what I hear you saying to me. We make a distinction between language and culture in this country. We support two official languages. There is no quibble that there are only two official languages, not three,

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Livre IV en ce qui concerne l'intégration dans l'une ou l'autre des deux cultures dominantes”.

I should like you to enlighten me more about the extended meaning you give to multiculturalism which, in the end, would include all citizens, be they of English, French or some other extraction, like all people who joined us.

This is a very basic issue. More or less successfully—especially when considering certain provinces in Canada—we now have an education system that is French and English.

If we are not to refer to any differences, would we eventually have to entertain the possibility of having an education system in Italian, Ukrainian or German? These would seem to be the three major groups. Perhaps in due course we might have Chinese or other languages. For the time being, let us deal only with the main ethnic and cultural groups we have now.

Maybe I am reading too much into what you said. For example, when you say “they should not be treated differently from other groups”, I quite agree with you if you feel that you are treated differently from other groups on discriminatory grounds.

If for you the elements of discrimination consist in not having exactly the same thing—and here I have in mind education and the official languages—and if we come to the logical conclusion, should Italian, Ukrainian and German become official languages so there would really be no difference?

That is the vague impression I get from your submission. I wish you would tell me more clearly what you mean.

Mrs. Castrilli: Senator, I am sure you will excuse me if I answer in English, it is much easier for me.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Very well, if you find it easier.

Mrs. Castrilli: The question you asked me is very serious, and it is the case presented in our brief.

Votre citation ne provient pas de notre texte. À la page 7 de votre mémoire . . .

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Le Livre IV?

Mme Castrilli: Vous avez cité la réaction officielle du gouvernement au Livre IV. La politique sur le multiculturalisme précise qu'il

n'existe pas de culture officielle mais uniquement des langues officielles. C'est un principe qui remonte à vingt ans déjà et ce n'est pas nous qui l'avons inventé. C'est la raison pour laquelle il faudrait inclure une définition de multiculturalisme pour savoir exactement ce qu'on entend par là.

Selon le Livre IV, le multiculturalisme est fort différent de ce que vous y voyez. Au Canada, on a l'habitude de faire une distinction entre la langue et la culture. Nous sommes en faveur de deux langues officielles et il n'est pas question d'en avoir trois ou quatre ou une seule. À l'issue du rapport de la

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not four, not one, but two. Because of the government's response to the B and B Commission, language has been divorced from culture. Perhaps you will argue, and I may even agree with you, that language cannot be divorced from culture, but we have done that.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: We do not do so in Quebec, but I am sure you know that.

Ms. Castrilli: I can only deal with official federal government policies. We have in fact set up institutions which cater to that distinction. We have made culture a different department than language. Language is not part of culture. Under our department of culture we do not deal with language; language is something separate and that is a fact. It is not my distinction; it is a distinction which has been given to us. That is the first thing I would like to say.

One does not need to worry about a proliferation of official languages. I do not think Italian Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians or, in the future, Spanish Canadians and Chinese Canadians will be clamouring for their own language. Pretty much everywhere in the country, if there is a sufficient number of children, a provincial government may offer classes in that language, but that is quite different from stating that it is an official language. In Ontario, if there are 25 children in a school that has a native language other than English or French, and whose parents want them to learn that language, there will be some classes offered. That does not mean that there is instruction in Italian, Chinese or Greek in everything, it just means that there are some language courses offered. That happens pretty much throughout Ontario and some of the other provinces. In our minds, we make a very clear distinction because we have institutional support for that between language and culture. I do not think that is a threat that you need to worry about.

What do we do with the types of statements we have had in the last 20 years? Are we just to pay lip service and go around saying that all cultures are to be treated equally, and then ignore it? One sees the dilemma. If we state clearly in legislation, whether it is Bill C-93 or Bill C-18, that multiculturalism means special cultural programs or special cultural support for non-French, non-English, that is one thing, but we have not done that. We have said nothing. Naturally, that leaves the door open to the aspirations of people who rely on what they think has been the official government policy for some 20 years.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Perhaps we should be before the Spicer Commission instead of here.

Someone stated that there is no official culture. Perhaps I do not have to agree with everything that has been said in the past 20 years. However, in Canada we have institutions that are based on British institutions. Our parliamentary system, our legislative and judicial systems are based on British tradition.

In Quebec, which as you know is mostly French, the rest of Canada being mostly English, we also have similar institutions that are proper to our culture. It is not only a matter of languages. I do not think that is what you mean, but you would

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Commission B et B, on a instauré une séparation entre langue et culture. On pourra dire que c'est une séparation factice, mais le fait est que c'est la position officielle du pays.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Ce n'est pas ce qu'on fait au Québec.

Mme Castrilli: Moi je vous parle de la politique du gouvernement fédéral. Toutes nos institutions prennent en compte cette distinction. La langue ne fait pas partie de la culture. Le ministère chargée de la culture ne s'occupe pas de langue. La distinction entre les deux est un fait accompli.

La prolifération de langues officielles est un faux problème. Je ne pense pas que les Canadiens d'origine italienne, ukrainienne, espagnole ou chinoise, exigent que leur langue devienne une langue officielle. Un peu partout dans le pays, à condition qu'il y ait suffisamment d'enfants, les autorités provinciales offrent des classes où l'enseignement est dans leur langue, ce qui ne signifie nullement qu'il s'agisse d'une langue officielle. En Ontario, il suffit qu'il y ait 25 élèves dans une école dont la langue maternelle soit autre que le français ou l'anglais pour qu'on leur enseigne la langue si les parents en font la demande. La totalité des cours ne se font pas en italien, en chinois ou en grecque, simplement on enseigne ces langues et c'est ce qui se fait un peu partout en Ontario et dans la plupart des provinces. On distingue donc clairement langue et culture et je ne pense pas que cela puisse constituer une menace pour quiconque.

Depuis vingt ans, on a beau jeu d'affirmer que toutes les cultures devraient être traitées sur un pied d'égalité sans pourtant rien changer dans la vie de tous les jours. Si les projets de loi C-93 ou C-18 précisaient qu'au titre du multiculturalisme, il faut prévoir des programmes culturels spéciaux ou une aide pour des activités qui ne soient ni en français ni en anglais, on pourrait faire quelque chose, mais jusqu'à présent rien n'est explicité. Or, toutes ces personnes invoquent ce qu'elles croient la politique officielle du gouvernement depuis vingt ans.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: On devrait peut-être porter ce débat devant la Commission Spicer plutôt qu'ici.

On a dit qu'il n'existe pas de culture officielle. Je ne suis pas nécessairement d'accord avec tout ce qui s'est dit depuis vingt ans. Les institutions canadiennes sont basées sur les institutions britanniques, notamment notre régime parlementaire ainsi que les tribunaux qui se sont inspirés de la tradition britannique.

Le Québec majoritairement francophone possède des institutions qui lui sont propres. Ce n'est donc pas uniquement une question de langue. Il est impossible au Québec de prétendre qu'il n'existe aucun lien entre le droit et la culture.

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have a difficult time saying in Quebec that law and culture are two different things.

Ms. Castrilli: I am a lawyer and I am not sure that I disagree with you. Again, these are arbitrary distinctions that have been imposed on us.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: We have great difficulties in this country.

Ms. Castrilli: We do indeed.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I am sure I do not have to elaborate on what these difficulties are. There have been so many commissions set up, either to keep the people quiet or to do something about the problems we have created, one or the other, and I hope it is the second one.

Inasmuch as I have done a great deal of work in Quebec, for instance, with respect to the installation of the "pillow" courses in the schools which had programs for teaching languages of origin, and inasmuch as I am against all types of discrimination, I do not know how much more we can do without saying that we definitely have 55 cultures in Canada, or that we have 55 nations in Canada, or that we have three basic ones which are the aboriginal, the French and the English. I do not know of any other country that could go in that direction unless, as I said before, I am giving too broad an interpretation to what is in your dossier.

I would feel dishonest if I did not express my point of view, because it is a very basic question, not only to you but perhaps to the country as a whole. What do we want? Where are we going? Every effort should be made to permit every group to retain its cultural traits, but how far do we go? Perhaps we should never stop, and one day perhaps the country might be Chinese, for all I know. However, it is a very basic question.

Ms. Castrilli: You have said that every effort should be made for groups that wish to maintain their heritage. I do not think that we are that far apart. I think that is what we mean by multiculturalism and equality. The difficulty is that you and I are arguing about something that has not been defined for us.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: That is my point.

Senator Thériault: Senator Lavoie-Roux has expressed a concern which I also feel, and for better reasons, if I can say that, since I am a French-speaking Canadian living outside of Quebec. This is why I am a little worried that an act of Parliament would institute something called the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

You have said yourself that you recognize that there are two official languages but many cultures. That was something set up by Mr. Trudeau in 1968. Perhaps it was not clearly defined at that time, and it has not been clearly defined up until this time. From what I have read and heard this morning, it is surely not defined in the bill which is before us. We find ourselves still in a system whereby the government has presented legislation with, I am sure, all good intentions. I have been around long enough to know that just because a certain government is in office, after it advances legislation, the intentions are there and so that legislation cannot be changed. This bothers me because it seems to me that what has been lacking in

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Mme Castrilli: Ce sont effectivement des distinctions arbitraires qui nous ont été imposées.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Nous sommes confrontés à de grosses difficultés.

Mme Castrilli: Ce n'est pas moi qui le dit.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je suis sûr qu'il n'est pas nécessaire d'expliquer ces difficultés. Il y a eu toute une série de commissions qui ont été constituées; j'espère que ce n'est pas pour apaiser les gens mais pour essayer de trouver des solutions.

J'ai moi-même œuvré au Québec pour l'enseignement des langues maternelles; je suis d'ailleurs contre toute forme de discrimination. À l'extrême on pourrait dire que le Canada est constitué de 55 cultures et nations différentes ou bien s'en tenir aux trois cultures de base, à savoir les autochtones, les francophones et les anglophones. À ma connaissance, il n'existe aucun pays au monde qui fonctionne selon les principes que vous préconisez.

C'est une question essentielle non seulement pour vous mais pour le pays tout entier. Nous devons savoir ce que nous voulons et vers quoi nous tendons. Il faut permettre à tous les groupes de conserver leurs caractéristiques culturelles, mais y a-t-il une limite? Peut-être que non et que le Canada pourrait un jour devenir chinois. Voilà donc la question fondamentale.

Mme Castrilli: Vous avez dit qu'il faut aider tous les groupes ethniques à sauvegarder leur patrimoine. C'est ce que nous entendons par multiculturalisme et égalité et je ne pense donc pas que vos points de vue soit tellement divergents. Le problème, c'est que nous parlons de quelque chose qui ne nous a pas été défini.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: C'est ce que je voulais dire.

Le sénateur Thériault: J'éprouve d'autant plus les craintes exprimées par le sénateur Lavoie-Roux que je suis un francophone hors Québec. C'est pourquoi je m'inquiète de voir une loi du Parlement institutionnaliser un ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté.

Vous avez dit vous-même qu'il existait effectivement deux langues officielles mais de nombreuses cultures. C'est ce qu'a établi M. Trudeau en 1968. Cette notation n'avait sans doute pas été clairement définie à l'époque, elle ne l'a pas été davantage par la suite. D'après ce que j'ai pu lire et entendre ce matin, elle ne l'est pas davantage dans le projet de loi dont nous sommes saisis. Une fois de plus, le gouvernement nous présente un projet de loi en toute bonne foi, j'en suis certain. J'ai suffisamment d'expérience pour connaître les intentions du gouvernement en place lorsqu'il propose un projet de loi, et je sais qu'on ne peut le modifier. Je trouve cela très contrariant, car j'estime que dans notre pays, la population n'est pas suffi-

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our country is teaching as to what Canadian citizenship is. If we look at what has been taught in Quebec in primary schools for the last thirty years—and I get this from my grandchildren who are going through the system—they are taught that they are Quebecois. They are not taught that they are Canadian. I am not saying that this is the root of our problem, but that it is a very confusing situation. I would like to see it defined. However, I do not know whether any government has the political will to do it.

As you have said, the country is now probably one-third, one-third and one-third. Votes are not the only things that are important. There are now 300,000 Italians living in Toronto who can justifiably ask for the same rights as the 200,000 or so French-speaking Canadians living in the province of Ontario. I agree that they should have all the same rights before the law. Yet, even then that is difficult to express. There is the Official Languages Act. Canadians of Italian origin must feel that when they go to court they should have the same right to have their case heard in Italian, just as the fewer number of French-speaking Canadians have the right to have their cases heard in French.

This situation has caused a great deal of friction. It causes problems in Quebec in terms of immigration policies. More problems will be caused in the country unless there is a definition. God knows I do not want a melting pot. However, I believe that if the law were more clear, when immigrants come to Canada they could be told that this is a free country but that there are two official languages. I am not being partisan when I say that governments over the years have lacked the courage to say those things.

The Chairman: Do you have a question, Senator Thériault?

Senator Thériault: I accept everything that this group has said. If we cannot do some of the things which you suggest, do you say that we should kill the bill?

Ms. Castrilli: I would like to comment on what you have said although you did not ask a question. I thought I was very clear when I said that we accept the duality which exists in Canada. On the one side is culture while on the other is language. It may be an artificial distinction at some levels. Nevertheless, I think Italian Canadians as a whole—at least those coming from the province of Ontario, where the majority of people are neither English or French in origin—choose to have French as the language of instruction for their children. At least, those who can afford it, and who have it available to them, choose French. It would surprise you to learn that our French immersion programs, whether they are private or public, are burgeoning. My own children speak French better than they speak Italian. They may not speak it better than they speak English, but that is because of television, something which we can do nothing about. It is a growing phenomenon.

I will tell you quite frankly that when the movement started in Ontario to have certain municipalities go unilingual, our congress took a very decisive stand and went to most of the municipalities where it was a concern and lobbied them to make sure that they recognized the French reality. We lost a

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samment informée de ce que représente la citoyenneté canadienne. Si l'on considère l'enseignement primaire au Québec au cours des trente dernières années—et je le connais bien grâce à mes petits-enfants qui vont à l'école—les enfants apprennent qu'ils sont québécois, et non pas canadiens. Je ne dis pas que le problème vient de là, mais tout cela crée une situation qui laisse perplexe. J'aimerais que les choses soient bien définies mais je doute qu'un gouvernement ait la volonté politique de les définir.

Comme vous l'avez dit, le pays est actuellement divisé en trois groupes. Il n'y a pas que les votes qui compte. On trouve actuellement 300 000 Italiens qui habitent Toronto et qui peuvent légitimement revendiquer les mêmes droits que les 200 000 Canadiens français de l'Ontario, donc je reconnais que tous devraient avoir les mêmes droits devant la loi. Et pourtant, c'est une notion difficile à exprimer. La *Loi sur les langues officielles* existe. Les Canadiens d'origine italienne doivent estimer qu'ils devraient pouvoir intervenir en italien devant un tribunal au même titre que les Canadiens francophones, qui sont moins nombreux qu'eux et qui ont le droit de s'y exprimer en Français.

Cette situation provoque bien des mécontentements. Elle cause des problèmes au Québec dans le domaine de l'immigration. Et elle va en poser encore bien d'autres au Canada, à moins que l'on précise la situation. Dieu sait que je ne préconise pas la formule américaine du creuset. Cependant, j'estime que si la loi était plus précise, les immigrants sauraient, en arrivant au Canada, qu'ils arrivent dans un pays libre, où l'on parle deux langues officielles. J'affirme sans parti pris que les gouvernements n'ont jamais eu le courage d'affirmer cela.

La présidente: Avez-vous une question, sénateur Thériault?

Le sénateur Thériault: J'accepte tout ce qui a été dit ici. Si nous ne pouvons appliquer vos propositions, pensez-vous qu'il faut empêcher l'adoption du projet de loi?

Mme Castrilli: J'aimerais répondre à ce que vous avez dit, bien que vous n'ayez pas posé de question. Je pense avoir indiqué clairement que nous acceptons la dualité qui existe au Canada. Il y a d'un côté la culture, de l'autre la langue. Cette distinction peut paraître artificielle à certains niveaux. Néanmoins, je pense que dans l'ensemble, les Canadiens d'origine italienne, ou du moins ceux de la province de l'Ontario, et la majorité de la population d'origine autre qu'anglaise ou française, choisissent de faire instruire leurs enfants en français. C'est du moins le cas de ceux qui peuvent se le permettre, et qui ont la possibilité d'opter pour le français. Vous seriez étonné de constater le succès de nos programmes privés ou publics d'immersion en français. Mes propres enfants parlent le français mieux que l'italien. Peut-être ne le parlent-ils pas mieux que l'anglais, mais c'est à cause de la télévision, et personne n'y peut rien. L'enseignement du français est en pleine expansion.

Je peux vous dire très franchement que lorsque les municipalités ontariennes ont commencé à se prononcer pour l'unilinguisme, notre association a adopté un point de vue très ferme et s'est adressée à la plupart des municipalités où le problème se posait; nous avons fait pression auprès des autorités municipales pour qu'elles reconnaissent la réalité française. Nous

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few municipalities, but the vast majority in Ontario voted for bilingualism.

Something which is important to remember is that the issue for us has nothing to do with language. When all is said and done, we support the supremacy of the French and English languages. That is a fact.

Senator Thériault: You have accepted that there is a difference between culture and language.

Ms. Castrilli: Yes. I would say to you that I feel no need to go to court and have an Italian judge hear my case. That would be ridiculous. I would probably feel much more comfortable in French than I would in Italian. That is not the issue. The issue is that when a group wishes to maintain its culture, aside from language, and when we have a policy which says that there is no predominance of any ethnic group over another, then we are entitled to some assurances within the legislation that will accommodate those aspirations. This is not intended to be threatening to any group. If it is not the intent of the government, then it should simply and clearly say so. If the legislation is intended to be just for other ethnic groups, then let us know that and we will determine whether it is acceptable to us or not. We can exercise our freedom and vote at the next election. That is the way in which this matter should be handled, not with ambiguity which leaves us fighting over what it is that the government really means.

I understand multiculturalism in one way, as I am sure all of you have your own interpretation of what it means. That is not the way it ought to be. We should be talking about a very specific item on our agenda, something which we do not have.

Senator David: My question will be brief since Senator Lavoie-Roux brought up most of the concerns which I have. I endorse her comments.

I would like to return to the conclusion of your report. It states:

Bill C-18 does little to change the status quo. On the contrary we fear that Bill C-18, if not amended as suggested, will cause a deterioration of the current state by creating arbitrary distinctions between Canadians of French and British origin and other Canadians.

I have a great deal of difficulty with that point of view. What do you mean by that statement?

Ms. Castrilli: I will go back to something the minister said, if you do not mind. Essentially, he said that this bill will enshrine a particular concept in law forever. Those were his words. He said that, once done, it would be very difficult to undo. We are not concerned about the Department of Multiculturalism. We are in favour of such a department. That is not the issue. What we are not in favour of is a Department of Multiculturalism which would, in effect, create a ghetto.

Senator David: When you speak of a ghetto you are speaking of that one-third of the population whose members come from 24 or 25 different countries, is that right?

[Traduction]

avons échoué auprès de quelques municipalités, mais la grande majorité des Ontariens se sont prononcés pour le bilinguisme.

Il ne faut pas oublier que pour nous, ce n'est pas une question linguistique. Tout bien considéré, nous sommes favorables à la suprématie de l'anglais et du français. C'est un fait.

Le sénateur Thériault: Vous acceptez qu'il y ait une différence entre la culture et la langue.

Mme Castrilli: Oui. Je peux vous dire que je ne ressens pas la nécessité d'être entendu par un juge italophone si je dois aller devant un tribunal. Ce serait ridicule. Je serais sans doute plus à l'aise en français qu'en italien, mais là n'est pas la question. Le vrai problème c'est lorsqu'un groupe souhaite préserver sa culture indépendamment de la langue et lorsque la politique officielle affirme qu'il n'y a pas de prédominance d'un groupe ethnique sur un autre, nous sommes en droit d'obtenir que la législation protège nos aspirations. Il ne s'agit pas de menacer quelque groupe que ce soit. Si tel n'est pas l'intention du gouvernement, il devrait l'indiquer clairement. Si cette loi s'adresse exclusivement à d'autres groupes ethniques, il faut que nous le sachions, et nous verrons si nous pouvons ou non nous accommoder de cette situation. Nous pouvons toujours faire un choix à la prochaine élection. C'est comme cela qu'il faut procéder, au lieu de laisser planer l'ambiguïté en nous forçant à nous interroger sur les intentions réelles du gouvernement.

Je comprends le multiculturalisme à ma façon, et je suis certaine que chacun d'entre vous l'interprète également à sa façon. Les choses ne devraient pas être ainsi. Nous devrions être en train de parler d'un sujet très précis, mais ce n'est pas le cas.

Le sénateur David: La question sera brève, puisque le sénateur Lavoie-Roux a dit à peu près ce que je voulais dire, et je l'approuve.

Je voudrais revenir sur les conclusions de votre rapport, où l'on dit ceci:

Le projet de loi C-18 ne modifie guère le statu quo. Au contraire, nous craignons que s'il n'est pas amendé dans le sens que nous préconisons, il entraîne une dégradation de la situation actuelle en créant des distinctions arbitraires entre les Canadiens d'origine française ou anglaise et les autres Canadiens.

J'ai beaucoup de difficulté à concevoir ce point de vue. Que voulez-vous dire exactement?

Mme Castrilli: Je voudrais revenir sur ce qu'a dit le ministre, si vous me le permettez. Il a dit essentiellement que ce projet de loi allait consacrer définitivement dans la législation une notion particulière. Voilà ce qu'il a dit. Après coup, il serait très difficile de revenir sur cela. Nous ne nous inquiétons pas d'un ministère Multiculturalisme. Nous sommes favorables à sa création. Là n'est pas la question. Ce que nous contestons, c'est un ministère du Multiculturalisme qui aurait pour effet de créer un ghetto.

Le sénateur David: Lorsque vous parlez de ghetto, vous parlez de ce tiers de la population canadienne qui vient de 24 ou 25 pays différents, n'est-ce pas?

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Ms. Castrilli: That is possible. We are dealing with possibilities and ambiguities that the government has not spelled out because we do not have a definition. I think a great many of the perceived differences between us are not there. That would not be the case if we had a definition.

Senator David: If I understand you correctly, you say that there are three ghettos in Canada. The first is French, the second is English and the third is made up of all the others. Is that right?

Ms. Castrilli: If the intent of the legislation is to deal only with one group of Canadians, whatever group that may be, and we tend to treat them in a different way from everyone else, then that will create a ghetto. That is our conclusion.

Senator Bosa: Madam Chairman, the first two interventions by senators should have been directed to the minister rather than to Ms. Castrilli. It concerns something which was set out in the fourth volume of the bilingualism and biculturalism commission. Some of the questions raised by senators were extrapolated from that report and used by Mr. Trudeau in his introduction of the policy on multiculturalism in October of 1971. I think that Ms. Castrilli did a good job in answering those questions.

I would like to ask Ms. Castrilli about a definition which appears on page 14 of her brief. It states:

We therefore recommend that any department of multiculturalism be given specific responsibility to administer all programs of a cultural nature that affect all Canadians.

Before you answer that, I would like to mention that Mr. John Nunziata, Member of Parliament for York South—Weston, made a similar statement. He said that he wanted to combine the Department of Multiculturalism with the Department of Communications and Culture. I find that most confusing since, first, multiculturalism has a specific function in the lives of Canadians, just as communications and culture do. Can you explain to me how you arrive at that conclusion and what is behind this suggestion?

Ms. Castrilli: Again, it all stems from the fourth volume of the report and the government's response to it. For better or worse, it is what we have to begin with. I think we have tried to show through our brief that multiculturalism has traditionally been thought of as part of immigration and has been used as a semi-immigration tool. Even your suggestion to include a settlement branch—

Senator Bosa: That is not my view, but it has been presented.

Ms. Castrilli: I think it has been looked upon as a way of assisting new immigrants to integrate into Canada—not assimilate, because I do not think we have that—but to integrate into Canada. We are saying that, with the government statement of 1971 about equality of cultures, we have turned a page. Multiculturalism is no longer an adjunct of immigration. It is a policy in its own right to foster cultural retention. I am not referring to identity because the sense of identity comes

[Traduction]

Mme Castrilli: C'est possible. Nous parlons de possibilités d'ambiguïtés que le gouvernement laisse planer, faute de définition. Je pense que la plus grande partie des différences que l'on croit déceler entre nous n'existent pas. Il n'en serait pas question si la situation était bien définie.

Le sénateur David: Si je vous comprends bien, vous dites qu'il existe trois ghettos au Canada. Le premier pour les Canadiens d'origine française, le deuxième pour les Canadiens d'origine anglaise, et le troisième pour tous les autres, est-ce bien cela?

Mme Castrilli: Si ce projet de loi ne vise qu'un groupe de Canadiens qui seront traités différemment des autres, on va créer un ghetto. Voilà notre conclusion.

Le sénateur Bosa: Madame la présidente, les deux premiers sénateurs auraient dû intervenir auprès du ministre plutôt qu'auprès de M^{me} Castrilli. Leurs propos concernent un problème qui est énoncé dans le quatrième volume de la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Certaines questions posées par le sénateur ont pour origine ce rapport que M. Trudeau a utilisé lorsqu'il a présenté sa politique sur le multiculturalisme en octobre 1971. Je pense que M^{me} Castrilli a très bien répondu à ces questions.

J'aimerais interrogé M^{me} Castrilli sur la définition suivante, qui apparaît à la page 14 de son mémoire.

Nous recommandons donc que le ministère du Multiculturalisme soit spécifiquement chargé d'administrer tous les programmes de nature culturelle qui concernent tous les Canadiens.

Avant de vous laisser répondre, je voudrais signaler que M. John Nunziata, le député de York South—Weston, a fait une déclaration analogue. Il a dit qu'il souhaitait réunir le ministère du Multiculturalisme et le ministère des Communications et de la Culture. Cela me semble très déroutant, car tout d'abord, le multiculturalisme occupe une fonction spécifique dans la vie des Canadiens, au même titre que les communications et la culture. Pouvez-vous m'expliquer comment vous en êtes venue à formuler cette proposition.

Mme Castrilli: Encore une fois, cela provient du quatrième volume du rapport et de la réponse du gouvernement à ce rapport. Qu'on le veuille ou non, c'est de là qu'il faut partir. Nous avons essayé d'indiquer dans notre mémoire que le multiculturalisme a toujours été considéré comme élément de la politique d'immigration, et a plus ou moins été utilisé comme un outil d'immigration. Votre proposition concernant une direction de l'établissement—

Le sénateur Bosa: Ce n'est pas moi qui ai proposé cela.

Mme Castrilli: On a considéré que c'était une solution pour aider les nouveaux immigrants à s'intégrer à la société canadienne, et non pas à s'assimiler, car je ne pense pas que cela soit souhaitable. Nous affirmons que les déclarations gouvernementales de 1971 concernant l'égalité des cultures ont permis de tourner une page. Le multiculturalisme n'est plus une annexe de l'immigration. C'est un domaine d'intervention à part entière qui permet de favoriser la préservation des cultu-

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from living in Canada. I think you know from walking around the streets of our community that we consider ourselves Canadians. Some of us have been here for a number of generations, and to consider us newcomers would be ridiculous. So multiculturalism can no longer be just a policy to facilitate integration into Canadian life. Most of us are integrated and we function quite effectively in Canadian society. We never think of ourselves as anything less than Canadian.

Having turned that page, we come back to the problem: What do we mean by "multiculturalism"? What we mean is the desire of our cultures to maintain themselves. If the individuals of a culture do not wish to exercise any particular rights or privileges, that is up to them. So the issue relates to those who wish to maintain their heritage in a Canadian context. It is part of what makes us Canadian. The issue then becomes: How do we address that desire? For example, John Nunziata has suggested that we do away with multiculturalism altogether and have one culture in Canada. I think we all realize that that is not possible. I do not think we have one culture in Canada.

Senator Bosa: One department that deals with everything.

Ms. Castrilli: Yes, but again, the Department of Culture and Communications at the moment deals only with the two dominant cultures. I think a better philosophical statement of the importance of the various cultures to Canada could be made under the Department of Multiculturalism and not a department of culture. That is the reason for our comments.

Senator Bosa: You refer to any programs of a cultural nature. The Department of Culture and Communications, for example, has a specific responsibility under its mandate, that of fostering the classical aspects of culture, such as painting, architecture and so forth. Whereas the Department of Multiculturalism has a direct and specific reason for its existence, and that is the interfacing of relations between Canadians of different cultures. In my opinion, it is that narrow. It is the interfacing of our relations with each other, how to get along and how to feel at home in Canada, whether you are an immigrant or whether you have been here for five centuries. I do not know whether bringing in all aspects of a cultural nature would enhance or confuse the situation with regard to the policy of multiculturalism. I was hoping that you could convince me that I am wrong in my interpretation.

Ms. Castrilli: I have tried before, Senator Bosa.

Senator Bosa: Perhaps Mr. De Iuliis would care to comment?

Mr. Celestino De Iuliis, First Vice President, National Congress of Italian Canadians: Senator David said earlier when the minister was here that the mosaic at some point starts to become a puzzle to him. It seems to me that the mosaic becomes a puzzle when one dwells on a particular tile.

[Traduction]

res. Je ne veux pas parler d'appartenance, car le sens de l'appartenance apparaît chez ceux qui vivent au Canada. Si vous fréquentez notre communauté, vous savez que nous nous considérons comme des Canadiens. Certaines familles italiennes sont ici depuis des générations, et il serait ridicule de nous prendre pour des nouveaux venus. On ne peut donc plus considérer le multiculturalisme comme une politique visant à faciliter l'intégration dans la société canadienne. Pour la plupart, nous sommes parfaitement intégrés et nous contribuons très efficacement à l'épanouissement de la société canadienne. Nous nous considérons Canadiens à part entière.

Cela étant dit, revenons-en à notre problème: Que veut dire le multiculturalisme? À notre sens, il correspond à la volonté de préserver nos cultures. Si les membres d'un groupe culturel ne souhaitent pas faire valoir de droits ou de privilèges, grand bien leur fasse. La question concerne donc ceux qui souhaitent préserver leur patrimoine dans le contexte canadien. C'est ce qui fait, notamment, que nous sommes Canadiens. Il s'agit donc de savoir comment on peut concrétiser cette volonté. John Nunziata, quant à lui, souhaite que l'on renonce totalement au multiculturalisme, et qu'il n'y ait qu'une seule culture au Canada. Nous reconnaissons tous, je pense, que cela n'est pas possible. Je ne pense pas qu'il n'existe qu'une seule culture au Canada.

Le sénateur Bosa: Il y aurait un seul ministère qui s'occuperait de tout.

Mme Castrilli: Oui, mais encore une fois, le ministère de la Culture et des Communications ne s'occupe actuellement que des cultures dominantes. Sur le plan des principes, on pourrait davantage insister sur l'importance des différentes cultures pour la Canada grâce à un ministère du Multiculturalisme, plutôt que grâce au ministère de la Culture. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes exprimés ainsi.

Le sénateur Bosa: Vous parlez des programmes de nature culturelle. Par exemple, le ministère de la Culture et des Communications a pour mandat de favoriser les aspects classiques de la culture, comme la peinture, l'architecture, etc., alors que le ministère du Multiculturalisme a une raison d'être bien spécifique, à savoir assurer les relations entre les Canadiens des différents groupes culturels. À mon avis, son mandat est aussi précis que cela. Il s'agit d'assurer les relations entre les différents groupes, de favoriser leur coexistence et de faire en sorte que chacun se sente ici chez lui, qu'il soit immigrant ou que ses ancêtres soient arrivés au Canada il y a cinq siècles. En intégrant tous les éléments de nature culturelle, je ne sais si l'on éclaircit ou embrouille la situation en ce qui concerne la politique de multiculturalisme. J'espérais que vous parviendriez à me convaincre de la fausseté de mon interprétation.

Mme Castrilli: J'ai essayé, sénateur Bosa.

Le sénateur Bosa: M. De Iuliss a peut-être quelque chose à dire.

M. Celestino De Iuliis, premier vice-président du Congrès national des Italo-Canadiens: Lors de la comparution du ministre, le sénateur David a dit que pour lui la mosaïque commençait plus ou moins à devenir un casse-tête. Il me semble que c'est le cas lorsqu'on s'acharne sur une pièce en particulier.

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If you look at it globally it is no longer a puzzle, so if the artistry becomes confusing, it is the mind of the individual, not the piece of art itself. By extending all culture to multiculturalism, I feel that you enhance the position. For example, where do I go as an Italian author if I want assistance or a grant? A French Canadian or an English Canadian goes to the Department of Culture. Why do I have to be given two choices?

Ms. Castrilli: Or no choice at all.

Senator Bosa: So you think that the Canada Council should be included in one department?

Mr. De Iulius: Yes. Why not? If we are a multicultural country then our culture is multiculturalism. Otherwise, where do you put an artist who is an Italian Canadian? Do you say, "If he is really good we put him under culture, and if he is not that good we will put him under multiculturalism"? It is a very sticky point. Our culture in Canada today, it seems to me, is multicultural. We have defined ourselves as a multicultural society and we should accept that. Therefore, we should say that culture is culture and covers all things manifested in our society by our artists, writers, playwrights and so forth. Do not put us in this situation.

Where do Indians go? Are they part of the Multicultural Department or are they part of the Culture Department? This dichotomy is causing confusion.

Senator Robertson: Madam Chairman, I have to leave and would like to make a short interjection before I do so. I have been listening to the comments, both those by the witnesses and by my friends from Quebec, with a great deal of interest. I understand and share your concerns. At the bottom of page 14 of the brief—and this is a supplementary question to that which Senator Bosa was asking—it says, "administer all programs of a cultural nature that affect all Canadians." The committee should be reminded that we cannot amend bills that are not before us. Cultural responsibilities that are spread about in other departments of the government cannot be amended through sitting at this table. They are within the purview of other departments, and it is as simple as that.

This is a structural bill. As you know, structural bills are sparse in content. It is simply a structure to get the thing up and going. As the minister indicated earlier this morning, they feel that their definitions and their reference point is Bill C-93.

Apparently that is where they are taking their comfort from for definitions at this particular time. We could not amend Bill C-93.

Because we are dealing with a structural bill, I assume that as we work with it it will gradually be fleshed out. No legislation is perfect. We cannot amend the legislation establishing the Department of Communications if we wanted to. Also, the department is simply the Department of Communications. There is no department of culture. That is a misnomer. Culture exists as an attachment to a variety of other departments. So you would have to go through a number of pieces of legislation if you wanted to make changes. It would require a major

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Si on considère la situation dans son ensemble, ce n'est plus un casse-tête; par conséquent, si l'œuvre d'art vous laisse perplexe, c'est votre esprit qui est en cause, et non l'œuvre elle-même. Je pense que l'intégration de la culture au multiculturalisme constitue une amélioration. Par exemple, à qui dois-je m'adresser en tant qu'auteur italien, si je veux obtenir de l'aide ou une subvention? Un Canadien français ou anglais doit s'adresser au ministère de la Culture. Pourquoi m'impose-t-on une alternative?

Mme Castrilli: Parfois, l'alternative n'existe même pas.

Le sénateur Bosa: Vous pensez donc qu'il faudrait intégrer le Conseil des arts du Canada à un ministère.

M. De Iulius: Oui. Pourquoi pas? Puisque nous sommes dans un pays multiculturel, le multiculturalisme est notre culture. Autrement, quelle est la place d'un artiste canadien d'origine italienne? Faut-il considérer qu'il va relever de la culture s'il est vraiment bon, alors que s'il l'est moins, il relèvera du multiculturalisme? Voilà une question très délicate. Il me semble qu'aujourd'hui, la culture canadienne, c'est le multiculturalisme. Nous nous sommes décrits en tant que société multiculturelle et il faut composer avec cette réalité. Par conséquent, il faut considérer que la culture couvre tout ce que font les artistes, les écrivains, les dramaturges, etc. Ne nous placez pas dans cette situation inexplicable.

Quelle est la place des Indiens? Vont-ils relever du ministère du Multiculturalisme ou d'un ministère de la culture? Voilà une dichotomie qui prête à confusion.

Le sénateur Robertson: Madame la présidente, je vais devoir partir, mais avant, je voudrais intervenir brièvement. J'écoutais avec un grand intérêt les interventions précédentes des témoins et de mes collègues du Québec. Je comprends vos préoccupations et je les partage. Au bas de la page 14 du mémoire—pour reprendre la question posée par le sénateur Bosa—on dit ceci: «Administer tous les programmes de nature culturelle qui concernent tous les Canadiens». Je tiens à rappeler au comité que nous ne pouvons amender les projets de loi dont nous ne sommes pas saisis. Notre comité ne peut donc pas modifier les responsabilités culturelles qui sont réparties entre plusieurs ministères. Elles sont effectivement réparties, et c'est tout.

Il s'agit-là d'un projet de loi structurel. Comme vous le savez, le contenu de ce type de projet de loi n'est pas très étoffé. Il s'agit simplement de mettre en place une structure qui permette d'aller de l'avant. Comme l'a indiqué le ministre ce matin, les définitions et les éléments de référence figurent dans le projet de loi C-93. Apparemment, c'est là qu'on doit trouver les définitions à l'heure actuelle. Nous ne pouvons pas modifier le projet de loi C-93.

Comme il s'agit d'un projet de loi structurel, je suppose qu'il va prendre de la consistance à mesure que nous l'étudierons. Aucune mesure législative n'est parfaite. Même si nous voulions le faire, nous ne pourrions pas modifier la loi portant création du ministère des Communications. En outre, il s'agit simplement du ministère des Communications. Il n'y a pas de ministère de la culture. C'est une mauvaise façon de parler. La culture relève de divers autres ministères. Il faudrait donc s'en prendre à un certain nombre de mesures législatives si vous

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study of all of the departments that have cultural responsibilities—the Departments of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Communications and so on. So I think we have to be careful that we understand what we can and cannot do in studying a particular bill.

I do not know how the witnesses feel about this bill. Some of the things that you have asked us to do are beyond our responsibility because the issue is so broad. Considering that Bill C-18 was passed unanimously by the House of Commons, will you accept the bill if it is not amended or, if you can not accept it without amendment, would you rather have it die? We are at the end of a session and our options are pretty limited. We hope that Parliament will prorogue soon. So do you want to lose the bill or keep it as it is and build on it?

Ms. Castrilli: The question I have is if the bill is not amended, does it matter? If the bill is not amended it will obviously pass, so does it matter whether we endorse it or not? We will have to live under it and it will be a fact of life.

Senator Robertson: I think that if you tried to amend it you would lose it. I am asking whether you would rather have it without amendment or lose it?

Ms. Castrilli: If we are to enshrine something forever, we ought to be very careful about what it is that we enshrine.

Senator Robertson: Then when we talk about enshrining something, we should not talk about legislation.

Ms. Castrilli: Again, I am simply using the minister's words.

Senator Robertson: I quarrel with the minister's choice of words because a piece of legislation is simply a best effort at drafting something, and we are always amending legislation.

The Chairman: Let us be very clear about what the witnesses are saying. Senator Robertson is asking whether you would rather not have this bill and try again, or have this bill and live with it. Can you tell us the answer?

Ms. Castrilli: I say what we said at the beginning, and I am not trying to evade the issue. I want to be very clear about what I am saying. We have said from the beginning that multiculturalism legislation has always been rushed through. The House of Commons may have given unanimous consent, but the committee that dealt with the legislation completed its review in about a week, give or take a few days. It refused to hear from the opposition to the bill. We were among those who were refused. A number of procedural excuses were given, and I am sure that they thought they had some substantive excuses.

Senator Robertson: Were you not part of a larger group that was heard?

Ms. Castrilli: This was the first time that that has ever been advanced as an argument. We have always appeared. In fact,

[Traduction]

voulez apporter des changements. Et cela nécessiterait une étude approfondie de tous les ministères qui exercent des responsabilités culturelles, à savoir le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord, le ministère des Communications, etc. Je pense donc qu'il faut s'efforcer de bien comprendre ce qu'on peut faire et ce qu'on ne peut pas faire dans l'étude de ce projet de loi.

Je ne sais pas ce que pensent les témoins du projet de loi. Vous nous avez demandé de faire certaines choses qui transgressent le champ de nos responsabilités, car la question est très vaste. Étant donné que le projet de loi C-18 a été adopté à l'unanimité par la Chambre des communes, est-ce qu'il vous semble acceptable tel quel, ou préférez-vous qu'on fasse obstacle à son adoption? Nous sommes en fin de session, et nos possibilités d'action sont assez limitées. Nous espérons que le Parlement sera bientôt prorogé. Voulez-vous donc que le projet de loi disparaisse, ou qu'il soit adopté tel quel pour servir de point de départ?

Mme Castrilli: Pourquoi s'en faire si le projet de loi n'est pas modifié. Dans ce cas, il serait naturellement adopté; peu importe donc que nous l'approuvions ou non. Nous allons devoir nous en accommoder.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je crois que si l'on essaie de l'amender, il va falloir l'abandonner. Je vous demande si vous préférez qu'il soit adopté sans amendement ou rejeté.

Mme Castrilli: Comme il s'agit de mesures irrévocables, il faut les envisager avec une grande prudence.

Le sénateur Robertson: Il ne faudrait pas parler de mesures législatives s'il s'agit de mesures irrévocables.

Mme Castrilli: Je me contente de reprendre les propos du ministre.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je conteste la formule utilisée par le ministre, car une mesure législative est quelque chose que l'on doit toujours améliorer, et nous modifions constamment la législation.

La présidente: Comprenons bien ce que les témoins nous disent. Le sénateur Robertson voudrait savoir si vous préférez qu'on abandonne ce projet de loi, quitte à revenir à la charge, ou qu'on l'adopte et qu'on s'en accommode. Pouvez-vous me donner une réponse?

Mme Castrilli: Je vais répéter ce que j'ai déjà dit, sans essayer de me dérober. Je tiens à parler très clairement. Nous avons dit dès le départ que les mesures législatives sur le multiculturalisme ont toujours été adoptées à la vapeur. La Chambre des communes a peut-être donné son consentement unanime, mais le comité saisi de ce projet de loi en a terminé l'étude en une semaine, à quelques jours près. Il a refusé d'entendre ceux qui s'y opposaient, et dont nous faisons partie. On a avancé divers prétextes de procédure alors qu'en fait, je suis certaine que le comité s'est cru dispensé de nous entendre pour des considérations de fond.

Le sénateur Robertson: Vous n'avez pas fait partie d'un autre groupe de témoins?

Mme Castrilli: C'est la première fois qu'on nous a proposé un tel prétexte. Jusqu'à maintenant, nous avons toujours com-

[Text]

when we or a major part of a group dissent from the opinion of that group, I think one would be honour bound to listen to the opposition.

Therefore the fact that the bill may have received unanimous approval does not necessarily mean it has the unanimous approval of the population. However, it went through and there is no issue there. We came to the Senate for a very specific purpose, which was to deposit our objections to the bill, because we do not want it said later that there was no opposition.

Senator Robertson: Of course not.

Ms. Castrilli: I think the department is a good idea. We have always said it is a good idea. However, we do not think that this bill is the proper vehicle at this point in time. I think this matter needs more reflection. Perhaps it should be incumbent on the government to rethink it on the basis of what we have heard. You know just how substantive the ideas before you are.

Senator Robertson: I am sorry, I must leave.

Senator Thériault: I have to leave with Senator Robertson. I think she has given us a good lesson as a member of the government, but I do not necessarily accept what she says, because this bill can be amended.

Ms. Castrilli: We have laid out our suggestions for amendments. We hope you will take them to heart.

Senator Robertson: Obviously, it cannot be amended in one session.

The Chairman: Thank you. We understand that you have to leave.

Senator Kinsella, do you have any questions?

Senator Kinsella: I think you have made a valuable contribution. What we are discussing here is the whole process of the development of multiculturalism, and that will be ongoing. I have difficulty when we are trying to understand the process of history, but I have greater difficulty when we are trying to renegotiate history.

However, the questions that you raise, which have been underscored here, certainly go to the core of that change that is occurring in our understanding of cultural pluralism in Canadian society. I think that we have to be open to learn from what is happening in other theatres of the world. We might have set a bit of a pattern, and other theatres of the world, in the global community, have learned from us. I think we may be able to watch and learn from the example of Europe 1992.

I just have one question following somewhat from Senator Robertson's question. It is regarding machinery-of-government legislation. For example, the Department of Justice Act, with which you are probably familiar, contains no definition of "justice". There have been amendments to that act over the years. Some bodies, such as the Law Reform Commission, were established and relate to that ministry. I think the record

[Traduction]

paru devant le comité. En fait, lorsqu'une opinion dissidente se manifeste, il faut obligatoirement l'écouter, c'est une question d'honneur.

Par conséquent, le fait que ce projet de loi ait été adopté à l'unanimité aux Communes ne signifie pas nécessairement qu'il soit approuvé à l'unanimité par la population. Cependant, il a été adopté, c'est indiscutable. Nous sommes venus au Sénat dans un but bien précis, qui est de formuler nos objections, car nous n'aimerions pas qu'on dise plus tard que ce projet de loi n'a suscité aucune opposition.

Le sénateur Robertson: Bien entendu.

Mme Castrilli: Je pense que l'idée de la création du ministère est bonne. Nous l'avons toujours dit. Mais nous ne pensons pas que ce soit la bonne solution à l'heure actuelle. Il faudrait encore y réfléchir. Le gouvernement devrait éventuellement y repenser en fonction de ce qui a été dit. Vous connaissez toutes les implications et les idées qui ont été formulées.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je vous prie de m'excuser, je dois partir.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je dois partir avec le sénateur Robertson. Elle nous a donné une bonne leçon à tous les membres du gouvernement, mais je ne suis pas forcément d'accord avec elle, car ce projet de loi peut être amendé.

Mme Castrilli: Nous avons formulé des propositions d'amendement, et nous espérons que vous les prendrez en considération.

Le sénateur Robertson: Il ne peut être amendé en une session.

La présidente: Merci. Vous devez partir et nous le comprenons.

Sénateur Kinsella, avez-vous des questions à poser?

Le sénateur Kinsella: Vous avez contribué utilement à nos travaux. Nous débattons ici du processus global d'évolution constante du multiculturalisme. J'estime qu'il est toujours difficile de comprendre le processus historique, mais il l'est encore plus de renégocier l'histoire.

Pourtant, les questions sur lesquelles vous avez insisté ici se trouvent au cœur même de notre nouvelle compréhension du pluralisme culturel de la société canadienne. Nous devons être prêts à tirer la leçon de ce qui se passe dans d'autres parties du monde. Peut-être avons-nous servi d'exemple à l'échelle mondiale. Je pense que nous devrions être en mesure de nous inspirer également de l'échéance européenne de 1992.

Je voudrais poser une question pour faire suite à celle du sénateur Robertson. Elle concerne la législation sur l'appareil gouvernemental. Par exemple, la *Loi sur le ministère de la Justice*, que vous connaissez sans doute bien, ne donne aucune définition de la justice. Cette loi a subi plusieurs modifications au fil des années. Elle a créé certains organismes, comme la Commission de réforme du droit, qui relèvent de ce ministère. À l'étude des documents officiels, vous constaterez certaine-

[Text]

will show that amendments to machinery-of-government legislation happen all the time.

Mindful of that, and with that kind of orientation and approach, do you think that your congress, having underscored your reservations on Bill C-18 as written, and knowing that you will obviously be monitoring this situation, could be more creative in its support? There is one section of the bill that requires the minister to report each year on the work of the department, not only to the House of Commons but also to the Senate. I think that the fact that you have come to the Senate will prompt us to examine closely the reports of that ministry. Seeing that development, do you think that you could be more positive in your support, so that we do not lose the whole thing with prorogation? Things can be amended and added, including the definition of "multiculturalism". We cannot put that under the rug. I would argue that it may be more appropriate to amend the Multiculturalism Act anyway. I am interested in tomorrow. Could you comment?

Ms. Castrilli: A lot of responses come to mind. I am not sure if one of the things that you were saying is that, since we do not have a definition of "justice", then we do not need a definition of "multiculturalism". I would disagree with that. I think it is the wrong example, and the reason it is wrong is that justice is, first of all, a philosophical concept, a universal concept, a religious concept and it is translated into a variety of laws which all become justice.

Multiculturalism, we have heard around the table, is creating some difficulties for people. We need a clear definition. I cannot imagine the Bank Act without a definition of "banks". I cannot imagine the Insurance Act without a definition of "insurance agent". You are asking us to accept a Multiculturalism Act, where clearly people have different views, without a definition of "multiculturalism". What are we actually accepting? It is unclear.

I think I know what I would like to agree to, and I suspect that everyone here has that notion. I sense a lot of good will. I think people do really see multiculturalism as a positive, not a negative, thing by and large, except for a very few on the radical fringes. We see multiculturalism as extremely fundamental to the healing process of this country, and I cannot stress that enough. There is a minimum that I can accept as a Canadian. The fact that you have the right to espouse and promote your particular heritage should mean that we will be sensitized immediately to one another and bonded. Respect and tolerance are important, and we will need them in the next while.

We would like to see as good an act as we can get. That is the bottom line for us. I do not know how you can have effective legislation of this sort without defining the subject matter. That is a bare minimum for us. We came to the Senate with great hopes because we felt that the Senate might have time to dedicate to this issue, and even if the suggestions that you might make, and the reflections that you might suggest, would

[Traduction]

ment que la législation concernant l'appareil gouvernemental est constamment modifiée.

Dans ce contexte, compte tenu des réserves que vous inspire le projet de loi C-18 dans sa version actuelle, et sachant que vous allez surveiller la question de très près, votre Congrès ne pourrait-il pas accorder à cette mesure un appui plus massif? On y trouve un article qui oblige les ministres à rendre compte chaque année du travail du ministère, non seulement devant la Chambre des communes mais également devant le Sénat. Comme vous vous êtes adressés à nous, il est de notre devoir d'examiner très attentivement les rapports du ministère. Dans ce contexte, ne pourriez-vous pas vous montrer plus favorable à cette mesure, de façon qu'elle ne disparaisse pas totalement à la prorogation? Vous pourriez y apporter des changements et y ajouter certains éléments, notamment une définition du multiculturalisme. Nous ne pouvons pas ignorer votre proposition à cet égard. À mon avis, il serait sans doute préférable de modifier la loi sur le multiculturalisme. Je m'intéresse à ce qui se passera demain. Qu'en pensez-vous?

Mme Castrilli: Plusieurs choses me viennent à l'esprit. J'ai cru comprendre qu'à votre avis, comme il n'y pas de définition de la notion de «justice» dans la loi, nous n'avons pas besoin de définition du multiculturalisme. Je ne suis pas d'accord. C'est un mauvais exemple, car la notion de justice est tout d'abord d'ordre philosophique; c'est une notion universelle à caractère religieux, et elle donne lieu à l'adoption d'une ensemble de lois qui la concrétisent.

D'après ce que nous avons entendu ici, le multiculturalisme est plus difficile à concevoir. Il faudrait le définir de façon précise. Je ne peux concevoir une loi sur les banques qui ne donnerait pas de définition du mot «banque». Je ne peux concevoir une loi sur les assurances qui ne donnerait pas de définition de l'«agent d'assurance». Vous nous demandez d'approuver une loi sur le multiculturalisme qui ne définit pas la notion de multiculturalisme, alors que celle-ci est interprétée différemment par chacun. Qu'avons-nous exactement à approuver? Tout cela manque de précision.

Je sais ce que je suis prête à accepter, et je suppose que tout le monde partage mon avis. Cette mesure me semble empreinte de bonne volonté. Je pense que les Canadiens considèrent généralement le multiculturalisme comme un élément positif, exception faite de quelques extrémistes. Nous considérons le multiculturalisme comme un élément essentiel du processus de guérison de ce pays, et je n'insisterai jamais assez là-dessus. En tant que Canadienne, il y a un amendement auquel je ne peux renoncer. Le droit de se prévaloir de son patrimoine culturel et d'en faire la promotion devrait entraîner une sensibilisation réciproque des groupes culturels et un rapprochement entre eux. Le respect et la tolérance sont des éléments importants, et nous en aurons besoin au cours des années à venir.

Je voudrais que la loi soit la meilleure possible. Nous vous avons fait part de nos exigences fondamentales. Je ne vois pas comment on peut mettre en œuvre une loi efficace sans que son sujet ne soit défini. Cela me semble fondamental. Nous sommes venus plein d'espoir au Sénat, car nous pensions que les sénateurs auraient du temps à consacrer à cette question, et que même si nos propositions n'étaient pas retenues en dernier

[Text]

not ultimately be accepted, nevertheless they would remain there as a point of reference for future development.

I think it must be stressed that this is not a good bill. In principle it is, but in practice the provisions are lacking, and they have to be strengthened if you are to accommodate a very significant proportion of the population.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. We hope that you will return as witnesses on other bills which we have before us. As members of the committee know, we have the bills on the Canadian Race Relations Foundation and Heritage Languages. I understand that the Canadian Ethnocultural Council has asked to appear on those bills and we know that the Aboriginal people are quite exercised about the Heritage Languages Bill. If at all possible, we would like to move on those bills quickly. I wanted the witnesses to hear that because they may have views about who should appear on those bills as well.

Senator Bosa: Before we adjourn, I should just like to tell the witnesses that, if the bill is not amended, at least the committee can make recommendations along the lines of some of the suggestions that you have made.

Ms. Castrilli: That is our hope.

The Chairman: Thank you. Before the meeting adjourns, Senator Marshall has asked us to refer the Veterans Health Care Regulations Information Kit to his subcommittee. If there is no objection, could I have a motion to refer that matter to the subcommittee?

Senator David: I so move.

The Chairman: Is it agreed, honourable senators?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

The Chairman: Carried. Thank you very much. The meeting is adjourned until next Tuesday at 9 a.m.

The committee adjourned.

[Traduction]

ressort, elles serviraient néanmoins de point de référence dans les travaux futurs.

J'insiste sur le fait que ce projet de loi n'est pas bon. Il l'est en principe, mais en pratique, ses dispositions sont défectueuses et il faudrait les renforcer pour qu'une bonne partie de la population canadienne puisse s'en accommoder.

La présidente: Merci beaucoup. Nous espérons que vous viendrez témoigner sur d'autres projets de loi dont nous allons être saisis. Comme le savent les membres du comité, le Sénat doit étudier les projets de loi sur la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales et sur l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. Je crois que le Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada a demandé à comparaître à ce sujet, et nous savons que les peuples autochtones s'intéressent de très près au projet de loi sur les langues patrimoniales. Si c'est possible, nous aimerions mener rapidement l'étude de ces mesures. Je voulais le signaler aux témoins, car ils pourraient peut-être nous proposer des personnes à inviter comme témoins lors de l'étude de ces projets de loi.

Le sénateur Bosa: Avant de lever la séance, je voudrais également dire aux témoins que si ce projet de loi n'est pas amendé, le comité peut néanmoins faire des recommandations conformes à leurs propositions.

Mme Castrilli: C'est ce que nous espérons.

La présidente: Merci. Avant de lever la séance, le sénateur Marshall nous a demandé de transmettre à son comité la trousse d'information sur la réglementation concernant les soins de santé destinés aux anciens combattants. Si personne ne s'y oppose, quelqu'un pourrait-il proposer qu'on la transmette au sous-comité?

Le sénateur David: Je propose une motion en ce sens.

La présidente: Êtes-vous d'accord, honorables sénateurs?

Des voix: D'accord.

La présidente: La motion est adoptée. Je vous remercie. Le comité ajourne ses travaux jusqu'à mardi prochain, 9 heures.

La séance est levée.



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WITNESSES—TÉMOINS

From the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada:

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Under Secretary of State;
Mr. Richard Clippingdale, Assistant Under Secretary of
State, Corporate Policy and Public Affairs;
Mrs. Shirley Serafini, Assistant Under Secretary of State,
Multiculturalism;
Mrs. Mary Gussola, Associate Under Secretary of State;
Mr. Louis Reynolds, Lawyer, General Counsel.

From the National Congress of Italian Canadians:

Mrs. Annamarie P. Castrilli, Past President;
Mr. Celestino De Iuliis, Vice-President.

Du Secrétariat d'État du Canada:

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État;
M. Richard Clippingdale, sous-secrétaire d'État adjoint,
Politiques ministérielles et Affaires publiques;
Mme Shirley Serafini, sous-secrétaire d'État adjointe, (Mul-
ticulturalisme);
Mme Mary Gussola, sous-secrétaire d'État associée;
M. Louis Reynolds, avocat général.

Du Congrès national des Italo-canadiens:

Mme Annamarie P. Castrilli, présidente sortante;
M. Celestino De Iuliis, vice-président.

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Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Tuesday, January 15, 1991

Le mardi 15 janvier 1991

Issue No. 29

Fascicule n° 29

First Proceedings on:

Bill C-37, An to establish the
Canadian Heritage Languages Institute

Premier fascicule concernant:

Le Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant
l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales

First Proceedings on:

Bill C-63, An Act to establish the
Canadian Race Relations Foundation

Premier fascicule concernant:

Le Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant
la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales

Fourth and last proceedings on:

Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department of
Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to
amend certain Acts in relation thereto

Quatrième et dernier fascicule concernant:

Le Projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du
Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et
modifiant certaines lois en conséquence

INCLUDING:

NINETEENTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

Y COMPRIS:

LE DIX-NEUVIÈME RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

TÉMOINS:

(Voir à l'endos)

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(or Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(or Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

(Quorum 4)

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT DES
AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES ET DE
LA TECHNOLOGIE

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(ou Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(ou Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

(Quorum 4)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate*, of June 7, 1990:

"Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Spivak, seconded by the Honourable Senator Bielish, for the second reading of the Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain Acts in relation thereto.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Cochrane, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate*, of Friday, December 21, 1990.

"Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Robertson, seconded by the Honourable Senator MacDonald (*Halifax*), for the second reading of the Bill C-37, An Act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Simard, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate*, of Thursday, December 20, 1990:

"Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Kinsella, seconded by the Honourable Senator Castonguay, for the second reading of the Bill C-63, An Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Kelly, that the Bill be referred to

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 7 juin 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Spivak, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Bielish, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et modifiant certaines autres lois en conséquence.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Cochrane, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du vendredi 21 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Robertson, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur MacDonald (*Halifax*), tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Simard, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du jeudi 20 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Kinsella, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Castonguay, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Kelly, que le projet de loi soit déféré

the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs,
Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des
sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon Barnhart

Clerk of the Senate

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MARDI 15 JANVIER 1991
(53)

[Texte]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à 9 h 15, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (présidente).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs David, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Marshall et Robertson (5).

Autre sénateur présent: L'honorable sénateur Kinsella.

Également présente: M^{me} Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Témoins:

Du Secrétariat d'État du Canada:

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État;
M^{me} Mary Gusella, sous-secrétaire d'État associée;
M^{me} Shirley Serafini, sous-secrétaire d'État adjointe (Multiculturalisme);
M^{me} Louise Maguire-Wellington, avocat général;
M. Louis Reynolds, avocat général, Services juridiques;
M^{me} Anne Scotton, directeur exécutif, Secrétariat au Multiculturalisme;
M^{me} Judy Young, directrice, Cultures et langues ancestrales.

La Présidente fait lecture au Comité de deux lettres de M. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État, en réponse à des questions qui lui avaient été soumises lors d'une réunion antérieure, à propos des projets de loi C-18 et C-37.

Le Comité entreprend l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 20 décembre 1990 et 21 décembre 1990, concernant respectivement a) Le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales; et b) le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

M. Jean T. Fournier fait une déclaration et lui et ses collègues répondent aux questions.

Le Comité se réunit à huis clos.

L'honorable sénateur David propose l'adoption d'un budget supplémentaire pour le sous-comité des Affaires des anciens combattants.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 7 juin 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose que le projet de loi C-18 soit adopté sans amendement et qu'il soit rapporté au Sénat avec commentaires.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1991
(53)

[Translation]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met this day at 9:15 o'clock a.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators David, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Marshall and Robertson (5).

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Kinsella.

Also present: Mrs. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

Witnesses:

From the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada:

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Under Secretary of State;
Mrs. Mary Gusella, Associate Under Secretary of State;
Mrs. Shirley Serafini, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Multiculturalism;
Mrs. Louise Maguire-Wellington, General Counsel;
Mr. Louis Reynolds, General Counsel, Legal Services;
Mrs. Anne Scotton, Executive Director, Multiculturalism Secretariat;
Mrs. Judy Young, Director, Heritage Cultures and Languages.

The Chair read to the Committee two letters from Mr. Fournier, Under Secretary of State, in reply to questions asked of him at an earlier meeting respecting Bills C-18 and C-37.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated December 20, 1990 and December 21, 1990 respecting Bill C-63, An Act to Establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, and Bill C-37, An Act to Establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

The Committee heard from Mr. Jean T. Fournier who, along with his assistants, answered questions.

The Committee met *in camera*.

The Honourable Senator David moved the adoption of Supplementary Estimates for the Sub-Committee on Veterans Affairs.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated June 7, 1990 respecting Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain acts in relation thereto.

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved that the bill be adopted without amendment and that it be reported to the Senate with comments.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

À 11 h 10, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

At 11:10 o'clock a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTESTÉ:

ATTEST:

Le greffier du Comité

Serge Pelletier

Clerk of the Committee

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

WEDNESDAY, January 16, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

NINETEENTH REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred Bill C-18, An Act to establish the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship and to amend certain Acts in relation thereto, in obedience to the Order of Reference of June 7, 1990, examined the said Bill, received testimony from witnesses and now reports the same without amendment but with the following commentary.

Based on an investigation of Bill C-18, your Committee is of the view that there are two major unresolved issues in the proposed legislation: definition of the term multiculturalism and inadequate enforcement mechanisms.

Issues:

1. Definition of Multiculturalism

Bill C-18 (clause 5) speaks to the concept of our multicultural heritage without explaining the term multiculturalism. The Minister and officials from the Secretary of State of Canada referred members to *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Bill C-93)* for a definition of multiculturalism. *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act* implies a meaning in, for example section 3, where it is described as a reflection of Canadian society's cultural and racial diversity and as a fundamental characteristic of our heritage and identity. There is, however, no definition of the term multiculturalism in section 3 nor in the *Act's* preamble.

Witnesses stated that a working definition of the concept of multiculturalism is necessary to ensure that the new department is not seen as a ghetto. As the legislation now reads it is not clear whether it will apply to all cultures or to the non-aboriginal, non-French and non-British segments of the Canadian population. This lacuna suggests that the legislation is open to the interpretation that it is for some, and not for Canadians of all ethnic origins.

RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

Le MERCREDI 16 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de présenter son

DIX-NEUVIÈME RAPPORT

Le Comité auquel a été référé le projet de loi C-18, Loi constituant le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté et modifiant certaines lois en conséquence, a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du 7 juin 1990, examiné ledit projet de loi et entendu des témoignages. Il en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement. Toutefois, il tient à formuler les commentaires suivants.

Après avoir étudié le projet de loi C-18, le Comité est d'avis que deux problèmes subsistent relativement à la définition du terme multiculturalisme et à l'adéquation des mécanismes pour faire appliquer la loi.

Les problèmes :

1. Définition du multiculturalisme

À l'article 5 du projet de loi C-18, il est question de la notion de patrimoine multiculturel, mais le terme multiculturalisme n'est pas explicité. Le ministre et les fonctionnaires du Secrétariat d'État du Canada ont renvoyé les membres du Comité à la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien (projet de loi C-93)* pour une définition du multiculturalisme. À l'article 3 de cette loi, par exemple, on définit le multiculturalisme comme le reflet de la diversité culturelle et raciale de la société canadienne et comme une caractéristique de notre identité et de notre patrimoine. Toutefois, ni l'article 3, ni le préambule de cette *Loi* n'énonce une définition du mot multiculturalisme.

Des témoins ont fait valoir qu'une définition du concept de multiculturalisme est nécessaire afin d'assurer que le nouveau ministère ne soit perçu comme un ghetto. Dans sa version actuelle, le projet de loi ne précise pas s'il s'appliquera à toutes les cultures ou seulement aux groupes de la population canadienne que ne sont d'origine ni autochtone, ni française, ni britannique. Cette lacune laisse croire que le projet de loi pourrait être interprété comme s'adressant à quelques Canadiens seulement, et non pas à tous les Canadiens quelle que soit leur origine ethnique.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

- Your Committee is of the view that the failure to define multiculturalism in the legislation must be addressed and recommends amendment to *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act*.

In addition, some Committee members noted that a clear definition of multiculturalism will be required for the mandatory program evaluation. In accordance with the Treasury Board Policy Circular 1977-47, "Evaluation of Programs by Departments and Agencies" all departments and agencies, "... will periodically review their programs to evaluate their effectiveness in meeting their objectives..." The Multiculturalism and Citizenship Department is scheduled for a three-year program evaluation plan (1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93). The evaluation will be best accomplished with an operational definition of multiculturalism. Jean Fournier, Under Secretary of State, in a letter dated January 11, 1991 to Senator Lorna Marsden, Chair, stated the following:

- Once work on these evaluation frameworks is completed, we would be pleased to meet with the Committee and would welcome its comments and suggestions.

The Committee is pleased with this assurance and intends to report to the Senate when the matter has been dealt with.

2. Adequate Enforcement Mechanisms

Some witnesses were concerned about the absence of sufficient enforcement measures in the proposed legislation and so, recommended the establishment of an Office of the Commissioner of Multiculturalism to monitor, investigate and report to Parliament on the execution of policies.

Other witnesses commented on the failure to include a provision to confirm that the federal public service behave in accordance with the policy of multiculturalism. Officials of the Secretary of State of Canada referred to Bill C-18 as a mechanism of state intervention to help implement multiculturalism throughout all levels of the federal government. While the commitment to the development of government-wide multicultural policies and ensuring that all departments and personnel adhere is statutorily described in *The Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in section 3(2), Bill C-18 does not refer to this section or offer any other comfort.

RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

- Le Comité estime que le fait de ne pas avoir défini le terme multiculturalisme dans le projet de loi constitue une lacune qui doit être corrigée et recommande de modifier la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien* en ce sens.

De plus, les membres du Comité estiment qu'il faudra définir clairement le multiculturalisme pour l'évaluation obligatoire des programmes. Conformément à la Circulaire du Conseil du trésor 1977-47 sur l'évaluation des programmes par les ministères et organismes, tous les ministères et les organismes doivent examiner périodiquement leurs programmes pour déterminer s'ils permettent efficacement d'atteindre les objectifs fixés. Le ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté doit faire l'objet d'une évaluation de programmes triennale (pour 1990-1991, 1991-1992 et 1992-1993). L'évaluation donnera de meilleurs résultats si l'on a une définition opérationnelle du multiculturalisme. M. Jean Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État, dans la lettre datée du 11 janvier 1991 qu'il adressait au sénateur Lorna Marsden, présidente du Comité, précisait ce qui suit :

- Lorsque l'élaboration de ces cadres d'évaluation sera terminée, nous serions heureux que votre Comité nous convoque de nouveau et nous fasse part de ses observations et suggestions.

Le Comité est satisfait de ces assurances et fera rapport au Sénat en temps voulu.

2. Mécanismes appropriés pour l'application de la loi

Des témoins se sont montrés préoccupés de l'absence de mesures de mise en oeuvre appropriées dans le projet de loi et ont recommandé la création d'un Bureau du Commissaire du multiculturalisme qui serait chargé de surveiller l'application des politiques, d'enquêter à leur sujet et d'en faire rapport au Parlement.

D'autres témoins ont fait état de l'absence dans le projet de loi d'une disposition assurant que la fonction publique fédérale se conformera à la politique du multiculturalisme. Les fonctionnaires du Secrétariat d'État du Canada ont comparé le projet de loi C-18 à un mécanisme d'intervention de l'État destiné à assurer le respect de la politique du multiculturalisme à tous les niveaux du gouvernement fédéral. Bien que le paragraphe 3(2) de la *Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien* oblige le gouvernement canadien à développer des politiques multiculturelles de

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

- Your Committee requests that the annual report on the operations of the new Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship prepared at the end of each fiscal year, in accordance with clause 6 of Bill C-18, be referred to this Committee and, as well, the annual estimates of the Department and all related matters. The Committee expresses a special interest in this important and developing area because Bill C-18 creates a new department whose formative years are crucial to its success. Also, witnesses voiced anxieties about the proposed Department's capacity to fulfil its objectives, and in particular its cross-government commitment to the policy of multiculturalism. By referring the annual report and the estimates to the Committee, the Department's activities can be monitored in order to determine if programs are being implemented.

Respectfully submitted,

Le président

LORNA MARSDEN
Chairman

RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

portée générale et à s'assurer que tous les ministères et leur personnel y concourent, le projet de loi C-18 ne fait pas référence à cet article de la loi et n'apporte aucune autre garantie.

- Le Comité demande que le rapport annuel sur les activités du nouveau ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté rédigé à la fin de chaque exercice, conformément à l'article 6 du projet de loi C-18, lui soit référé, ainsi que le budget des dépenses annuel du ministère et toutes les questions connexes. Le Comité s'intéresse particulièrement à ce domaine important et en pleine évolution, parce que le projet de loi C-18 crée un nouveau ministère dont les années de formation seront déterminantes pour son succès. Des témoins se demandent si le ministère proposé sera en mesure d'atteindre ses objectifs et, en particulier, s'il pourra faire respecter la politique du multiculturalisme à travers l'ensemble de l'appareil gouvernemental. Si le rapport annuel et le budget de dépenses du ministère sont référés au Comité, ce dernier sera en mesure de surveiller les activités du ministère et de s'assurer que les programmes sont mis en oeuvre.

Respectueusement soumis,

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, January 15, 1991

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, to which was referred Bill C-37, to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute; and Bill C-63, to establish the Canadian Race Relations foundation, met this day at 9 a.m. to give consideration to the bills; and to give consideration to the supplementary budget for the Sub-committee on Veterans Affairs.

Senator Lorna Marsden (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Before we begin, perhaps I could read two letters that I received from Mr. Fournier this week. I will have them distributed to you. You will recall last week when we were dealing with Bill C-18, we asked about program evaluation and the operational definition of "multiculturalism". Mr. Fournier's letter reads:

Further to our telephone conversation of January 8, and following the discussion on the definition of Multiculturalism at your committee earlier that day with the Honourable Gerry Weiner on Bill C-18, I am writing to provide clarification on the question of evaluation criteria for multiculturalism programming.

As you know, departmental evaluation frameworks are developed for all program areas on a regular and ongoing basis. In 1988, three new multiculturalism program areas were announced by Mr. Weiner. They are:

- Heritage Cultures and Languages
- Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding
- Community Support and Participation

Work is in progress on these frameworks which will provide basic criteria for the respective program evaluations which are to be undertaken in 1992. Of course, these evaluations, like the programs themselves, will follow from, and be in line with, "The Multiculturalism Policy of Canada" set forth in Section 3 of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.

Once work on these evaluation frameworks is completed, we would be pleased to meet with the Committee and would welcome its comments and suggestions.

So when we come to the discussion on Bill C-18, perhaps you will have a copy of that letter.

Mr. Fournier also provided a document explaining the relationship of aboriginal languages to the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, which provides background for the discussion we will have this morning. I will make sure that you all get copies of that document, but I am sure that we will hear the same thing from him. It is reasonably complicated.

TÉMOIGNAGES

Ottawa, le mardi 15 janvier 1991

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, auquel on a renvoyé le projet de loi C-37, loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales; le projet de loi C-63, loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, s'est réuni en ce jour, à 9 heures, pour examiner les projets de loi, et pour examiner le budget supplémentaire destiné au Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants.

Le sénateur Lorna Marsden (*président*) occupe le fauteuil.

Le président: Avant de débiter, je pourrais peut-être vous lire deux lettres que j'ai reçues de M. Fournier cette semaine. Je vais vous en faire distribuer des copies. Vous vous souviendrez que la semaine dernière, lorsque nous discutons du projet de loi C-18, nous avons demandé certaines choses au sujet de l'évaluation du programme et de la définition opérationnelle du «multiculturalisme». Voici ce qu'en dit M. Fournier dans sa lettre:

Suite à notre conversation téléphonique du 8 janvier, et à la discussion au sujet de la définition du multiculturalisme à votre comité, plus tôt ce jour-là, avec l'honorable Gerry Weiner, je vous écris pour apporter des précisions sur la question des critères utilisés par l'évaluation des programmes du multiculturalisme.

Comme vous le savez, on élabore régulièrement et de façon continue des cadres d'évaluation ministérielle pour tous les domaines dans lesquels le ministère a des programmes. En 1988, M. Weiner a annoncé trois nouveaux domaines dans le cadre du multiculturalisme. Ce sont:

- Les cultures et les langues patrimoniales
- Les relations raciales et la compréhension interculturelle
- L'appui et la participation communautaire

On a entrepris de travailler sur ces cadres qui permettront d'établir les critères de base servant aux évaluations de programme qui doivent être entreprises en 1992. Évidemment, ces évaluations, à l'instar des programmes, respecteront la politique du Canada en matière de multiculturalisme énoncée à l'article 3 de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien de 1988.

Lorsque le travail sur ces cadres d'évaluation sera terminé, nous reviendrons volontiers devant le comité, et nous serons heureux d'entendre ses observations et ses suggestions.»

Quand nous entreprendrons de discuter du projet de loi C-18, je vous remettrai peut-être une copie de cette lettre.

M. Fournier nous a aussi remis un document dans lequel on explique le rapport qu'ont les langues autochtones avec l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. Ce document fournit les renseignements préalables à la discussion que nous allons avoir ce matin. Je vais faire en sorte que vous obteniez tous un exemplaire de ce document, mais je suis certaine que c'est ce

[Text]

While we are waiting, perhaps we could look at the sub-committee budget for Veterans Affairs. Perhaps you would like to say something about it, Senator Marshall.

Senator Marshall: Madam Chairman, the administrative research assistant of the Sub-committee on Veterans Affairs was retained until December 31. Now that there is ongoing work to be done, we want to extend the contract to March 31, the end of the fiscal year. That means that we will need \$5,280 for January, February and March.

The Chairman: Senators will recall that last week we approved the reference of the regulations on veterans health care to the sub-committee. It is quite clear that Senator Marshall will need some support. Is there any discussion?

Senator David: I propose the adoption of this budget.

The Chairman: Is it agreed?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

The Chairman: As you all know, we are dealing this morning with two bills, Bill C-37 and Bill C-63. Once we have finished our discussion of these bills, we will go *in camera* to dispose of Bill C-18.

Senator Kinsella has a particular interest in the Race Relations Bill and has asked us to deal with the Heritage Languages first if possible. His plane is landing right about now.

Mr. Fournier, please go ahead with your opening comments.

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Undersecretary of State, Secretary of State of Canada: Madam Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to appear today before this committee on behalf of Mr. Weiner, who is outside the country at this point in time, as you begin consideration of Bills C-37 and C-36. I propose to focus over the next few minutes on the most important features of the two bills. It is fortuitous that you are looking at them together since the institutions to be established do have similarities in structure, and their purposes complement each other. I will start with Bill C-37, an act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

This legislation gives concrete expression to the policy objective of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which was adopted by Parliament in 1988, and which states the federal government's commitment to preserve and enhance languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of Canada's two official languages.

In 1987, the former Secretary of State, the Honourable David Crombie, announced the government's intention to

[Traduction]

dont il va nous entretenir lui-même ce matin. La question est assez compliquée.

Pendant que nous attendons, nous pourrions peut-être jeter un coup d'œil au budget du Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants. Vous avez peut-être quelque chose à dire à ce sujet, monsieur Marshall.

Le sénateur Marshall: Madame la présidente, le contrat de l'adjoint administratif à la recherche du Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants a pris fin le 31 décembre. Étant donné qu'il y a encore du travail à faire, nous voulons le prolonger jusqu'au 31 mars, jusqu'à la fin de l'exercice. Cela signifie que nous avons besoin de 5 280 \$ pour les mois de janvier, février et mars.

Le président: Les sénateurs se souviendront que la semaine dernière, nous avons approuvé le renvoi au sous-comité des règlements sur les soins de santé destinés aux anciens combattants. Il est assez évident que le sénateur Marshall aura besoin d'aide. Quelqu'un a-t-il quelque chose à dire là-dessus?

Le sénateur David: Je propose l'adoption de ce budget.

Le président: Sommes-nous d'accord?

Des voix: D'accord.

Le président: Comme vous le savez tous, nous devons discuter ce matin de deux projets de loi, le projet de loi C-37 et le projet de loi C-63. Quand nous en aurons terminé avec ces deux projets de loi, nous passerons à huis clos pour discuter du projet de loi C-18.

Le sénateur Kinsella a un intérêt particulier à l'égard du projet de loi sur les relations raciales et nous a demandé de discuter en premier de celui ayant trait aux langues patrimoniales, si la chose est possible. Son avion doit être sur le point d'atterrir, si ce n'est déjà fait.

Monsieur Fournier, veuillez nous présenter vos observations préliminaires.

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État, Secrétariat d'État du Canada: Madame la présidente, je suis heureux d'avoir la possibilité de me présenter devant votre comité aujourd'hui au nom de M. Weiner, qui est à l'extérieur du pays en ce moment-ci, au moment où vous entreprenez l'examen des projets de loi C-37 et C-63. Je me propose, au cours des prochaines minutes, d'attirer votre attention sur les aspects les plus importants des deux projets de loi. C'est par hasard que vous les examinez tous deux en même temps, car les institutions qui en découleront ont des similitudes de structure et leurs objets se complètent mutuellement. Je commencerai par le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Ce projet de loi est une expression concrète de l'objectif de la politique exprimée dans la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien, qui a été adoptée par le Parlement en 1988, et qui affirme l'engagement du gouvernement fédéral à maintenir et valoriser d'autres langues que l'anglais et le français, tout en renforçant le statut et l'usage des deux langues officielles du Canada.

En 1987, l'ancien secrétaire d'État, l'honorable David Crombie, a annoncé l'intention du gouvernement de mettre sur

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establish a National Heritage Languages Institute, and he commissioned Dr. Henry Kreisel and Dr. Michael S. Batts to conduct a study on how best to carry out this commitment.

Dans le cadre des consultations menées dans l'ensemble du pays par les professeurs Kreisel et Batts avec les écoles communautaires et autres intervenants dans le domaine des langues patrimoniales, on faisait valoir l'urgent besoin de créer des possibilités de perfectionnement pour les enseignants et des outils d'apprentissage de contenu canadien. Ils ont également recommandé de donner aux professeurs de langue la possibilité de partager leur connaissance et leur expérience en remédiant à l'isolement dans lequel se trouve beaucoup d'entre eux, ne serait-ce qu'à cause des distances.

Se fondant sur ces constatations, les professeurs Kreisel et Batts ont élaboré le mandat de l'institut.

The report of Dr. Kreisel and Dr. Batts was released in March 1988, and legislation was introduced in August 1988 to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute. Bill C-152, as it was then called, died on the Order Paper in September 1988 when the federal election was called. In September 1988 legislation was reintroduced as Bill C-37 with amendments reflecting the legislative committee's discussion on Bill C-152.

The work of the institute as specified in Bill C-37 will be practical, rather than theoretical, and will be carried out in cooperation and coordination with the cultural, educational and academic communities and with all levels of government who are involved in the field of heritage languages. Through its board of directors, the institute will also be able to stay in touch with changing needs and to access expertise from across the country.

The institute will be based in Edmonton and will be an institute without walls with a small professional staff who will go out into the field to find out what is needed and to satisfy those needs—teaching techniques or classroom materials, for example—in the field, in the classroom. As far as possible, the institute will work through local resource persons across the country and build in this way a network of “associates”.

It will develop textbooks and other teaching aids in close consultation with the various communities who will use them, and it will have a specifically Canadian—and I underline Canadian—orientation. Quality teaching materials will also help raise the standards of heritage language education and bring it within the parameters of mainstream education, a request that has been heard from coast to coast.

To help improve the quality of teaching is another very important role of the institute. To fulfil this role, it will develop programs for the training of teachers using up-to-date methodologies and accepted standards which can be of benefit to teachers in different situations across the country. The institute will naturally build on already existing materials, programs and curriculum frameworks where they exist.

A third major practical function of the institute will be coordination. The Canadian Heritage Languages Institute will act as a coordinating body, encouraging a network of information on heritage language research and activities across the coun-

[Traduction]

pié un institut national des langues patrimoniales et a chargé les professeurs Henry Kreisel et Michael S. Batts d'effectuer une étude sur la meilleure façon d'y donner suite.

In consultations carried out across the country by Professors Kreisel and Batts with community schools and others that deal with heritage languages, the urgent need to create new professional development opportunities for teachers as well as learning tools with a strong Canadian content was stressed. They also recommended that language teachers be given a chance to share their knowledge and experience with one another as a means of combating the isolation many of them feel, if only because of the great distances separating them.

On the basis of these observations, therefore, Professors Kreisel and Batts developed the institute's mandate.

Le rapport des professeurs Kreisel et Batts a été rendu public en mars 1988. C'est en août de la même année que le projet de loi C-152 constituant l'Institut canadien des langues ancestrales a été déposé devant le Parlement. Ce projet de loi allait mourir au *Feuilleton*, lors du déclenchement de l'élection fédérale en septembre 1988. Il a été déposé de nouveau, sous le numéro C-37, en septembre 1989, avec amendements.

Le travail de l'Institut, comme le précise le projet de loi C-37, sera d'ordre pratique plutôt que théorique, et sera exécuté en collaboration et en coordination avec les milieux culturels, scolaires et universitaires, ainsi qu'avec les divers ordres de gouvernement œuvrant dans le domaine des langues patrimoniales. Par l'entremise de son conseil d'administration, l'Institut sera également en mesure de se tenir au fait de l'évolution des besoins et d'avoir accès à des personnes ressources de l'ensemble du pays.

L'institut aura son siège à Edmonton et sera un institut sans murs, doté d'une équipe de professionnels qui se rendront sur le terrain pour repérer et satisfaire les besoins—qu'il s'agisse de techniques d'enseignement ou de documents didactiques pour la classe. Dans la mesure du possible, l'Institut aura recours à des personnes ressources sur place et mettra ainsi sur pied un réseau d'associés.

Quant aux manuels et autres outils d'enseignement, ils auront une orientation nettement canadienne—et j'insiste sur le mot canadienne—et leur élaboration se fera en consultation étroite avec les diverses communautés qui s'en serviront. Leur grande qualité permettra de rehausser l'enseignement des langues et de le porter au niveau de celui des langues majoritaires, demande qui a été réitérée dans tout le Canada.

La qualité de l'enseignement sera un autre volet fort important du rôle de l'Institut. Celui-ci élaborera des programmes de formation pour les enseignants au moyen de méthodes modernes et selon les normes acceptées, afin d'en faire profiter les professeurs de langue du pays, quelle que soit leur situation. Naturellement, il se servira de documents, de programmes et d'ensembles de cours déjà existants.

Ceci m'amène à vous parler d'un troisième volet pratique du rôle de l'Institut: la coordination. L'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales favorisera la formation d'un réseau d'information sur la recherche et les activités menées dans ce

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try. In this way heritage language teachers in one part of Canada can benefit from the experience of those teaching in another part of the country. Joint projects can be organized and, of course, initiatives will not be duplicated unnecessarily.

The institute will function at arm's length from government and its independence will be assured by its own endowment fund. The provision in the bill for charitable status should enable the institute to seek a broad base of public and private support, including that of other levels of government.

J'aimerais souligner que des changements importants dans le domaine des langues patrimoniales au cours des dernières années. On a pu constater une tendance croissante vers la professionnalisation et la généralisation de l'enseignement des langues ancestrales donnant suite à un certain amateurisme, (sans vouloir être critique) qui a longtemps régné dans ce domaine, dans plusieurs coins du pays. Au fur et à mesure que les besoins et les priorités évoluaient, nos méthodes ont dû changer. Nous utilisons les ressources qui sont à notre disposition pour assurer à travers l'Institut un leadership national. Nous encourageons l'amélioration de la formation, des outils didactiques, des techniques, des réseaux et de la recherche, tout en faisant valoir l'immense valeur des langues ancestrales pour notre pays, autant au plan domestique qu'au plan international.

L'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales est donc un symbole de notre nouvelle orientation. Il assurera que les langues patrimoniales continuent leur progression vers le centre de la vie canadienne.

I would like to turn now to Bill C-63, an act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. The establishment of such a foundation was announced as part of the Japanese-Canadian Redress Agreement in September 1988. As the preamble of the bill outlines, the foundation will be situated in the context of Canada's international commitment to eliminate racial discrimination, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the Japanese-Canadian Redress Agreement.

Pour tous les citoyens du Canada, les relations inter-rationnelles sont de plus en plus importantes et préoccupantes. La Fondation canadienne des relations raciales aidera les Canadiens à résoudre l'un des grands problèmes qui nous confrontent aujourd'hui: l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale dans la société canadienne.

Le projet de loi qui a été déposé devant vous expose nettement l'objectif de la Fondation. Il s'agit de promouvoir, dans l'ensemble du pays, le développement, le partage et la mise en oeuvre de toute connaissance ou compétence utile, en vue de contribuer à l'élimination du racisme et de toute forme de discrimination raciale dans notre société.

The foundation will meet the growing need for information and knowledge and will also promote networking, information sharing and cooperation which will increase the effectiveness of voluntary organizations, public institutions, governments, business and labour in their efforts to promote harmonious

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domaine partout au pays. Ainsi, les professeurs de langues patrimoniales d'une région donnée pourront profiter de l'expérience de ceux qui enseignent ailleurs au pays. Il sera possible d'organiser des projets conjoints et, bien entendu, les doubles emplois seront évités.

L'Institut exercera ses activités sans lien de dépendance par rapport au gouvernement, et ce, grâce au fonds de dotation qui sera accordé. La disposition du projet de loi lui reconnaissant le statut d'organisme de charité devrait permettre à l'Institut de s'assurer un bon appui de la part des secteurs publics et privés, y compris des ordres de gouvernement.

I would like to point out some of the important changes that have occurred in the past few years in the area of heritage languages. As it has become more widespread we have noted a growing trend towards the professionalization of heritage language teaching. In the wake of a certain amateurism (please don't think I'm being critical) that long prevailed in this area in a number of regions of the country, our methods had to change as requirements and priorities evolved. We are now using the resources available to us to ensure national leadership through the institute. We encourage better training, teaching materials, techniques, networks and research, while at the same time focusing on the immense value of heritage languages for our country, both domestically and internationally.

The Canadian Heritage Languages Institute therefore symbolizes our new direction. It will ensure that heritage languages increasingly move into the mainstream of life in Canada.

J'aimerais à présent aborder le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. La création de cette fondation a été annoncée dans le cadre de l'entente de redressement à l'égard des Canadiens japonais conclue en septembre 1988. Comme le souligne le préambule, la Fondation s'inscrira dans le contexte de l'engagement international du Canada à éliminer la discrimination raciale, de la Charte des droits et des libertés, de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien et de l'entente de redressement à l'égard des Canadiens japonais.

For all Canadians, race relations are not only increasingly important but an increasing source of concern. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation will help Canadians to solve one of the biggest problems facing us today: The elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in Canadian society.

The bill you are considering clearly sets out the objective of the foundation. It is to promote throughout Canada the development, sharing and application of knowledge and expertise in order to contribute to the elimination of racism and all forms of racial discrimination in Canadian society.

La fondation répondra au besoin croissant d'information et de connaissance et pourra également promouvoir le développement de réseaux, l'échange d'information et la coopération qui contribueront à accroître l'efficacité des organismes communautaires, des institutions publiques, des gouvernements, du

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race relations throughout Canada. The structure and the mandate of the foundation is very much influenced by the consultant's report done by Dr. Lloyd Stanford in 1987-88. Just like the Kreisel Report in its area, Dr. Stanford's report was influential in the establishment of the Race Relations Foundation, and it too was the result of extensive consultations with groups across the country.

C'est là un mandat ambitieux et très exigeant, me direz-vous! Mais il sera exécuté parce que la Fondation sera en mesure de rassembler et d'utiliser des ressources, de faire appel aux meilleurs experts, autant au Canada qu'à l'étranger et de faire appel et d'utiliser les connaissances provenant de toutes les régions et de toutes les sphères de la société.

La gestion de la Fondation incombera à un conseil d'administration qui sera nommé après de vastes consultations avec les autres ordres de gouvernement, diverses institutions, des organismes représentatifs et de nombreux particuliers.

The foundation will have its headquarters in Toronto, but must ensure that its services and resources are accessible throughout Canada, either alone or in collaboration with other institutions and organizations. The foundation will be incorporated federally as a charitable organization and will start its work with a solid funding base. The federal government is establishing an endowment fund of \$24 million, half of which is contributed in the name of the Japanese-Canadian community in commemoration of the injustice suffered by Japanese-Canadians during and after World War II.

The unique makeup and mandate of the foundation give it a capacity to develop knowledge and share ideas which no existing program or organization can offer in this area. It will be at arms length from the government and, therefore, will be able to advise the government and others from an informed and neutral perspective.

De même, tout au long du processus législatif qui a amené le projet de loi jusqu'ici, des organismes communautaires et des experts ont exprimé leur appui pour cette future loi. Cet appui s'est traduit par le travail ardu, la collaboration et l'enthousiasme de multiples intervenants lors de son élaboration. Un certain nombre limité d'amendements, fondés sur les suggestions de nombreux groupes et organismes, ont été apportés au projet de loi à la Chambre des communes. Ils ont permis de renforcer et de préciser la raison d'être de la Fondation.

Madam Chairman and honourable senators, it is Mr. Weiner's hope that this committee will give both these bills rapid approval so that the Canadian Race Relations Foundation and the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute can begin their work without delay.

The Chairman: Before we turn to questions, I know that the Kreisel Report is available, but was the Stanford Report circulated as well?

Mr. Fournier: It is available. I do not know whether you or your colleagues have it, but certainly it was available to mem-

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monde des affaires et du monde du travail dans leurs efforts pour promouvoir des relations raciales harmonieuses partout au Canada. La structure et le mandat de la fondation s'inspirent énormément du rapport qu'a produit M. Lloyd Stanford en 1987-1988. À l'instar du rapport Kreisel, celui de M. Stanford a contribué à la création de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, et ce rapport était aussi le fruit de consultations importantes de groupes de tout le pays.

I suppose you will say this is both an ambitious and a very demanding mandate, but I believe it will be fulfilled, because the foundation will be in a position to gather and use resources, to call upon the leading experts for assistance, both in Canada and abroad, and to call upon the expertise of people throughout the country and at every level of society.

The foundation will be managed by a board of directors to be appointed after broad consultation with representatives of various levels of government, appropriate institutions, representative organizations and many individuals.

La fondation aura son siège social à Toronto, mais elle veillera à ce que ses services et ressources soient accessibles partout au Canada, seul ou en collaboration avec d'autres institutions ou organismes. La fondation sera constituée en société sous charte fédérale en qualité d'organisme charitable et pourra débiter son travail sur une base solide. Le gouvernement fédéral lui consentira un don de lancement de 24 millions de dollars, dont la moitié sera une contribution effectuée au nom de la communauté des Canadiens japonais en commémoration des injustices qu'ils ont subies pendant et après la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Sa composition et son mandat uniques donneront à la fondation la capacité d'élaborer des connaissances et de partager des idées comme aucun programme ni organisme existant ne peut le faire dans ce domaine. Il sera indépendant du gouvernement et, par conséquent, sera en mesure de conseiller ce dernier et d'autres intervenants dans une perspective éclairée et neutre tout à la fois.

Furthermore, throughout the legislative process that has brought the legislation before your committee, community organizations and experts have all expressed their support for this bill. This support has been evident in the hard work, co-operation and enthusiasm of the many individuals and groups that participated in its development. A limited number of amendments, based on the suggestions of various groups and organisations, were made to the legislation in the House of Commons. They made it possible to strengthen and clarify the foundation's purpose.

Madame le président, mesdames et messieurs, M. Weiner espère que votre comité approuvera ces projets de loi sans délai, de manière à ce que l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales et la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales puissent amorcer leurs travaux le plus tôt possible.

Le président: Avant de passer aux questions, je sais que l'on peut obtenir le rapport Kreisel, mais est-ce aussi le cas pour le rapport Stanford?

M. Fournier: Oui. Je ne sais pas si vous l'avez, ou si vos collègues l'ont déjà obtenu, mais les membres du Comité de la Chambre l'avaient lorsqu'ils ont discuté de ce projet de loi.

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bers of the House of Commons Committee when they discussed this legislation.

The Chairman: We will get hold of it then.

Le sénateur David: J'aurais plusieurs questions à demander au témoin pour préciser ce projet de loi C-37.

I wonder if we should work with one bill at a time, otherwise we will get mixed up. I am speaking to Bill C-37, the Heritage Languages Bill. The definition of "heritage language" is a language, "other than one of the official languages of Canada." I wonder why the aboriginal languages were not included in this bill and given the same status as the two official languages.

Il semble qu'un projet de loi privé serait déposé à la Chambre des communes qui porterait le numéro C-269, et qui prônerait qu'une fondation des lois autochtones soit créée au Canada. Je me demande si, comme délégué du ministre, vous pourriez nous donner quelques informations qui éclaireraient un petit peu mon esprit. J'aurai d'autres remarques après à formuler.

M. Fournier: Madame la présidente, la question de la définition des langues patrimoniales a fait l'objet de longs débats d'abord, lorsque le projet de loi C-152 a été présenté et considéré en comité à la Chambre des communes. Le projet C-152 n'incluait pas les langues aboriginelles et c'est à la demande expresse des députés de l'opposition de l'époque, Messieurs Marquis, Orlikon, monsieur Cyril Keeper que le gouvernement, lorsqu'il a réintroduit le projet de loi C-37, après les dernières élections, a inclus dans la définition des langues patrimoniales, les langues autochtones. Cela a suscité à nouveau un débat. Comme vous le savez peut-être, sénateur, le consensus qui s'est dégagé du débat nous a forcé, somme toute, à retourner à notre première position puisque les groupes autochtones qui ont comparu devant le comité parlementaire et les autres groupes, en sont venus à la conclusion qu'il serait, somme toute préférable, que nous adoptions une définition plus restrictive des langues patrimoniales. Donc, à la Chambre des communes, le projet de loi C-37 a été amendé pour éliminer toute référence aux langues aboriginelles.

C'est en partie parce que les groupes autochtones, sont convaincus pour leur part, qu'ils sont, compte tenu de l'évolution des problèmes spécifiques de leur propre langue, qu'ils ont besoin de leur propre institution pour faire face à l'avenir.

Vous avez fait allusion à ce projet de loi C-269 au nom de madame Blondin qui est toujours devant la Chambre des communes. Toute la question de l'opportunité de créer un institut pour les langues autochtones est présentement à l'étude au ministère du Secrétariat d'État et éventuellement monsieur Weiner aura quelque chose à dire à ce sujet.

Le sénateur David: Je vous remercie pour ces explications.

Senator Robertson: Supplementary to Senator David's question on the native language issue, would you please explain for the committee the complexity of that issue. For instance, how many native languages are there, how many are falling into disuse and what are we likely to end up with? I understand

[Traduction]

Le président: Nous allons en obtenir un exemplaire, alors.

Senator David: I have a number of questions for the witness regarding Bill C-37, to clear up a few points.

Nous devrions peut-être discuter d'un projet de loi à la fois, sans quoi, nous risquons de perdre du temps. Je parle au sujet du projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. On définit les «langues patrimoniales» comme des «langues autres que les langues officielles du Canada . . . » Je me demande pourquoi on n'a pas inscrit les langues autochtones dans cette définition, et pourquoi on ne leur a pas donné le même statut que les deux langues officielles.

It seems a private member's bill, Bill C-269, has been tabled in the House of Commons to establish an aboriginal languages foundation in Canada. As the minister's representative, I was wondering if you could give me a bit more information about that legislation. After that, I will have a few other comments to make.

Mr. Fournier: Madam Chairman, the definition of heritage languages was the subject of a lengthy debate when Bill C-152 was initially tabled in the House of Commons and then sent to committee for further consideration. Bill C-152 did not in fact include aboriginal languages and it was at the express request of then opposition members Mr. Marquis, Mr. Orlikow and Mr. Keeper, that the government, when it reintroduced Bill C-37 after the last election, included aboriginal languages in the definition of heritage languages. This provoked further debate. And as you may know, Senator, the consensus that evolved was that we should basically go back to our initial position, since aboriginal and other groups that appeared before the parliamentary committee concluded that a stricter definition of heritage languages would in fact be preferable. As a result, Bill C-37 was amended in the House of Commons to delete all references to aboriginal languages.

This is partly because native groups feel very strongly, given the way specific problems related to their own languages seem to be evolving, that they need their own institution to deal with these problems successfully in the future.

You referred to Bill C-269, initiated by Mrs. Blondin, which is still before the House of Commons. The whole issue of the appropriateness of establishing an aboriginal languages institute is presently under consideration at the Department of the Secretary of State and Mr. Weiner will eventually be making a statement in this regard.

Senator David: Thank you very much for that clarification.

Le sénateur Robertson: En question supplémentaire à celle du sénateur David au sujet des langues autochtones, pourriez-vous, je vous prie, expliquer au comité la complexité de cette question. Par exemple, combien de langues autochtones existent-il? Combien sont sur le point de s'éteindre, et à quoi abouti-

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that it is somewhat of a moving target and has not been constant over the years since Confederation.

Mr. Fournier: We are talking at this point of close to 100 native languages or dialects across the country, all very much different in terms of their dynamism from one region to another. There has been, however, in the past ten years or so what one could call a renaissance of interest on the part of native groups in their own languages. Certainly it has been an increasing source of pride on the part of native communities that are attempting to bring back or make greater use of their languages. Many of these languages are, one could say, close to death and there is little hope, according to the natives themselves, of those languages coming back.

On the other hand, in certain parts of the country—and this is particularly true in British Columbia, Yukon, Northwest Territories and certain parts of Ontario, Quebec and Alberta—there is considerable community interest, investment and work going on with school boards, as well as studies that we have had undertaken in the last three or four years. We have had three major studies undertaken—one by the Assembly of First Nations, one by the NCC and one by Professor Verna Kirkness from the University of British Columbia. The studies indicate that there is in those parts of the country I have mentioned potential for greater use and greater development of those languages. The key question, of course, is how best in times of financial restraint to provide support to those communities that have demonstrated a will, capacity and interest, which is the first condition to maintain, preserve and expand the use of their languages.

Senator Robertson: I was led to understand at one point that perhaps, with the evolution of the languages and their people, we could conceivably get down to three to five various dialects or different languages. Do you think that the number will get that low, or do you think that we will have more than that? From your remarks I gather that you are expecting that more of the dialects supported by small groups will remain.

Mr. Fournier: Yes, I would think so. Certainly the indications we have based on Professor Kirkness' study would be that we are looking at a significant number of languages, particularly in the Northwest Territories where native languages have the same status as French and English. They are called official languages. There are seven official languages of native origin, in addition to French and English. The debates of the legislature of the Northwest Territories are translated, not only in English and French, but as well in those seven languages. So the people of the Northwest Territories see these native languages as being very much alive and very much worthy of development. Of course, you will find that same situation in other parts of the country.

Senator Robertson: What population supports the seven languages?

[Traduction]

rons-nous au bout du compte? Je comprends que c'est une cible plutôt mouvante, qui a fluctué au fil des ans depuis la Confédération.

M. Fournier: Il y aurait, à l'heure actuelle, près de 100 langues autochtones ou dialectes dans l'ensemble du pays, toutes très différentes pour ce qui est de leur dynamisme d'une région à l'autre. Il y a toutefois eu au cours des 10 dernières années, ou environ, ce que l'on pourrait appeler une espèce de regain d'intérêt de la part des groupes autochtones à l'égard de leur propre langue. Cela a sûrement été une source de fierté pour les collectivités autochtones, qui tentent de rétablir l'usage de leur langue ou de les utiliser davantage. Un grand nombre de ces langues sont près de l'extinction, il y a peu d'espoir qu'on en rétablisse l'usage, selon les autochtones eux-mêmes.

Par contre, dans certaines parties du pays—et cela est particulièrement vrai en Colombie-Britannique, au Yukon, dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest et dans certaines parties de l'Ontario, du Québec et de l'Alberta—beaucoup d'intérêt se manifeste dans la collectivité, et l'on investit beaucoup d'efforts dans les conseils scolaires, sans compter les études qui ont été entreprises au cours des trois ou quatre dernières années. Trois études importantes ont été entreprises—une par l'Assemblée des premières nations, une autre par le CNRC, et une troisième par Mme Verna Kirkness de l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique. Ces études indiquent que dans les parties du pays que j'ai mentionnées, la situation est propice à un usage et à un développement plus important de ces langues. La question clé, évidemment, est de déterminer la meilleure façon d'appuyer, en période de restrictions financières, les collectivités qui ont fait preuve d'une volonté, d'une capacité et d'un intérêt, qui sont les premières conditions pour conserver, préserver et élargir l'usage de leur langue.

Le sénateur Robertson: À un certain moment, j'ai cru comprendre qu'avec l'évolution des langues et de leur peuple, il serait possible que nous nous retrouvions avec trois, quatre ou cinq différents dialectes ou langues. Est-ce possible, selon vous, ou pensez-vous plutôt qu'il y en aura davantage que cela. Si j'en juge à vos observations, je suppose que vous vous attendez à ce qu'il subsiste davantage de dialectes parlés par de petits groupes.

M. Fournier: Oui, c'est ce que je pense. L'étude de Mme Kirkness nous porte à croire qu'il y a un nombre important de langues à considérer, notamment dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest où les langues autochtones ont le même statut que le français et l'anglais. Elles y ont le statut de langue officielle. Il y a sept langues officielles d'origine autochtone, en plus du français et de l'anglais. Les débats de l'Assemblée législative des Territoires du Nord-Ouest sont traduits, non seulement en anglais et en français, mais aussi dans ces sept langues. Les habitants des Territoires du Nord-Ouest considèrent donc les langues autochtones comme tout à fait vivantes et très valables pour ce qui est de leur développement. Évidemment, ce n'est pas un cas unique au pays.

Le sénateur Robertson: Quelle population parle les sept langues?

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Mr. Fournier: When you include the Inuit, Métis and Status Indians in the Northwest Territories, it is a population of about 30,000.

Le sénateur David: Je vais revenir à mes questions. Je suis un peu surpris de l'organisation même de l'Institut qui, en apparence d'après le projet de loi, est une organisation presque exclusivement gouvernementale. Elle pourrait être presque considérée comme une corporation d'État si on lui donnait un nom différent. En effet, c'est le gouvernement qui nomme le président du conseil d'administration et qui nomme les 21 autres membres. C'est le gouvernement qui nomme celui que l'on appelle ici «administrateur délégué», correspondant à «executive director» alors que dans l'autre projet de loi on l'appelle «directeur général».

Je voudrais bien savoir pourquoi dans un projet il est un «administrateur délégué» et dans l'autre «directeur général». Mais ne jouons pas trop sur les mots, car j'imagine que cela veut dire la même chose.

Par ailleurs, à ce rôle gouvernemental majeur, on dit que c'est une corporation sans but lucratif (je le comprends), susceptible de recevoir des reçus d'impôt, donc susceptible de recevoir des contributions privées d'une part. D'autre part, s'il y avait une dissolution de cette institut pour une raison ou une autre, son capital serait partagé entre les provinces et le gouvernement fédéral. Je pense que l'on emploie le mot «provinces» au pluriel ici. J'imagine qu'on anticipe des contributions d'une part des corporations, du public, des gouvernements provinciaux mais au sein d'un organisme où tous les membres sont nommés par le gouvernement fédéral. J'aimerais avoir un petit peu la logique de cet organisation.

M. Fournier: Je vais répondre à certaines de vos questions sénateur et je demanderais à ma collègue Shirley Serafini, également d'y ajouter. Pour ce qui est de la structure d'ensemble de l'Institut, il n'est pas terriblement différent d'autres instituts qui ont été établis par le gouvernement fédéral par des mesures législatives. Donc le modèle que vous voyez ici aux sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 et 12, ce n'est pas un modèle qui a été créé de toute pièce par le Secrétariat d'État.

Nous nous en sommes remis bien sûr au ministère de la Justice et aux spécialistes en administration, qui sont des experts en la matière. Par exemple, quant à sa structure, cet institut ressemble beaucoup au Centre international pour les droits de la personne et le développement démographique qui a été créé, je crois, il y a quelques années et qui est présidé par monsieur Broadbent. Donc la structure que vous voyez ici ne prétend pas être novatrice. Elle reflète d'autres institutions du genre. La structure également, tient compte du principe de la responsabilité parlementaire puisque, en bout de compte, autant cet institut que la Fondation des relations raciales (dont on parlera tout à l'heure) reçoivent des montants substantiels d'argent du gouvernement fédéral. Donc il faut que ces institutions soient responsables auprès de quelqu'un.

Inévitablement c'est auprès du Parlement et c'est à travers le ministre du Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté que ces institutions sont responsables. Il faut donc que le ministre lui-même, s'il est pour être tenu responsable par vous et par les

[Traduction]

M. Fournier: En incluant les Inuit, les Métis et les Indiens inscrits vivant dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, cela représente une population d'environ 30 000 personnes.

Senator David: Perhaps I could come back to my questions now. I am a little surprised at the structure chosen for the institute, which seems, based on what I have seen in the legislation, to be a government organization almost exclusively. If it had a different name, it could almost be considered a Crown corporation. The government has the authority to appoint the chairperson of the Board of Directors as well as the 21 other members. It is also up to the government to appoint the "administrateur délégué", called the "Executive Director" in English, although the title used in the other bill was "directeur général".

I would first like to know why the terminology has been changed here. But let us not get involved in semantics. I imagine the two mean basically the same thing.

Also, in addition to this significant government role, the legislation states that it is a non-profit organization, meaning that it can issue income tax receipts and therefore also receive private contributions. Furthermore, if the institute were to be dismantled for one reason or another, its capital would be shared between the provinces and the federal government—I believe the legislation does indeed state "provinces", plural. I imagine they are anticipating that contributions will be available from corporations, the general public and provincial governments, but again, we are talking about an organization where all the members are appointed by the Federal Government. I would just like some explanation of why this kind of structure was chosen.

Mr. Fournier: I will try to answer some of your questions, Senator, and I will then ask Shirley Serafini, my colleague, to add her own comments. With respect to the institute's overall structure, it is not terribly different from that of other institutes established by the federal government through legislation. So, the model used in Sections 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 11, and 12 is not one that the Secretary of State developed on its own.

Obviously, we relied on the Department of Justice and other administrative experts for the development of those sections. In terms of its structure, though, I believe this institute is very similar to the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development established a few years ago, I believe, whose director is Mr. Broadbent. So, the structure you see here is in no way innovative. It only reflects that of other similar institutions. It is also based on the principle of parliamentary accountability, because both this institute and the Race Relations Foundation (which we will be discussing later) receive substantial amounts of money from the federal government. So, there is a need for these institutions to be accountable to someone.

Inevitably, they are accountable to Parliament through the Minister for Multiculturalism and Citizenship. And, if the Minister is to be held accountable by you and other parliamentarians, he himself must have some control over the choice of

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parlementaires de façon générale puisse exercer un certain rôle sur le choix des membres du conseil d'administration et de la haute direction. Mais là encore, monsieur Weiner a indiqué que les consultations très larges (il s'est engagé publiquement), auraient lieu dans le choix des membres du conseil de l'administration.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: C'est une question à laquelle les autres membres du comité ont probablement une réponse mais je voudrais être très claire là-dessus. À l'article 2, quand on définit les langues patrimoniales «autres langues que les langues officielles du Canada et qui contribuent à la constitution du patrimoine linguistique canadien» et quand je lis des notes ici à droite ou à gauche, on nous fait part que les autochtones avaient des réticences à ce que leurs langues soient considérées comme étant des langues patrimoniales.

Je trouve, que cela semble être justifié jusqu'à un certain point. Je m'excuse si je vous fais répéter l'explication mais comment ce fait-il que d'après ce paragraphe 3 on doit conclure que les langues autochtones soient incluses dans les langues patrimoniales?

M. Fournier: Sénateur, d'après cette définition les langues autochtones ne sont pas incluses. Il y avait dans la première version du projet de loi C-37 (qui a été déposée au Parlement), une référence spécifique dans cette définition aux langues autochtones. Ces mots ont été éliminés lors du débat plénier à la Chambre des communes. On se retrouve donc maintenant avec une définition qui est essentiellement limitée aux langues patrimoniales, qu'élimine toute référence aux langues autochtones. Il n'est pas exclu que les groupes autochtones, si ils le voulaient et tant et aussi longtemps que d'autres programmes n'auront pas été mis en place, soient du type projet de loi C-269 auquel on a fait allusion ou que d'autres programmes puissent venir chercher appui et support auprès de cet institut.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Les langues officielles sont le français et l'anglais?

M. Fournier: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Par le fait même, il demeure une ambiguïté.

M. Fournier: Il demeure une ambiguïté mais disons que les autochtones sont satisfaits de cette ambiguïté. Lorsque l'on incluait spécifiquement une référence aux langues autochtones eux, ils interprétaient cela comme empêchant pour l'avenir la création d'un institut parallèle pour les langues autochtones.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Au niveau des principes, je pense que les langues autochtones c'est quelque chose d'extrêmement précieux pour le pays. C'est quelque chose qui nous a précédé, comme francophones ou anglophones. Peut-être qu'eux voient une source où ils peuvent aller puiser. Au niveau des principes, je ne suis pas sûre que ce soit solide vis-à-vis les communautés autochtones.

M. Fournier: La position que vous énonciez au niveau des principes, c'était celle du docteur Krissel. C'était également celle du gouvernement dans le premier projet de loi qu'il a présenté. Il a dû se rendre en évidence que ce n'était pas une position qui avait l'appui des autochtones.

[Traduction]

the board members and directors of these institutions. But again, Mr. Weiner has said (in fact, he has publicly made such an undertaking) that very broad consultations would precede the selection of board members.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I have a question that other members of the committee may already know the answer to, but I would just like to be sure I have got it straight. Under Clause 2, the definition of heritage language is: "A language other than one of the official languages of Canada that contributes to the linguistic heritage of Canada", and in the notes here, it states that the aboriginal people were reluctant to have their languages included in the category of heritage languages.

I must say that seems justified, to a point. I am sorry to make you repeat your earlier explanation, but could you please tell me why, based on what we see here in paragraph 3, aboriginal languages are to be included with heritage languages?

Mr. Fournier: Senator, according to this definition, aboriginal languages are not included. In the first version of Bill C-37 (which was tabled in Parliament) there was in fact a specific reference in the definition to aboriginal languages. However, those words were deleted when the legislation was debated before a committee of the whole in the House of Commons. So now, basically, we have a definition that is restricted to heritage languages and eliminates all reference to aboriginal languages. On the other hand, there is no reason why aboriginal groups, if they so desire, and as long as other programs have not been put in place—like what is being proposed under Bill C-269, which we referred to earlier—they could not receive support from this institute.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: And the official languages referred to are French and English?

Mr. Fournier: Yes, that is correct.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: The definition remains somewhat ambiguous, though.

Mr. Fournier: Yes, that is true, but let us just say that the aboriginal people are happy with that ambiguity. When a legislation included a specific reference to aboriginal languages, they interpreted that as possibly preventing them from establishing a similar institute for aboriginal languages in the future.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: As far as the principle goes, I believe the aboriginal languages are of tremendous value for the country as a whole. These languages preceded our languages, be we francophone or anglophone. They may see it as a source of assistance that could take different forms. So on the principle, I am not sure there is necessarily agreement within the native communities.

Mr. Fournier: The position you have put forward with respect to the principle was indeed that of Dr. Krissel. It was also the government's position when it initially brought forward the legislation. But it eventually had to face the fact that this was not a position supported by the aboriginal people.

[Text]

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Les autochtones, qui finalement c'est prononcé là-dessus? Vous savez, on a le Conseil des premières nations et après cela tout à coup, un petit groupe nous arrive ainsi que d'autres. Est-ce qu'il y a eu une consultation assez large auprès des communautés autochtones?

M. Fournier: Il y a eu une consultation assez large. Disons qu'il n'y a pas eu d'unanimité. Mais c'est très clair et c'est pour cette raison que le projet de loi C-37 prévoit la possibilité, pour les communautés qui le veulent, de se prévaloir de cet institut. Je pense que l'on peut dire que la majorité des groupes qui ont été consultés ont carrément indiqué qu'ils ne voulaient pas que l'Institut des langues patrimoniales s'applique aux langues autochtones.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Évidemment vous ne pouvez pas vous prononcer pour le gouvernement mais est-ce que votre impression est qu'éventuellement on s'acheminerait vers un organisme semblable pour les langues autochtones, plutôt que les langues autochtones devront faire appel... à un moment donné quand le gâteau a une certaine grosseur qu'il sera divisé (je ne sais pas en combien de langues patrimoniales) ils en auront peut-être une part congrue. Alors je pense que c'est plus important que cela.

M. Fournier: Le gouvernement étudie différentes possibilités à ce moment-ci et il n'a pas pris de décision encore. Une des possibilités c'est le type d'institut qui a été recommandé par madame Blondin au terme du projet de loi C-269.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: On dit que le projet de loi, quant à ses dispositions générales, emprunte à d'autres organismes semblables. 22 membres, cela me semble énorme comme conseil d'administration. C'est peut-être un chiffre miracle ou je ne sais trop mais il y en a beaucoup qui veulent aussi des nominations.

M. Fournier: Je noterais c'est un maximum. Encore là je pense que, compte tenu de la grandeur de ce pays et du nombre de groupes qui veulent être représentés, le gouvernement a voulu se donner le maximum de latitude. On verra...

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: À l'exercice.

M. Fournier: ... à l'exercice combien de gens seront effectivement nommés.

The Chairman: Thank you. On this question we have both of the notes from Mr. Fournier, which have been distributed, and we have witnesses from the Canadian Ethno-Cultural Council and the AFN coming on Thursday morning. There are a lot of other questions one could ask about funding and what is meant by a Canadian orientation. We all know that languages change in Canada and stall behind the original mother country. It is a very difficult question.

Senator Marshall, would you begin the questioning on the Race Relations Bill.

Senator Marshall: Madam Chairman, I agree in principle with the bill, but I am wondering why there is specific reference to the Japanese-Canadian Redress Agreement and not to all of the other groups that are looking for redress.

[Traduction]

Senator Lavoie-Roux: But who actually spoke on behalf of the aboriginal people? As you know, the Assembly of First Nations took a position, and then all of a sudden, one small group after another started coming forward. Was there really adequate consultation of the native communities?

Mr. Fournier: There were indeed broad consultations, although there was certainly no unanimity. That much is clear, and that is precisely why Bill C-37 leaves open the possibility that those communities that wish to avail themselves of the institute's services may do so. I do think that it is fair to say, though, that most of the groups that were consulted made it quite clear that they did not want the Heritage Languages Institute to apply to aboriginal languages.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Obviously you cannot speak for the government, but is it your feeling that we may eventually see the establishment of a similar organization for aboriginal languages, rather than including them... The thing is, the pie is only so big and if it is to be divided up (and I do not even know how many heritage languages we may be talking about here) they will only get one piece. I, personally, believe they are more important than that.

Mr. Fournier: Well, the government is still considering various options and has not yet taken any decision in that regard. But one of the options being looked at is the type of institute recommended by Mrs. Blondin in Bill C-269.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: You were saying that in terms of its general provisions, the legislation is modelled on that of a number of other similar organizations. I must say, though, that a Board of Directors with 22 members seems huge to me. Maybe that is the magic number, I do not really know; I guess that there are a lot of people looking for appointments.

Mr. Fournier: I should point out that that is the maximum number. Again, given the size of the country and the number of groups wanting to be represented, the government felt it needed as much latitude as possible. But we will see...

Senator Lavoie-Roux: How it is to be applied.

Mr. Fournier: ... just how many people will actually be appointed.

Le président: Merci. À ce sujet, nous avons les notes de M. Fournier, qui ont été distribuées, et nous recevons jeudi matin des témoins du Conseil ethno-culturel du Canada et de l'APN. Il y a encore beaucoup d'autres questions que l'on pourrait poser au sujet du financement et de ce que l'on veut dire par «orientation canadienne». Nous savons tous que les langues changent au Canada et que l'on se réfugie derrière le pays d'origine. C'est une question très difficile.

Monsieur Marshall, voudriez-vous commencer à poser des questions sur le projet de loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales?

Le sénateur Marshall: Madame la présidente, je suis en faveur du projet de loi, en principe, mais je me demande pourquoi on y mentionne précisément l'entente de redressement à l'égard des Canadiens japonais, et l'on y omet tous les autres groupes qui demandent réparation?

[Text]

Mr. Fournier: There is a specific reference in the preamble to Bill C-63 to the redress agreement with the National Association of Japanese-Canadians. That is because the agreement, which was made public on September 22, 1988—and I have here a copy of the press release—makes a very specific reference to the establishment of a Race Relations Foundation as one of the components of the redress agreement. In other words, the establishment of the foundation was one of the elements of the negotiated agreement between the Japanese-Canadians and the federal government. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to the Japanese-Canadian community and, indeed, Mr. Weiner accepted their view, that there be a reference in the bill to this agreement as the genesis or origin of this foundation.

Senator Marshall: However, there are other races that are seeking apologies or redress. What happens if agreements are made with them? Will that amend the bill again, and will we have amendments for the rest of time?

Mr. Fournier: I cannot anticipate the nature of the agreements that will be reached with the other groups, but I would think that these other agreements would be, as they say, very generous and quite separate and distinct and therefore not refer back to this here.

Senator Marshall: Is there not a precedent here where one race is seemingly getting a preference over others, as their circumstance is being dealt with through legislation?

Mr. Fournier: It is in recognition of the treatment given to Japanese-Canadians in the early 1940s, during the war and after the war, that it was unique and unprecedented. There is no comparison in the history of our country to the treatment that they received. Most of these people, who were Canadian citizens, were interned for the duration of the war and, indeed, in many cases for quite some time after the war. This legislation recognizes that unique situation of these Canadian citizens.

Senator Marshall: I will not belabour the point, but I do not agree.

Mr. Fournier: If the senator's concern is that the specific reference to the Japanese will give preference to "Japanese issues", it is quite clear in the bill and from the government's intent that the purpose of the foundation is to deal with all race relations issues, be they relating to native people, Japanese people or people of other origins in this country.

Le sénateur David: Dans les définitions et dans les attendus, j'ai eu le plaisir d'apprendre un nouveau mot en français alors qu'en anglais la loi est très claire.

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provides that every individual is equal before and under the law.

En français, au départ, ce n'était pas clair que la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés dispose que la loi ne fait «acception». Je pensais que c'était «ne fait exception» de personne. J'ai été obligé de regarder plusieurs dictionnaires pour me rendre compte que la plupart n'avait pas ce mot mais que dans les dictionnaires légaux cela veut dire: ne fait pas l'exception.

[Traduction]

M. Fournier: Dans le préambule du projet de loi C-63, on fait mention de l'entente de redressement qui a été signée avec l'Association nationale des Canadiens japonais. S'il en est ainsi, c'est parce que dans l'entente qui été rendue publique le 22 septembre 1988—et j'ai ici une copie du communiqué—on fait précisément mention de la création d'une fondation des relations raciales. C'est l'un des éléments de l'entente de redressement. Autrement dit, la création de la Fondation est l'un des éléments faisant partie de l'entente qui a été conclue entre les Canadiens japonais et le gouvernement fédéral. Par conséquent, il a semblé approprié pour les Canadiens japonais, et M. Weiner l'a reconnu, que l'on dise dans le projet de loi que cette entente est à l'origine de cette fondation.

Le sénateur Marshall: Il y a toutefois d'autres races qui demandent des excuses ou réparations. Que fera-t-on si l'on arrive à des ententes avec ces groupes? Faudra-t-il encore modifier la loi, et en sera-t-il ainsi jusqu'à la fin des temps?

M. Fournier: Je ne peux pas prévoir le caractère des ententes qui seront conclues avec les autres groupes, mais je serais enclin à penser qu'elles seront très généreuses et tout à fait distinctes, et qu'elles ne nous obligeront donc pas à revenir sur ce projet de loi.

Le sénateur Marshall: Ne sommes-nous pas en train de créer un précédent, ici, de par le fait que l'on semble accorder une préférence à une race en particulier?

M. Fournier: Nous reconnaissons, ce faisant, le traitement que nous avons infligé à des Canadiens japonais au début des années 40, pendant la guerre et après la guerre, situation unique et sans précédent. La plupart de ces gens, qui étaient des citoyens canadiens, ont été internés pour la durée de la guerre et, dans bien des cas, pendant encore un bon bout de temps après la fin de la guerre. Cette loi reconnaît l'expérience unique qu'ont vécue ces citoyens canadiens.

Le sénateur Marshall: Je n'en ferai pas tout un plat, mais je ne suis pas d'accord.

M. Fournier: Si le sénateur craint que la mention des Japonais dans le projet de loi accorde une préférence aux «questions japonaises», il est tout à fait clair dans le projet de loi, et dans l'optique du gouvernement, que le but de la fondation intéresse toutes les questions de relations raciales, qu'il s'agisse des autochtones, des Japonais ou de Canadiens d'autres origines.

Senator David: In the definitions and the recitals, I had the pleasure of coming across a new word in French, whereas in English, the language is very clear.

La Charte canadienne des droits et libertés stipule que la loi ne fait acception de personne et s'applique également à tous.

When I read the French version initially, it wasn't very clear—I am referring to the preamble where it states that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms provides that "La loi ne fait acception de personne". I thought that they really meant was "ne fait exception de personne". I looked in a number of dictionaries, in which the word did not appear, before I was finally able to determine, in legal dictionaries, that it is

[Text]

Finalement, alors, je me demande si le mot courant n'aurait pas pu être employé plutôt qu'un mot qui me semble légal, qui a une certaine ancienneté et qui expliquerait mieux. J'ai perdu pas mal de temps à me demander si c'était une faute d'orthographe si cela voulait vraiment dire quelque chose.

Mme Louise Maguire-Wellington, avocat-conseil: Pour en expliquer la définition on cite textuellement libellé de la Charte.

Le sénateur David: Alors il faudrait que je retourne à la Charte elle-même.

Ma deuxième remarque est plus importante. Encore là, on retrouve presque la possession du gouvernement dans cette Fondation canadienne des relations raciales puisqu'il nomme 20 administrateurs. Il nomme le directeur général; il nomme trois membres sur cinq du comité de placement. Je me demande jusqu'à quel point cette organisation, comme l'autre, peut jouir, (si vous me permettez le mot), d'une certaine autonomie administrative?

Si je compare ce modèle par exemple, au modèle hospitalier, nous avons des hôpitaux qui appartiennent, pour toutes fins pratiques, au gouvernement. Ils sont financés à 95 p. cent par le gouvernement.

Il y a eu un effort de démocratisation pour que les administrateurs, que des représentants du gouvernement soient sur les conseils d'administration. Il y a d'autres types de représentants pour lesquels le gouvernement n'a pas un mot à dire. Le directeur général est sélectionné par un comité de sélection et il doit être approuvé éventuellement par le gouvernement.

Je ne retrouve pas, dans une structure pourtant très étatique, un modèle aussi étatisé d'appartenance comme celui-là, alors que l'on demande dans un autre paragraphe, (comme je vous l'ai dit tout à l'heure), à la population de contribuer, aux compagnies d'envoyer des dons et qu'on leur donne le privilège d'envoyer des reçus pour fins d'impôt. Alors, il y a quelque chose qui j'espère va se corriger avec le temps.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je suis tout à fait d'accord avec le sénateur David.

Le danger pour un tel organisme qui justement devrait avoir de l'indépendance, qui souvent devra trancher... (tout à l'heure je parlais du gâteau), peut-être entre un groupe et d'autres groupes, il m'apparaît très sage que les nominations ne viennent pas strictement du gouvernement. Qu'il y en ait quelques unes, je suis d'accord. Mais le reste c'est que les membres risquent de changer avec les changements de gouvernements. Peut-être pas dans l'immédiat mais ensuite il va y avoir une influence très grande du gouvernement. C'est dangereux parce que les gouvernements changent. C'est heureux mais cela fait fluctuer peut-être les priorités! Je trouve cela embêtant dans une fondation comme le sénateur David l'a signalé, qui va aller chercher des fonds privés.

[Traduction]

more or less the equivalent of the expression "ne fait pas l'exception de".

So, I just wonder whether the more common word could not have been used instead of a purely legal term which, while it be have been used for some time, is not very clear. I wasted quite a bit of time wondering whether it was just a spelling mistake or whether it actually meant something.

Mrs. Louise Maguire-Wellington, Legal Counsel: With respect to the wording of the definition, we have reproduced here the actual wording of the Charter.

Senator David: So, I guess I will have to go back to the Charter itself.

My second comment is more important. Once again, the government has practically exclusive authority over the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, since it appoints the 20 directors, the executive director and three of the five members of the Investment Committee. I really wonder whether this organization, like the other, will really have any administrative autonomy.

If I compare what is proposed here to the hospital model, the fact is we have hospitals that really belong the government for all intents and purposes. They receive 95 p. 100 of their funding from the government.

There has been an effort to democratize this sector, so that hospital administrators as well as government representatives would make up the board of directors. There are other types of representatives in whose selection the government has no say whatsoever. The executive director is chosen by a selection committee, although the choice must eventually be approved by the government.

I am having a hard time finding in other types of thoroughly nationalized organizations an organizational structure as government controlled as this one is, especially since in another paragraph (as I mentioned earlier) Canadians and private companies are being asked to contribute to the foundation in exchange for the privilege of being given income tax receipts. So I do hope there will be some attempt to correct this over time.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I fully agree with senator David on that.

An organization such as this is precisely the kind of organization that should be independent because it will be called upon to choose some groups over others, and it just seems a lot wiser, as far as I am concerned, that all the appointments not be made by the government. I certainly agree that it should be responsible for some of them. But the problem is that the members are likely to change every time there is a change of government. Perhaps not in the short term, but I can see the government's influence becoming very strong in the future. To me, that's dangerous, because governments do change—fortunately. But that also means that priorities may change! I see that as a problem for a foundation which, as senator David was pointing out earlier, is going to be seeking private sector funding.

[Text]

Je pense qu'il devrait y avoir majoritairement des gens de la communauté. Je suis certaine qu'il y a bien des modèles ici afin de développer des mécanismes pour savoir comment on va chercher ces gens dans la communauté. Que d'autre part, il y ait une représentation du gouvernement, je me demande si on ne devrait pas aller jusqu'à proposer un amendement dans ce sens.

The Chairman: Perhaps before you comment further, you could add one other to your list. Once again, "race" is not defined in the bill. It is a very difficult term. You will note that the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination restricts the scope of the word "race". Why does the name of the foundation not make any reference to racism when what you are trying to do is eliminate or diminish racism? That is the major objective of this work.

M. Fournier: Quant à la première partie de la question au sujet de la structure particulière qui a été retenue ici, comme je vous l'ai dit tout à l'heure, ce n'est pas une structure que le Secrétariat d'État a inventé. C'est une structure qui a été utilisée ailleurs dans la mise sur pieds d'autres instituts par le gouvernement fédéral et cette structure reflète entre autres choses le principe de la responsabilité ministérielle.

Il y a des sommes d'argent assez considérables qui sont engagées ici. Il ministre est comptable auprès du Parlement pour l'utilisation des fonds qui seront faits à travers cette fondation. Donc le gouvernement estime que le gouverneur en conseil doit avoir la responsabilité ultime pour nommer les membres et le directeur exécutif.

Encore là, je le répète ce n'est pas unique à la Fondation sur les relations raciales. C'est également le modèle qui a été utilisé pour l'établissement par le Parlement de d'autres types d'instituts.

Comme le sénateur David l'a dit, peut-être qu'avec le temps cela va évoluer lorsque l'on aura une meilleure idée de la capacité de cette Fondation ou de la capacité de l'Institut des langues patrimoniales, à lever des fonds du secteur privé, d'autres gouvernements ou d'ailleurs. Pour l'instant cela demeure des points d'interrogation. Ce sont des vœux exprimés par le gouvernement. Si cela se concrétise, il y aura peut-être lieu effectivement de revoir. Mais pour l'instant le modèle utilisé, je le répète, c'est le modèle standard c'est un modèle qui a été utilisé au fil des années. Nous n'avons pas prétendu innover ici. Nous avons voulu établir une fondation qui respecte les principes historiques de la responsabilité ministérielle.

Ms. Shirley Serafini, Assistant Under Secretary of State-Multiculturalism, Secretary of State of Canada: On the question of the title of the foundation and the use of the term race, the term in the title is "race relations" which is a discipline, a field of study. The term is widely used. There are courses in race relations at universities and there are race relations directorates in provincial governments as well as race relations officers with school boards. So it is a broad term that refers to a discipline of a study that deals with issues involving barriers to equality of people based on origin. We felt that the title, Canadian Race Relations Foundation, was both a positive title

[Traduction]

I feel that the majority of its directors should be committee representatives. I am sure there must be models somewhere we could use to ensure appropriate committee representation. I am not opposed to some government representation, but I just wonder whether we shouldn't perhaps propose an amendment to the Bill along those lines.

Le président: Avant d'aller plus loin, vous pourriez peut-être ajouter un autre élément à votre liste. Encore une fois, le mot «race» n'est pas défini dans le projet de loi. C'est une notion très difficile. Vous noterez que la Convention internationale sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale limite l'étendue du mot «race». Pourquoi ne fait-on aucune mention du racisme dans le nom de la fondation, quand on sait que ce que vous tentez de faire, c'est précisément d'éliminer ou de réduire le racisme? C'est le principal objectif de cet exercice.

Mr. Fournier: With respect to the first part of your question regarding the structure decided on here, as I was mentioning earlier, this is not something the Secretary of State thought up on its own. This same structure has been used for a number of other institutes that have been established by the federal government. It is based, among other things, on the principle of ministerial accountability.

We are talking about quite considerable amounts of money here. The Minister is accountable to Parliament for the use of those funds within the foundation. Consequently, the government feels the Governor in Council should have the ultimate responsibility for appointing Board members and the Executive Director.

But again, this is not unique to the Race Relations Foundation. It is exactly the same model used for the establishment by Parliament of other types of institutes.

As Senator David mentioned, perhaps things will change over time, once we have a better idea of the ability of both the foundation and the Heritage Languages Institute to raise money from the private sector, other governments or elsewhere. Those are only question marks at this time. That is the government's wish, and if that wish is fulfilled, there may indeed be a need to review the foundation's structure. But as I say, the model you see here is the standard one. It has been used repeatedly over the years. This was not an attempt on our parts to be innovative. We only wanted to establish a foundation whose structure would be consistent with the historical principles of ministerial accountability.

Mme Shirley Serafini, sous-secrétaire adjointe, Multiculturalisme, Secrétariat d'État du Canada: Au sujet du nom de la fondation et de l'utilisation du mot «race», l'expression dans le nom de la fondation est «relations raciales», qui correspond à une discipline, un domaine d'étude. L'expression est largement utilisée. Il y a des cours de relations raciales qui se donnent dans les universités, et il y a des directions des relations raciales dans les gouvernements provinciaux ainsi que des agents des relations raciales dans les conseils scolaires. C'est donc un terme général se rattachant à une discipline qui s'intéresse à des questions ayant trait aux obstacles à l'égalité des personnes

[Text]

and one that was easily understood by the community groups, the public at large, as well as all the other kinds of organizations and institutions that we would like to see access the foundation. That is the reason for the title. With respect to the question of what is included in the mandate of the foundation, its purpose is clearly set out in the beginning in clause 4, which reads:

The purpose of the Foundation is to facilitate throughout Canada the development, sharing and application of knowledge and expertise in order to contribute to the elimination of racism and all forms of racial discrimination in Canadian Society . . .

The UN definition of "racial discrimination" is very broad and inclusive. It is:

. . . any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

Canada is a signatory to the UN agreement, so these kinds of definitions are referred to indirectly through the preamble clause that reflects our international commitments.

The Chairman: What is the difference between "race relations" as defined by you now and "multiculturalism"?

Ms. Serafini: There are a number of aspects in "multiculturalism". I would see "race relations" as a sub-set of "multiculturalism". "Multiculturalism" is a very broad subject that deals with a range of issues relating to the fact that we are a society characterized by cultural diversity and people of many different backgrounds. That raises a lot of issues. "Race relations" deals with the issues of intergroup relations, relations between groups and, more specifically, usually issues of discrimination against minority groups who lack access to equality in this society and with dealing with those inequalities. There are other dimensions to "multiculturalism" as well, such as the retention of cultural heritages, the integration of newcomers into Canadian society and the range of objectives set out in Bill C-93, the legislation that led to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act.

The Chairman: I am sure that we could come back to this subject, because under those definitions you could include "sexism" if you are talking about a group conflict. I mean, that is class relations.

Ms. Serafini: No, I think we are talking about inter-ethnic group relations.

The Chairman: What is that? I am not trying to engage you in debate. However, I do not think that "race relations" courses will last more than another six months because it is

[Traduction]

fondés sur l'origine. Nous avons pensé que le nom, Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, était un nom positif qui était aussi facilement compris par les groupes communautaires, la population en général, ainsi que par tous les autres genres d'organismes et d'institutions que nous voudrions voir s'intéresser à la Fondation. C'est la raison pour laquelle nous avons adopté ce nom. Pour ce qui est du mandat de la Fondation, son objectif est clairement énoncé au début de l'article 4, où l'on peut lire:

La Fondation a pour mission de faciliter, dans l'ensemble du pays, le développement, le partage et la mise en œuvre de toute connaissance ou compétence utile en vue de contribuer à l'élimination du racisme et de toute forme de discrimination raciale au Canada . . .

La définition de «discrimination raciale» de l'ONU est très large. Voici:

. . . toute distinction, exclusion, restriction ou préférence fondées sur la race, la couleur, l'ascendance ou l'origine nationale ou ethnique, qui a pour but ou pour effet de détruire ou de compromettre la reconnaissance, la jouissance ou l'exercice dans des conditions d'égalité, des droits de l'homme et des libertés fondamentales dans les domaines politique, économique, social et culturel ou dans tout autre domaine de la vie publique.

Le Canada fait partie des Nations Unies. C'est pourquoi on fait indirectement allusion à ce genre de définition dans le préambule. Cela reflète nos engagements internationaux.

Le président: Quelle différence y a-t-il entre «relations raciales» comme vous les définissez maintenant, et «multiculturalisme»?

Mme Serafini: Il y a de nombreux aspects dans le «multiculturalisme». Les «relations raciales» m'apparaissent comme un sous-élément du «multiculturalisme». Le «multiculturalisme» est un sujet très vaste qui s'intéresse à un éventail de questions liées au fait que nous sommes une société caractérisée par une diversité culturelle et des personnes de nombreuses origines différentes. Cela soulève un grand nombre de questions. Les «relations raciales» portent davantage sur les questions des relations inter-groupes, des relations entre les groupes et, plus précisément, en général, des questions de discrimination contre des groupes minoritaires qui ne jouissent pas vraiment d'un statut d'égalité dans notre société, et sur la façon d'éliminer ces inégalités. Il y a aussi d'autres dimensions au «multiculturalisme» comme la conservation du patrimoine culturel, l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants dans la société canadienne et l'ensemble des objectifs fixés par le projet de loi C-93, loi qui a mené à l'adoption de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien.

Le président: Je suis persuadée que nous pourrions revenir sur ce sujet, parce que l'on pourrait inclure le «sexisme» dans ces définitions, dans le cas d'un conflit entre des groupes. Il s'agit de relations entre des classes.

Mme Serafini: Non, je pense qu'il s'agit plutôt de relations interethniques.

Le président: Que voulez-vous dire? Je n'essaie pas de vous embarquer dans une discussion. Toutefois, je ne pense pas que les cours de «relations raciales» vont continuer à se donner

[Text]

such an offensive term. I am sure that we will be coming back to this title. As anybody who works on a university campus knows, one does not use that term anymore, particularly since Professor Rushton contributed to the debate in this country.

In any event, thank you very much. I am sure that you have explained very clearly the intentions of the government in this regard. Are there any quick final questions?

Senator Marshall: I would remind the witnesses with regard to the selection of the board of directors that there are ten provinces and two territories in this country and they should all be represented on the board.

The Chairman: You will have to give that message to the minister.

Senator Marshall: I will. It will avoid having to put a question on the Order Paper.

The Chairman: I thank all of you for coming. We will now go *in camera* to deal with Bill C-18.

The committee continued *in camera*.

[Traduction]

encore bien longtemps parce que l'expression est trop offensante. Je suis persuadée que nous allons revenir sur le nom que l'on a donné à la Fondation. Comme tous ceux qui travaillent dans une université le savent, cette expression n'a plus cours, notamment depuis la contribution du professeur Rushton au débat.

Quoi qu'il en soit, merci beaucoup. Vous nous avez expliqué très clairement les intentions du gouvernement à cet égard. Y a-t-il d'autres questions, pour terminer?

Le sénateur Marshall: Au sujet du choix des membres du conseil d'administration, je rappelle aux témoins qu'il y a 10 provinces et deux territoires dans notre pays, et que tous devraient y être représentés.

Le président: C'est un message que vous allez devoir transmettre au ministre.

Le sénateur Marshall: J'en ai l'intention. Cela m'évitera de devoir inscrire une question au *Feuilleton*.

Le président: Je vous remercie d'être venus nous reconstruire. Nous allons maintenant transformer la séance en huis clos afin de discuter du projet de loi C-18.

La réunion se poursuit à huis clos.



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WITNESSES—TÉMOINS

From the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada:

Mr. Jean T. Fournier, Under Secretary of State;
Mrs. Mary Gusella, Associate Under Secretary of State;
Mrs. Shirley Serafini, Assistant Under Secretary of State,
Multiculturalism;
Mrs. Louise Maguire-Wellington, General Counsel;
Mr. Louis Reynolds, General Counsel, Legal Services;
Mrs. Anne Scotton, Executive Director, Multiculturalism
Secretariat;
Mrs. Judy Young, Director, Heritage Cultures and Lan-
guages.

Du Secrétariat d'État du Canada:

M. Jean T. Fournier, sous-secrétaire d'État;
M^{me} Mary Gusella, sous-secrétaire d'État associée;
M^{me} Shirley Serafini, sous-secrétaire d'État adjointe (Multi-
culturalisme);
M^{me} Louise Maguire-Wellington, avocat général;
M. Louis Reynolds, avocat général, Services juridiques;
M^{me} Anne Scotton, directeur exécutif, Secrétariat au Multi-
culturalisme;
M^{me} Judy Young, directrice, Cultures et langues ancestrales.

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Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Thursday, January 17, 1991

Le jeudi 17 janvier 1991

Issue No. 30

Second Proceedings on:

Bill C-37, An Act to establish the
Canadian Heritage Languages
Institute

Second Proceedings on:

Bill C-63, An Act to establish the
Canadian Race Relations
Foundation

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)



Fascicule n° 30

Deuxième fascicule concernant:

Le Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant
l'Institut canadien des langues
patrimoniales

Deuxième fascicule concernant:

Le Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant
la Fondation canadienne des relations
raciales

TÉMOINS:

(Voir à l'endos)

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	Lavoie-Roux
Bonnell	*MacEachen (or Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray (or Doody)
Hébert	Spivak
Kirby	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

(Quorum 4)

Pursuant to Rule 66(4), membership of the Committee was amended as follows:

The name of the Honourable Senator Corbin for that of the Honourable Senator Hébert (January 17, 1991).

The name of the Honourable Senator Teed for that of the Honourable Senator Lavoie-Roux (January 17, 1991).

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT DES
AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES ET DE
LA TECHNOLOGIE

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	Lavoie-Roux
Bonnell	*MacEachen (ou Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray (ou Doody)
Hébert	Spivak
Kirby	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

(Quorum 4)

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Corbin substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Hébert (le 17 janvier 1991).

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Teed substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Lavoie-Roux (le 17 janvier 1991).

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate* of Thursday, December 20, 1990:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Kinsella, seconded by the Honourable Senator Castonguay, for the second reading of the Bill C-63, An Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Kelly, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate* of Friday, December 21, 1990:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Robertson, seconded by the Honourable Senator MacDonald (*Halifax*), for the second reading of the Bill C-37, An Act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Simard, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du jeudi 20 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Kinsella, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Castonguay, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Kelly, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du vendredi 21 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Robertson, appuyée par l'honorable sénateur MacDonald (*Halifax*), tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Simard, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon Barnhart

Clerk of the Senate

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE JEUDI 17 JANVIER 1991
(54)

[*Texte*]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à 11 h 15, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (présidente).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs David, Kinsella, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson et Thériault. (7)

Autres sénateurs présents: L'honorable sénateur Corbin pour l'honorable sénateur Hébert; l'honorable sénateur Teed pour l'honorable sénateur Lavoie-Roux. Les honorables sénateurs Bosa, Di Nino et Oliver.

Également présente: M^{me} Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Témoins:

Du Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada:

M. Alex Münter, membre du Conseil exécutif et membre du Conseil exécutif du Congrès Germano-canadien;

M. Andrew Cardozo, directeur exécutif.

De l'Assemblée des Premières nations:

M. Ovide Mercredi, vice-président régional (Manitoba);

M^{me} Ruth Norton, directeur (Éducation).

Du Congrès juif canadien:

M. Eric Vernon, directeur général.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de ses Ordres de renvoi du 20 décembre 1990 et du 21 décembre 1990, concernant respectivement les projets de loi a) C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales; et b) C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Le Comité entend les présentations des témoins des deux premières organisations et les témoins répondent aux questions.

À 12 heures, la réunion est ajournée.

À 12 h 15, la séance reprend.

Le Comité décide d'inviter l'organisation «Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages», à propos du projet de loi C-37, lors de sa réunion prévue pour le mardi 22 janvier 1991.

Le Comité décide d'entendre le député Bill Kempling, parain du projet de loi C-260, lors de sa réunion prévue pour le mardi 22 janvier 1991.

Lors de cette réunion, le Comité considérera ses rapports sur les projets de loi C-37 et C-63.

Le Comité entend le dernier témoin et ce témoin répond aux questions.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1991
(54)

[*Translation*]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met this day at 11:15 o'clock a.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators David, Kinsella, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson and Thériault. (7)

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Corbin for the Honourable Senator Hébert, the Honourable Senator Teed for the Honourable Senator Lavoie-Roux, the Honourable Senators Bosa, Di Nino and Oliver.

Also present: Mrs. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

Witnesses:

From the Canadian Ethnocultural Council:

Mr. Alex Münter, Member of the Executive Committee and Member of the German-Canadian Congress;

Mr. Andrew Cardozo, Executive Director.

From the Assembly of First Nations:

Mr. Ovide Mercredi, Regional Vice-President (Manitoba);

Mrs. Ruth Norton, Director (Education).

From the Canadian Jewish Congress:

Mr. Eric Vernon, Director General.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated December 20, 1990 and December 21, 1990 respecting a) Bill C-63, An Act to Establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, and b) Bill C-37, An Act to Establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

The Committee heard from witnesses from the first two organizations; the witnesses answered questions.

The committee adjourned at 12:00 o'clock.

The committee resumed at 12:15 o'clock.

The Committee resolved to invite the "Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages" to appear before the Committee regarding Bill C-37 at its meeting scheduled for Tuesday, January 22, 1991.

The Committee resolved to hear from Bill Kempling, Member of Parliament and sponsor of Bill C-260, at its meeting scheduled for Tuesday, January 22, 1991.

At this meeting, the Committee will consider its reports on Bill C-37 and Bill C-63.

The Committee heard from the last witness, who answered questions.

À 14 heures, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTÉ:

At 2 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTEST:

Le greffier du Comité

Serge Pelletier

Clerk of the Committee

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, January 17, 1991

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, to which were referred Bill C-37, to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, and Bill C-63, to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, met this day at 11:00 a.m. to give consideration to the bills.

Senator Lorna Marsden (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: We have two bills in front of us: Bill C-37, an Act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, and Bill C-63, an Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. We heard officials from the Secretary of State concerning these bills on Tuesday morning and we have witnesses to hear from this morning. All our witnesses will be delayed by security downstairs. We understand that is the difficulty.

Here this morning from the Canadian Ethnocultural Council is Mr. Andrew Cardozo, Executive Director; and Mr. Alex Münter, Member of the Executive Committee and Member of the German-Canadian Congress. We welcome you here this morning and look forward to your comments.

Mr. Andrew Cardozo, Executive Director, Canadian Ethnocultural Council: We have copies of our briefs here.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Senator Corbin: Are they the same briefs that were presented to the House of Commons committee?

Mr. Cardozo: They are.

Senator Corbin: Nothing has changed?

Mr. Cardozo: No. We will speak verbally about the changes that we shall put forward.

The Chairman: Perhaps we could begin with Mr. Münter.

Mr. Alex Münter, Member of the Executive Committee, and Member of the German-Canadian Congress, Canadian Ethnocultural Council: Before I start, I must say that I do not want to be here. In fact, I did not want to get out of bed this morning after the events of the past 24 hours. Among a lot of people my age there is a tremendous amount of cynicism about our institutions, our Parliament and politicians around the world—I suppose there is for many people my age. I have always believed in these institutions and have believed that you could change this in these institutions. After watching our leaders here in Canada and our leaders around the world act with less dignity than children in a sandbox, I have to say that some of my faith has been shattered.

In any event, on the issue that is at hand, Bill C-37—

Senator Marshall: Point of order concerning about what you are getting at. I am a Canadian citizen and a senator. I have worked here for 25 years. The people of Canada that I repre-

TÉMOIGNAGES

Ottawa, le jeudi 17 janvier 1991

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, auquel ont été renvoyés le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales, et le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, se réunit aujourd'hui à 11 heures pour examiner ces deux projets de loi.

Le sénateur Lorna Marsden (président) occupe le fauteuil.

Le président: Nous avons deux projets de loi à examiner: le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales; et le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. Mardi matin, nous avons entendu les témoignages des fonctionnaires du secrétariat d'État et, ce matin, nous avons d'autres témoins à entendre. Tous nos témoins ont été retardés par les mesures de sécurité prises à l'entrée. Nous réalisons que c'est un problème.

Sont présents ce matin les témoins du Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada, M. Andrew Cardozo, directeur administratif, et M. Alex Münter, membre du conseil exécutif et membre du Congrès germano-canadien. Messieurs, nous vous souhaitons la bienvenue ce matin et nous sommes prêts à écouter vos commentaires.

M. Andrew Cardozo, directeur administratif, Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada: Nous avons apporté des copies de nos mémoires.

Le président: Merci beaucoup.

Le sénateur Corbin: Est-ce qu'il s'agit des mémoires que vous avez présentés au comité de la Chambre des communes?

M. Cardozo: Oui, ce sont les mêmes.

Le sénateur Corbin: Vous n'avez rien changé?

M. Cardozo: Non. Nous allons vous présenter oralement les changements que nous avons l'intention de proposer.

Le président: Nous allons peut-être commencer par M. Münter.

M. Alex Münter, membre du conseil exécutif et membre du Congrès germano-canadien, Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada: Avant de commencer, j'aimerais dire que j'aurais préféré être ailleurs ce matin. En fait, j'aurais préféré rester couché ce matin après avoir appris ce qui se passe depuis 24 heures. Les gens de mon âge sont très sceptiques vis-à-vis des institutions, de notre Parlement et des hommes politiques à travers le monde. Je crois que beaucoup de gens de ma génération pensent comme moi. J'ai toujours eu foi dans ces institutions et j'ai toujours cru que vous pourriez les faire évoluer. Après avoir vu nos dirigeants canadiens et les dirigeants des autres pays du monde se comporter avec moins de dignité que des enfants qui se chamaillent, je dois dire que mon optimisme en a pris un coup.

Mais nous sommes ici pour parler du projet de loi C-37...

Le sénateur Marshall: J'en appelle au Règlement pour commenter ce que vous semblez insinuer. Je suis citoyen canadien et sénateur. Je travaille ici depuis 25 ans. Le peuple du Canada

[Text]

sent think that I am doing a good job. I do not like your approach to politicians—evidently that is who you are referring to, as well as government.

Mr. Münter: No.

Senator Marshall: I can criticize the youth of our country today, too, in some aspects, but I appreciate them because they are growing up. I think you should also grow up!

The Chairman: Senator Marshall, we should move on to the legislation in front of us.

Senator David: Yes, and with no interruptions.

Senator Marshall: I am a Canadian citizen and I resent that.

Senator Corbin: That is what we are here for, namely, the legislation. Let's get on with it.

The Chairman: Let us get on with the legislation. Perhaps we can debate the other matters later. Please continue, Mr. Münter.

Mr. Münter: Bill C-37 is an act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, but I will tell you something about the Canadian Ethnocultural Council before I continue.

The Canadian Ethnocultural Council is a coalition of 37 national ethnic umbrella organizations. Those 37 organizations in turn represent over 2,000 local chapters from coast to coast to coast, representing millions of Canadians of various backgrounds. If you refer to the last page of the brief on Bill C-37, you will see a list of all our member organizations. They represent a wide spectrum of Canadians.

I will briefly go through the recommendations contained in the brief. Mr. Cardozo will then deal with Bill C-63. I will go through it briefly to allow for an opportunity to answer questions, if there are any.

Basically, these are, as was mentioned by Senator Corbin, the same requests that we made when we appeared before the House of Commons committee. The first recommendation is found on page 4 of the brief. It concerns the removal of the reference to "Aboriginal languages" under the definition of heritage languages. The House of Commons committee did in part make this change in the bill. Although the explicit reference to "Aboriginal languages" has been removed, the implicit reference to them still exists. This is a recommendation that we made after consultations with Aboriginal communities, who do not feel that their languages—and we agree with them—have the same issues and the same problems as heritage languages. We are talking about different issues here.

The Chairman: Mr. Münter, you might know that the AFM are our next witnesses this morning.

Mr. Münter: Our second recommendation is outlined on page 5. This deals with an addition of a clause to the bill that would allow the institute to provide specific funds for heritage language classes across the country.

[Traduction]

que je représente estime que je fais du bon travail. Je ne suis pas d'accord avec votre vision des hommes politiques... que vous visez dans vos commentaires, de même que le gouvernement.

M. Münter: Non.

Le sénateur Marshall: Je pourrais, moi aussi, critiquer les jeunes Canadiens, mais je les apprécie parce qu'ils représentent le Canada de demain. Je pense que vous devriez, vous aussi, acquérir un peu de maturité!

Le président: Sénateur Marshall, nous devons examiner les projets de loi qui nous ont été soumis.

Le sénateur David: Oui, et sans interruption.

Le sénateur Marshall: En tant que citoyen canadien, je suis blessé par de tels commentaires.

Le sénateur Corbin: Nous sommes ici pour examiner les projet de loi. Allons-y donc sans plus tarder.

Le président: Nous pourrions peut-être parler d'autre chose plus tard, mais pour l'instant, revenons aux projets de loi. Monsieur Münter, veuillez continuer.

M. Münter: Avant de vous parler du projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales, je vais vous parler brièvement du Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada.

Le Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada est une coalition de 37 organisations ethniques nationales qui représentent plus de 2,000 groupes régionaux, d'un océan à l'autre, et plusieurs millions de Canadiens d'origines diverses. Vous trouverez, à la dernière page de notre mémoire concernant le projet de loi C-37, une liste de toutes les organisations membres, qui représentent une vaste gamme de Canadiens.

Je vais brièvement passer en revue les recommandations contenues dans notre mémoire. M. Cardozo parlera ensuite du projet de loi C-63. Je serai bref afin d'être disponible pour répondre aux questions que vous voudrez bien poser.

Comme l'a mentionné le sénateur Corbin, nous présentons essentiellement les mêmes demandes que celles que nous avons exposées au comité de la Chambre des communes. La première recommandation se trouve à la page 4 du mémoire. Elle se rapporte à la suppression de la mention «langues autochtones» dans la définition des langues patrimoniales. Le comité de la Chambre des communes a en partie modifié le projet de loi en ce sens. Malheureusement, même si le projet de loi ne mentionne plus les «langues autochtones», il continue cependant d'y faire implicitement référence. Nous avons présenté cette recommandation en consultation avec les communautés autochtones, qui estiment, à juste titre, que leurs langues ne posent pas les mêmes problèmes que les langues patrimoniales. Il s'agit de deux questions totalement différentes.

Le président: Vous savez peut-être, monsieur Münter, que nos prochains témoins ce matin sont les représentants de l'Assemblée des premières nations.

M. Münter: Notre deuxième recommandation, mentionnée à la page 5, propose l'addition d'un article qui permettra à l'institut d'attribuer des fonds pour l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales dans l'ensemble du pays.

[Text]

For many of our member communities this is perhaps one of the most serious issues. You may know that approximately one year ago the entire federal financial support for heritage language classes was eliminated in the federal budget. It amounted to approximately \$4.1 million, which supported approximately 1,300 students from coast to coast. At that time the government completely eliminated an important program for a great many heritage language schools and weakened the functioning of many of those schools. Although the institute will serve a valuable purpose, we maintain that there is a problem. It is fine to set up an institute that will help with the pedagogic materials and the pedagogic techniques, and so on, for heritage language instruction. You are doing that on the one hand, and then on the other hand you are subverting the very schools that teach the heritage languages, that creates a problem. We should like to see that addressed by adding a clause that would allow the institute to help provide the schools with the funds that they need.

The third recommendation, which is found on page 6, deals with the addition of a clause that will allow the institute to assist in the teaching of languages that will be beneficial to Canada's international trading and relations aims.

The federal government has announced some funding specifically for Pacific Rim languages in recognition of the developing trade relationship between, specifically, Canada's west coast and Pacific Rim countries. What we are getting at with this amendment is recognition. Although there is a tremendous important and significant cultural component of heritage languages, there are also economic benefits to be gained from the financing of these classes. We see the Pacific Rim as one example. Certainly with the opening up of eastern Europe we have large communities here in Canada that speak the languages of many of the newly industrializing eastern European economies. Economic advantages exist to developing instruction in these languages.

Our fourth recommendation is that regional offices be established across the country so that the institute has a presence throughout Canada. I do not think anyone has a problem with the headquarters being situated in Edmonton. Regional offices will help boost profiles around the country and help with the work.

Our fifth recommendation is that a \$1 million endowment be received by the institute for the first five years to make the institute more solvent and assure its future financial base.

Finally, we recommend that the annual report of the minister should be made available for review and Parliamentary scrutiny and go before the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship of the House of Commons.

This is the list of recommendations that we are making.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. It would be more to the point if we were to have questions on Bill C-37 first, and

[Traduction]

Il s'agit peut-être d'une des questions les plus importantes pour une grande partie de nos membres. Vous savez peut-être que le gouvernement fédéral a supprimé entièrement de son budget, il y a environ un an, toute l'aide qu'il accordait à l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales. Environ 1,300 élèves des diverses régions du Canada bénéficiaient de cette aide d'à peu près 4,1 millions de dollars. En supprimant cette aide, le gouvernement a complètement éliminé un important programme dont bénéficiaient bon nombre d'écoles d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales, rendant ainsi plus difficile le bon fonctionnement de beaucoup de ces écoles. Même si l'institut sera très utile, nous maintenons que cela pose problème. C'est très bien de créer un institut qui mettra au point du matériel et des méthodes pédagogiques pour l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales, mais si l'on supprime les écoles qui enseignent ces langues, cela n'a aucun sens. Nous aimerions que ce problème soit réglé par l'addition d'un article qui autoriserait l'institut à accorder une aide financière aux écoles qui en ont besoin.

La troisième recommandation, qui figure à la page 6, propose l'addition d'un article qui permettra à l'institut d'aider à enseigner les langues qui seront bénéfiques pour les relations commerciales et internationales du Canada.

Afin de favoriser l'essor des relations commerciales entre la côte ouest du Canada et les pays du Pacifique, le gouvernement fédéral a annoncé qu'il avait l'intention de financer l'enseignement de certaines langues des pays du Pacifique. Ce que nous demandons par cet amendement, c'est une reconnaissance. En effet, nous voulons que le gouvernement reconnaisse qu'il peut obtenir des avantages importants, non seulement sur le plan culturel, mais également sur le plan économique, en finançant l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales. Les langues des pays du Pacifique en sont un exemple. Nous assistons, depuis quelque temps, à l'ouverture de l'Europe de l'Est. Or, il y a au Canada beaucoup de personnes qui parlent les langues de bon nombre de ces sociétés nouvellement industrialisées de l'Europe de l'Est. Sur le plan économique, il serait utile d'encourager l'enseignement de ces langues.

Notre quatrième recommandation concerne la création de bureaux régionaux qui permettraient à l'institut d'affirmer sa présence dans toutes les régions du pays. Je pense que le choix d'Edmonton comme siège de l'institut ne pose problème à personne. Les bureaux régionaux se répartiront le travail et aideront à faire mieux connaître l'institut.

Dans notre cinquième recommandation, nous demandons que l'institut reçoive 1 million de dollars pendant les cinq premières années, afin qu'il puisse se constituer une solide base financière pour les années ultérieures.

Enfin, nous recommandons que le rapport annuel du ministre fasse l'objet d'un examen et de consultations publiques et parlementaires et soit soumis au Comité permanent du multiculturalisme et de la citoyenneté de la Chambre des communes.

Voilà les recommandations que nous proposons.

Le président: Merci beaucoup. Je crois qu'il est préférable de poser tout de suite les questions concernant le projet de loi

[Text]

then we will move on the question of the proposed Race Relations Act.

First, perhaps I could ask you to clarify what you mean by cuts of \$4.1 million. Was this to the supplementary school program?

Mr. Münter: Yes.

The Chairman: But what the Heritage Languages Institute is doing is not a resource for the supplementary schools programs; those are different things. Are you arguing for retention of the supplementary school program as opposed to the Heritage Languages Institute, or are you asking for money for both? How is it that you connect them, except in a general sense?

Mr. Münter: The program is gone.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Münter: That was a decision that was made in the budget. A lot of schools have suffered tremendously, especially the smaller schools. If you have a bigger school with hundreds of pupils, economies of scale allow—

The Chairman: We understand that, but how does that relate to the Heritage Languages Institute?

Mr. Münter: I would dispute the exception that they are not connected. You can set up an institute that helps language schools with their work, but if you are forcing language schools to close, who will the institute serve? If the government, in its wisdom, has made the decision to cut one particular program, perhaps the mandate of this institute can be broadened to help address that serious concern among schools.

The Chairman: Thank you. Are there any questions?

Senator Corbin: In referring to the witnesses' brief and the list of recommendations—and this is found on the second page, right after the title page—recommendation No. (6) states:

The Minister's Report should be made available for review as well as public and parliamentary consultation.

I am not quite sure if you mean the report of the institute to the minister or, if that is not the case, what you mean by "the minister's report".

Mr. Münter: The minister tabled the report on the institute in the House.

Senator Corbin: The act already provides for that.

Mr. Münter: But it does not provide for scrutiny by the standing committee. That is what is requested.

Senator Corbin: I do not understand the witness.

Mr. Cardozo: As I understand it, the current situation is that the annual report of the institute is tabled in the house by the minister. We are suggesting that there be a further clause that specifically notes that that report goes then to a House of Commons or other Parliamentary committee.

Senator Corbin: For each house?

Mr. Cardozo: For each house for scrutiny and review, yes.

[Traduction]

C-37 avant de passer aux questions concernant le projet de loi sur les relations raciales.

Je vais peut-être vous demander tout d'abord de préciser quelles sont ces coupures de 4,1 millions de dollars. Est-ce qu'il s'agissait des cours de langues supplémentaires?

M. Münter: En effet.

Le président: Mais l'Institut des langues patrimoniales n'a pas à financer les cours de langues supplémentaires; ce sont deux choses différentes. Est-ce que vous préférez le maintien des cours de langues supplémentaires à la création de l'Institut des langues patrimoniales ou est-ce que vous voulez que le gouvernement finance les deux? Quel lien autre que général voyez-vous entre les deux?

M. Münter: Le programme a été supprimé.

Le président: Oui.

M. Münter: Il a été victime des restrictions budgétaires. Bon nombre d'écoles, surtout les plus petites, en ont beaucoup souffert. En effet, les économies d'échelle permettent à une grande école comptant plusieurs centaines d'élèves...

Le président: Je comprends, mais quel est le rapport avec l'Institut des langues patrimoniales?

M. Münter: Bien sûr qu'il y a un rapport entre les deux! Il est inutile de créer un institut chargé d'aider les écoles de langues si ces dernières sont obligées de fermer leurs portes. Si le gouvernement, dans sa sagesse, a décidé de supprimer un programme, il faudrait peut-être élargir le mandat de l'institut afin de lui permettre de venir en aide aux écoles qui sont aux prises avec ce problème grave.

Le président: Merci. Est-ce qu'il y a des questions?

Le sénateur Corbin: Le mémoire présenté par les témoins contient, à la deuxième page, juste après la page titre, une liste de recommandations. La recommandation numéro 6 se lit comme suit:

Le rapport du ministre devrait faire l'objet d'un examen et de consultations publiques et parlementaires.

J'aimerais savoir s'il s'agit du rapport présenté par l'institut au ministre ou du rapport du ministre lui-même.

M. Münter: Le ministre a déposé à la Chambre un rapport sur l'institut.

Le sénateur Corbin: Cela est déjà prévu par la loi.

M. Münter: Oui, mais nous demandons que la loi exige son examen par le comité permanent.

Le sénateur Corbin: Je ne comprends pas le témoin.

M. Cardozo: Je crois qu'actuellement, le rapport annuel de l'institut est déposé à la Chambre par le ministre. Nous demandons l'addition d'un article supplémentaire demandant expressément que le rapport soit examiné par un comité de la Chambre des communes ou un autre comité parlementaire.

Le sénateur Corbin: De chaque Chambre?

M. Cardozo: Oui, nous demandons que le rapport soit examiné par les deux Chambres.

[Text]

Senator Corbin: But the act does not exclude that possibility at all.

Mr. Cardozo: It does not exclude that possibility. We are familiar with other acts such as the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, which specifically notes that this will go to a relevant committee. At this point it is simply tabled in the House. We are saying that it would help if there were a clear mandate for it to be sent to committee.

Senator Corbin: I am not sure what the rules of the House of Commons state, but, if my memory serves me right, under the new arrangements in the House of Commons a lot of these reports are automatically referred to committees. In the Senate any senator has the option of asking that they be referred to the proper committee. But other than these guarantees, I suppose that if you insist that the act specify that, I find no fault with that.

Senator David: I have a short question. I do not see the difference between the second and third recommendation; both seem to support the teaching of heritage languages, but to different clientele. What is the difference between these two items?

Mr. Mûnter: The \$14.7 million fund that I referred to previously has been aimed primarily at business people. This is a significant amount of money in terms of what we are talking about not only in terms of the institute but also in terms of the previous funding to heritage language schools.

Rather than having the government spend money somewhere else in terms of the business and economic aspect of heritage languages, we feel that there should be a recognition that heritage languages are more than just cultural. That is important in and of itself. They are more than just cultural, they also have an economic benefit to integrate this \$14.7 million program—and other things that the government might be interested in developing—as part of the mandate and program of the institute.

Senator David: Concerning your fourth recommendation about creating regional offices in Canada, do you not think that it will need much more money to create a subdivision of the institute?

Mr. Mûnter: You do not need a building in every town. You can incorporate it as part of universities, perhaps, or in terms of other federal government presences, and so on. We are not talking about a large legion of bureaucrats, we are talking about, for example, a small group of people in three or four other major centres. If we accept the premise that the work of this institute is important, then boosting its presence throughout the country can help accomplish that work.

Senator David: But it could be done through universities, colleges, and other means without having specific offices in cities with the name of "Subdivision of the Institute of Heritage Language".

[Traduction]

Le sénateur Corbin: Mais la loi n'exclut pas du tout cette possibilité.

M. Cardozo: Elle n'exclut pas cette possibilité. Nous connaissons d'autres lois, comme la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien, qui précisent que le rapport doit être examiné par un comité pertinent. Pour le moment, le projet de loi stipule uniquement que le rapport doit être déposé à la Chambre. Nous estimons qu'il serait préférable que la loi précise clairement que le rapport doit être examiné par un comité.

Le sénateur Corbin: Je ne sais pas exactement ce qu'en dit le Règlement de la Chambre des communes, mais si j'ai bonne mémoire, les nouvelles dispositions de la Chambre des communes prévoient le renvoi automatique de bon nombre de ces rapports aux comités. Au Sénat, n'importe quel sénateur peut demander l'examen d'un rapport par le comité approprié. Mais je ne vois pas d'inconvénient à ce que vous demandiez d'autres garanties, à ce que vous insistiez pour que le renvoi du rapport en comité soit précisé dans la loi.

Le sénateur David: Une petite question. Je ne vois pas quelle est la différence entre la deuxième et la troisième recommandations, qui semblent toutes deux préconiser l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales, mais à deux clientèles différentes. Pouvez-vous m'expliquer quelle est la différence?

M. Mûnter: Le montant de 14,7 millions de dollars que j'ai mentionné tout à l'heure est destiné principalement au milieu des affaires. Il s'agit d'une somme d'argent importante en ce qui nous concerne, non seulement pour l'institut, mais également si on la compara au financement que recevaient antérieurement les écoles de langues patrimoniales.

Nous souhaiterions que le gouvernement, plutôt que de consacrer de l'argent aux aspects économiques des langues patrimoniales, reconnaisse que ces dernières n'ont pas qu'un intérêt culturel. Il est important de reconnaître que les langues patrimoniales n'ont pas qu'un intérêt culturel et qu'il serait intéressant, économiquement parlant, de confier à l'institut ce programme de 14,7 millions de dollars, ainsi que tout autre programme que le gouvernement serait intéressé à créer.

Le sénateur David: Au sujet de votre quatrième recommandation, ne pensez-vous pas que la création de bureaux régionaux au Canada exigerait une augmentation considérable du budget de l'institut?

M. Mûnter: Il ne serait pas nécessaire d'avoir des bureaux dans chaque ville. L'institut pourrait avoir des antennes dans les universités, ou peut-être dans d'autres bureaux du gouvernement fédéral. Il ne s'agit pas d'instituer toutes une bureaucratie, mais plutôt de créer des petits bureaux dans trois ou quatre centres importants. Si l'on reconnaît l'importance de la mission confiée à l'institut, on peut lui faciliter la tâche en l'aidant à affirmer sa présence dans toutes les régions du pays.

Le sénateur David: Il suffirait peut-être que l'institut se manifeste par l'intermédiaire des universités et collèges, ainsi que par d'autres moyens. Il n'est peut-être pas nécessaire de créer dans différentes villes des «succursales de l'Institut des langues patrimoniales».

[Text]

Mr. Münter: No. The office could be at a university and could be composed of two people, which does not necessarily involve a tremendous amount of expense.

Senator Corbin: I should like to know to what extent French and English are used by your council in correspondence, business meetings, annual meetings, or what have you.

Mr. Münter: As opposed to other languages?

Senator Corbin: No. English and French are the official languages of Canada.

M. Münter: On utilise les deux langues, cela dépend des participants. Par exemple, si nous avons une réunion à Québec pour discuter de la situation constitutionnelle, nous parlerons davantage en français. Si une réunion a lieu à Vancouver pour discuter sur la même chose...

Le sénateur David: Sur la Constitution.

M. Münter: Sur la Constitution. Probablement que la discussion aurait lieu en anglais.

Le sénateur Corbin: Auriez-vous objection à ce que le projet de loi dise que l'Institut doit employer l'anglais et le français au Canada? Le projet de loi ne mentionne pas cette provision à l'heure actuelle.

M. Münter: Notre conseil appuie le bilinguisme. Je suppose que si cet institut, si c'est une division du gouvernement, les règles et les lois du bilinguisme s'y appliqueront aussi. Je ne crois pas que nous ayons un problème avec cela.

Le sénateur Corbin: Effectivement, l'Institut n'est pas représentant de Sa Majesté la Reine, le gouvernement. Les employés de l'Institut ne seront pas considérés comme des fonctionnaires fédéraux. Mais étant donné que cet Institut est appelé à desservir l'ensemble des Canadiens, ne croyez-vous pas qu'ils devraient le faire obligatoirement dans les deux langues officielles du pays?

M. Münter: Je n'ai pas de problème avec cela, non.

Le sénateur Corbin: Je vous remercie.

Mr. Cardozo: I wish to add that, more specifically in the other brief on Bill C-63, we specifically asked that the clauses that exempt the foundation from federal regulations be removed because we think that both these institutes should be subject to federal employment regulations in terms of both bilingualism and employment equity.

Senator Di Nino: Mr. Münter, I have to make a comment concerning your opening remarks. I should like to tell you that I found them offensive and totally inappropriate. Surely, speaking for myself, it does effect your credibility. Thank you.

The Chairman: Do you have a question?

Senator Di Nino: No; I do not have a question.

The Chairman: All right. We will then move on to the discussion of Bill C-63, An Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. Mr. Cardozo has a brief. We will then have some questions to ask you and will move on to the next group of witnesses after that.

[Traduction]

M. Münter: Non, il suffirait d'un bureau de deux personnes dans une université, ce qui ne représente pas nécessairement une dépense énorme.

Le sénateur Corbin: J'aimerais savoir dans quelle mesure le conseil utilise le français et l'anglais dans sa correspondance, ses réunions, assemblées annuelles, etc.

M. Münter: Par rapport aux autres langues?

Le sénateur Corbin: Non. L'anglais et le français sont les langues officielles du Canada.

Mr. Münter: We use two languages, depending on the participants. For instance, if we have a meeting in Quebec City to discuss the constitutional situation, more French will be spoken. If a meeting on the same topic takes place in Vancouver...

Senator David: On the Constitution.

Mr. Münter: On the Constitution. The discussion would probably take place in English.

Senator Corbin: Would you object to having a statement in the bill to the effect that the Institute must use English and French in Canada? There is no provision to that effect in the bill as it stands.

Mr. Münter: Our Council supports bilingualism. I suppose that the laws and rules of bilingualism will apply to this institute if it is an organ of government. But I do not think we have a problem with that.

Senator Corbin: The Institute does not represent Her Majesty the Queen, or the government. The employees of the Institute will not be considered federal public servants. But since the institute will be serving all Canadians, should it not be mandatory that it do so in the country's two official languages?

Mr. Münter: I have no problem with that.

Senator Corbin: Thank you.

M. Cardozo: Permettez-moi d'ajouter que, dans l'autre mémoire concernant le projet de loi C-63, nous demandons spécifiquement la suppression des articles qui soustraient la fondation à l'application des règlements fédéraux, étant donné que nous estimons que ces instituts devraient être assujettis aux règlements fédéraux sur l'emploi en ce qui concerne le bilinguisme et l'équité en matière d'emploi.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Monsieur Münter, vos remarques préliminaires m'ont paru blessantes et impertinentes. J'estime, quant à moi, qu'elles portent atteinte à votre crédibilité. Merci.

Le président: Avez-vous une question?

Le sénateur Di Nino: Non, je n'ai pas de question à poser.

Le président: Très bien. Nous allons maintenant passer au projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. Nous allons écouter M. Cardozo présenter son mémoire, puis nous lui poserons des questions et nous passerons ensuite au prochain groupe de témoins.

[Text]

Mr. Cardozo: I wish to summarize some of the main issues that we raised with regard to Bill C-63. I wish to draw your attention to page three first. We had suggested that at that point the legislative committee—and I hope that this committee will do the same—would consider doing its own feasibility study on the possibility of moving the race relations directorate out of the Secretary of State/Multiculturalism and Citizenship Department to the Race Relations Foundation. The purpose of that is that the policy of race relations is similar to the policy of human rights: they are carried out in a completely non-partisan way and at arms length from government and Parliament. It would make the race relations policy more streamlined and comprehensive if it were all carried out by the foundation.

On page four of the brief we suggested that the name of the foundation be extended to include the words “A Foundation to Eliminate Racism”. This has arisen from the concern of a number of people that to some extent the terminology used when we talk about race relations is getting away from the actual issue, namely, the problem of racism. The purpose of this foundation is to eliminate racism. There is a concern that that be spelled out clearly.

Also on page four we have a couple of recommendations with regard to making certain things explicit in the mandate of the bill. We have suggested that the issue of employment and the issue of racism faced by minority women and youth also be explicitly included in the bill. At present these issues are included because the bill is general in its objectives, but we should like to suggest that there are certain issues, for example, employment, that are absolutely fundamental to all people and should be included in the bill.

We have also suggested that the board of the foundation be specifically mandated to consult with people concerned about issues of racism on a regular basis.

There are other recommendations on page five with regard to the appointment of the board of directors and reappointment, but I wish to draw your attention to the appointment of executive directors, which is found on page six of our brief. This has been mentioned by a lot of people—certainly in our council and also in the other hearings that the House of Commons committee held.

There is a concern that it be clear that the executive director works under the direction of the board. One of the ways to ensure that is that the board itself would select its own executive director. If the executive director, in addition to the board, is appointed by Order in Council, the line of reporting then becomes fuzzy. In other words, does the executive director report to the person or to the board? The concern is that there be a closer relationship between the board and the executive director.

There are a few other issues with regard to the staff of the foundation, which I referred to a few minutes ago. That is found on page seven of the brief.

[Traduction]

M. Cardozo: J'aimerais résumer les principaux points que nous avons soulevés au sujet du projet de loi C-63. Permettez-moi tout d'abord d'attirer votre attention sur la page 3. Nous avions demandé au comité législatif, et j'espère que votre comité acceptera de faire de même, d'étudier la possibilité de transférer la direction des relations raciales du secrétariat d'État/ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté à la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. L'objectif de cette recommandation est de veiller à ce que la politique en matière de relations raciales soit semblable à la politique en matière non partisane et sans subir l'influence du gouvernement ni du Parlement. La fondation serait à même d'appliquer la politique en matière de relations raciales de manière plus rationnelle et plus complète.

À la page 4 de notre mémoire, nous demandons que le titre de la fondation contienne les mots suivants: «fondation pour éliminer le racisme». En effet, certaines personnes ont fait savoir que les expressions utilisées pour évoquer les relations raciales ont tendance à faire oublier le problème véritable auquel doit s'attaquer la fondation, en l'occurrence, le racisme. Cette fondation a en effet pour objet d'éliminer le racisme. Nous insistons donc pour que cela soit clairement précisé.

Sur cette même page 4, nous présentons d'autres recommandations demandant que le projet de loi expose de manière explicite la mission de la fondation. Nous avons demandé que la loi mentionne explicitement les problèmes de racisme dans l'emploi ainsi que les problèmes de racisme auxquels sont confrontés les femmes et les jeunes. Pour le moment, le projet de loi prend en compte ces différents problèmes, étant donné que ces objectifs sont généraux, mais nous souhaiterions que la loi prenne en compte certains problèmes absolument fondamentaux, tels que l'emploi.

Nous avons également recommandé que le conseil d'administration de la fondation soit expressément mandaté afin de consulter de manière régulière les personnes concernées par les problèmes de racisme.

On trouve à la page 5 d'autres recommandations concernant la nomination et le renouvellement des membres du conseil d'administration, mais j'aimerais attirer votre attention sur la nomination du directeur général, à la page 6 de notre mémoire. Beaucoup de gens au sein de notre conseil, mais également lors des audiences du comité de la Chambre des communes, ont insisté sur ce point.

Il faut que la loi précise clairement que le directeur général exerce ses responsabilités sous la direction du conseil d'administration. Une façon de s'en assurer, c'est de confier le choix du directeur général au conseil d'administration lui-même. En effet, si le directeur général est nommé, comme le conseil d'administration, par décret du conseil, on ne sait plus exactement de qui il relève. Autrement dit, le directeur général doit-il faire rapport à une personne ou au conseil d'administration? Nous souhaitons une relation plus étroite entre le directeur général et le conseil d'administration.

À la page 7 de notre mémoire, nous abordons d'autres questions se rapportant au personnel de la fondation. J'en ai parlé il y a quelques minutes.

[Text]

The location of the head office is a similar issue as the one we talked about concerning the previous bill. We have similar comments with regard to the annual report and the review of the act.

I should now be glad to answer any questions that you may have.

Senator Corbin: On your short list of recommendations the second one states that you would like to see the directorate removed from the Secretary of State/Multiculturalism and Citizenship Department to the Canadian Race Relations Foundation so that the entire federal race relations policy can be conducted free of any political interference. What do you mean by "political interference"?

Mr. Cardozo: I wish to clarify that. At this point we are not saying that we would prefer it to move. There is a growing view that it may be a good idea to move it. This view comes out of Ontario, where a number of communities in Ontario—with regard to the Ontario government—have asked for their race relations directorates to be made independent. At this point we have not had enough time to look into the whole thing in detail. There are enough people who are concerned, and that is why we raise it here.

We outlined some of the concerns on page one and two. We feel that a number of issues that have been put forward and supported by departmental officials have sometimes been countered for political motives because political offices may not like certain individuals or groups. We are concerned that, like heritage languages, race relations policies of the federal government should take place completely free of political or personal preferences.

Senator Corbin: You mean at arms-length. But surely there is politics involved even at those levels that you recommend. I do not understand. "Politics" seems to be dirty word. It always makes me jump. In Canada, under our constitution we have the judiciary, the executive and the legislation. Legislation deals, of course, with politics. This exercise this morning is engaging you in politics whether or not you like it, whether or not it is pure. I gather that what you mean by "political interference" is to be at arms length from the executive powers of government, whether they be provincial, federal or local.

Mr. Cardozo: I want to assure you that our council believes strongly in the democratic process and in politicians. This position was not taken lightly. It is an unusual position. For those senators who are aware of our council, you will find it to be an unprecedented position that we have taken, where we are saying that something should be taken out of political control and put into bureaucratic control. That only reflects on the current situation within that department and the minister's office. But it is an unusual situation. All the things that we have called for are, for the most part, things that would be under political control.

[Traduction]

Quant au lieu du siège social, nous soulevons les mêmes questions que pour le projet de loi précédent. Nous présentons également des commentaires analogues en ce qui a trait au rapport annuel et à l'examen de la loi.

Je me tiens maintenant à votre disposition pour répondre à vos questions.

Le sénateur Corbin: Parmi les quelques recommandations que vous présentez, la deuxième préconise que la direction soit transférée du secrétariat d'État/ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté à la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, de manière à mettre la politique fédérale en matière de relations raciales à l'abri de toute ingérence politique. Qu'entendez-vous par «ingérence politique»?

M. Cardozo: Permettez-moi de préciser. Pour le moment, nous ne disons pas que nous sommes favorables à un tel transfert. De plus en plus de gens estiment que ce serait une bonne chose. Certaines communautés de l'Ontario ont demandé au gouvernement ontarien de rendre indépendante leur direction des relations raciales. Jusqu'à présent, nous n'avons pas eu suffisamment de temps pour étudier toute la question en détail. Nous soulevons cette question parce qu'elle préoccupe suffisamment de personnes.

Nous évoquons, dans les deux premières pages, certaines des inquiétudes à ce sujet. Nous sommes convaincus que certaines questions soulevées et appuyées par certains fonctionnaires ont parfois été mises de côté pour des raisons politiques parce que certains individus ou groupes n'avaient pas l'heur de plaire à certains bureaux politiques. Nous demandons que les politiques fédérales en matière de langues patrimoniales et de relations raciales soient à l'abri des préférences politiques ou personnelles.

Le sénateur Corbin: Vous voulez parler d'indépendance. Pourtant, il est certain que la politique s'infiltré même aux niveaux que vous recommandez. Je ne comprends pas. Vous présentez la politique comme quelque chose d'obscur. Cela m'a toujours fait bondir. Au Canada, notre constitution répartit les pouvoirs entre le judiciaire, l'exécutif et le législatif. Le pouvoir législatif s'intéresse, bien entendu, à la politique. Que vous le vouliez ou non, cette discussion à laquelle vous participez ce matin est une discussion politique. Lorsque vous demandez que la fondation soit à l'abri de toute «ingérence politique», je suppose que vous souhaitez qu'elle soit indépendante des pouvoirs exécutifs du gouvernement, qu'il soit fédéral, provincial ou local.

M. Cardozo: Je peux vous assurer que notre conseil a fortement confiance dans le processus démocratique et dans les hommes politiques. Ce n'est pas à la légère que nous avons pris la position peu commune que nous avons adoptée. Les sénateurs qui nous connaissent savent qu'il s'agit là d'une position sans précédent, puisque c'est la première fois que nous demandons de soustraire une décision au contrôle politique et de la placer sous le contrôle bureaucratique. Nous avons pris cette décision en raison de la situation qui prévaut actuellement au ministère et au bureau du ministre. Il s'agit d'une situation inhabituelle. Tout ce que nous demandons relève, en grande partie, du contrôle politique.

[Text]

The Chairman: I wish to clarify something. You want it outside partisan reach, and I understand that. But both acts set up boards that are appointed by cabinet. Presumably, we trust cabinet to ensure that it is balanced, and so on—and probably they will ensure that. But what you are recommending, means if there is partisanship, that is where it will occur. It seems to be a contradiction.

Mr. Cardozo: In the end, someone has to appoint a board. We have democratically elected governments. We are saying, yes, that the democratically elected governments should most certainly appoint board members. We have a lot of confidence in our ability to advocate with politicians. For example, I look at the new levels of immigration. Our council has for a long time called for immigration levels of one per cent of the population. That is exactly what was announced a few months ago. There is a sense that our council, among others, was able to communicate with the government and the politicians primarily on that and was very effective. Consequently, the politicians responded. There are numerous other examples where politicians have responded. The concern is that in this particular area there is not that response. That is why this was called for.

Senator Corbin: You referred directly to problems in Ontario. Were these serious problems or just annoyances?

Mr. Cardozo: I wish to say a couple of things about the government of Ontario. This concern has existed in Ontario. In fact, I understand that it is still a concern with the new government, although I do not know whether people have experience with that or not. It certainly was part of the concern about the Liberal government and might have been a concern with the PC government before the Liberal government in Ontario. The concern was that the directorate in Ontario was not able to respond to the needs of communities sometimes because it might have seemed controversial or touchy to deal with certain issues.

Senator Kinsella: Senator Corbin's question is important. I should like to explore it further from a different perspective.

Mr. Cardozo, when one looks, for example, at the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, or the international covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, would you not find there an articulation of rights which many would call programmatic rights that were achieved progressively? They are the kinds of rights that can only be achieved by programs of state or programs of society. Therefore, machinery of government, be it provincial, municipal or federal, plays a special role in the implementation of what I call the programmatic rights.

That is quite different and distinct from, for example, the antidiscrimination law-enforcement role that the human rights

[Traduction]

Le président: J'aimerais vous demander quelques éclaircissements. Vous demandez, fort justement, que la fondation soit placée au-dessus de toute considération partisane. Mais les deux lois prévoient que les conseils d'administration seront nommés par le Cabinet. Je pense qu'on peut compter sur le Cabinet pour composer un conseil d'administration équilibré. Or, vous recommandez qu'en cas d'intervention partisane, cela se produise à ce niveau. Vous me semblez être en contradiction avec vous-même.

M. Cardozo: Il faut bien que quelqu'un désigne les membres du conseil d'administration. Nous avons des gouvernements démocratiquement élus et nous sommes d'accord pour qu'ils désignent les membres du conseil d'administration. Nous avons confiance dans notre capacité d'exposer nos besoins aux hommes politiques. Prenons par exemple le nouveau quota d'immigration que s'est donné le gouvernement. Il y a longtemps que notre conseil demande que le quota d'immigration soit porté à 1 p. 100 de la population. C'est exactement ce qui a été annoncé il y a quelques mois. Nous avons l'impression que notre conseil et d'autres organismes ont réussi à se faire entendre du gouvernement et des hommes politiques relativement à cette question. Nous avons réussi, dans ce cas, à influencer les hommes politiques, et je pourrais vous citer bien d'autres exemples. Or, nous demandons cette fois qu'il ne soit pas possible d'influencer les hommes politiques.

Le sénateur Corbin: Vous avez mentionné directement des problèmes en Ontario. Est-ce qu'il s'agit de problèmes graves ou de simples difficultés?

M. Cardozo: J'aimerais apporter quelques précisions concernant le gouvernement de l'Ontario. C'est un problème qui a existé et qui existe toujours, je crois, en Ontario, même avec le nouveau gouvernement. Toutefois, je ne sais pas si certaines personnes en ont vraiment fait l'expérience. C'était certainement le cas sous l'ancien gouvernement libéral, et peut-être sous le gouvernement conservateur qui l'a précédé. En Ontario, il arrivait parfois que la direction ne puisse répondre aux besoins des communautés parce que cela soulevait certaines questions controversées ou délicates.

Le sénateur Kinsella: La question du sénateur Corbin est intéressante, et j'aimerais l'approfondir dans une perspective différente.

Monsieur Cardozo, si l'on prend par exemple la Convention des Nations Unies pour l'élimination de toute forme de discrimination raciale, ou la Convention internationale sur les droits économiques, sociaux et culturels, ne pensez-vous pas que ces conventions cherchent à faire respecter progressivement un certain nombre de droits que beaucoup considèrent comme des droits dont l'application est régie par des programmes? Il s'agit de types de droits dont l'application ne peut se faire que par des programmes d'État ou des programmes de société. C'est pourquoi la machine gouvernementale, qu'elle soit provinciale, municipale ou fédérale, joue un rôle spécial dans la mise en œuvre de ce que j'appelle les droits régis au moyen de programmes.

Voilà qui est tout à fait différent, par exemple, du rôle d'application de la loi antidiscriminatoire exercé par les com-

[Text]

commissions, whether provincially or federally, play. A different kind of role is played by the voluntary sector by the NGO community. All three need the community-based research and the academic-based research to help each of those infrastructures that we set in place. So it is not always good to have everyone under one roof, because they are playing different roles. Do you see any merit in that?

Mr. Cardozo: I do. Indeed, I would always back away from a debate on human rights with you because of your extensive experience in this area—a lot of which I have great respect for.

We are not saying that this is the way it has to be. There are a lot of questions out there. That is why we have framed this particular recommendation in the context of a request that a committee do a review of this whole issue. We are not saying that it has to be separate; we are saying that we have concerns about its current setup.

We also have concerns that you will have a race relations foundation that will have a significant role, as well as a race relations director who will also have a significant role. Where does one draw the line between those two things? Some people have that clear and some do not. Obviously, it will be research oriented to a large degree, but to some extent the directorate funds research. Will the foundation do advocacy? Will it support conferences of members? It can fund conferences of communities, for example, and so can the directorate.

A lot of what each institution does, the other institution can do, too. If the two were put together, then maybe it would be better. We are not saying that it should be this way, we are simply asking the committee to conduct the feasibility of this—that is, to get some input, hear from some experts, and then make a decision. When you are starting a foundation it helps if these kinds of issues can be discussed and settled.

Senator Robertson: I have a comment to make. I was looking over the members of your council. I am sure that there are large and small cultural groups in your council membership. Some of your members would have a large number in their membership and others would be small because of the nature of the group.

Mr. Cardozo: Yes.

Senator Robertson: I would be rather suspicious that perhaps your council—and I will not go into the reasons for this—human nature being what it is, is very much influenced by some of the larger groups. I want to make an observation. Some of us in this room have been around for a considerable number of years. I am sure that we have found as much criticizing of systems at council, board and civil service levels as you find at the so-called top political level. It is always a matter of who will grasp the reins and make the decision. Very often, regardless of who makes the decision, there is a certain element of political content.

[Traduction]

missions provinciales ou fédérales des droits de la personne. Les organismes non gouvernementaux jouent un rôle différent dans le secteur bénévole. Ces trois secteurs ont besoin de la recherche communautaire et de la recherche universitaire pour faire fonctionner les infrastructures que nous mettons en place. Par conséquent, il n'est pas toujours bon de réunir sous un même toit des organismes qui jouent des rôles différents. Est-ce que vous êtes d'accord avec moi?

M. Cardozo: Tout à fait. D'ailleurs, je ne me lancerais jamais dans un débat avec vous sur les droits de la personnes, étant donné que vous avez une grande expérience dans le domaine et que vous avez des idées que je respecte beaucoup.

Nous ne disons pas que cela doit se faire de cette manière. Il y a beaucoup de points à prendre en compte. C'est pourquoi nous demandons dans cette recommandation que toute la question soit étudiée par un comité. Nous ne demandons pas le transfert de la direction, nous nous contentons d'émettre certaines inquiétudes au sujet de l'organisation actuelle.

Il nous paraît également difficile de distinguer le rôle de la Fondation des relations raciales de celui de la Direction des relations raciales. Pour certains, la distinction est claire, pour d'autres, elle l'est moins. Bien entendu, le rôle de la fondation sera principalement axé sur la recherche, mais, dans une certaine mesure, c'est la direction qui finance la recherche. Est-ce que la fondation prendra la défense des intérêts des diverses communautés? Est-ce qu'elle appuiera les conférences de ses membres? Elle peut financer les conférences, tout comme la direction.

La fondation et la direction semblent avoir des activités qui se recoupent. En les réunissant, on pourrait peut-être obtenir de meilleurs résultats. Nous ne recommandons pas que les deux organismes soient réunis, nous demandons simplement au comité d'étudier l'opportunité d'un tel transfert et de prendre une décision à ce sujet après avoir entendu des témoins et des spécialistes. Au moment de la création d'une fondation, il est utile de se pencher sur des questions de ce type.

Le sénateur Robertson: J'ai un commentaire à faire. En prenant connaissance de la liste des membres de votre conseil, je me suis dit que les groupes culturels qui le composent sont plus ou moins grands. De par la nature même des associations, certains de vos membres regroupent un grand nombre de personnes, alors que d'autres sont plus petits.

M. Cardozo: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Robertson: Sans vouloir entrer dans les détails—la nature humaine étant ce qu'elle est—je crois bien que votre conseil est très influencé par certains des groupes les plus importants en nombre. J'aimerais faire une remarque à ce sujet. Certains d'entre nous ici présents sont en politique depuis de nombreuses années. Je suis à peu près certain que nous avons eu matière à critiquer autant les conseils, les bureaux et la fonction publique que vous en avez à critiquer les instances politiques les plus hautes. Tout dépend de celui qui tient les rênes et prend la décision. Très souvent, il entre un certain élément de politique dans toute décision, peu importe qui la prend.

[Text]

If one wants to go to the extreme and you do not want an elected government to make appointments to these boards, I suggest that you run for office.

The Chairman: That is more of a statement.

Mr. Cardozo: I wish to respond. With great respect, Senator Robertson, I resent your last comment. That is not what we said. I was clear in my earlier comment that we deal extensively with political elements. I talked about our considerable and successful lobbying with the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Honourable Barbara McDougall. I can refer to other successful advocacies that we have done such as what led to the appointment of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, Mr. Frank Iacobucci.

We have lobbied for appointments of certain individuals from certain groups or certain individuals on a regular basis. We have lobbied politicians for all sorts of things. At the same time, I am sure you would agree that as citizens we all have the right and the duty, if our membership is concerned, to speak up and criticize. If the purpose is not to criticize, then I suppose we should not have these committees.

Senator Robertson: To criticize them. Try not to criticize.

Senator Marshall: That is stupid.

The Chairman: Senator Marshall, please.

Mr. Münter: I wish to address the concern of Senator Robertson that all 37 groups have an equal vote and an equal voice. I come from the German community, which is the third largest Canadian ethnic group and which often feels that it does not have a large enough voice in the running of the CEC. As to your last point, I have run for public office for the Ontario legislature, but I thank you for the advice.

The Chairman: The next witnesses are here. We will have to make our next questions short.

Senator David: In your introduction you state that:

The race relations policy and program responds less and less to the urgent needs of communities and more and more to the whims of the Minister's Office and supporters.

Multiculturalism in Canada will be mortally wounded within months if this trend is not stopped.

I should like you to explain to me on what arguments you place such aggressive phraseology. Is it the policy of the government that you disagree with or is it the funding? Is it the clientele that you disagree with, or is it your own feelings?

Mr. Cardozo: Again, those senators who are familiar with our council will know that this particular brief is one of the strongest briefs we have ever presented. It has been discussed and endorsed by the membership of the council. When you look at these two institutions that we are talking about today, there are several things that we are referring to on this page of the brief. One is the growth of institutions that our council, among others, has supported.

[Traduction]

À la limite, si vous ne voulez pas que le gouvernement élu nomme les membres des conseils d'administration, je vous suggère de vous présenter vous-même aux élections.

Le président: Voilà tout un commentaire!

M. Cardozo: Sauf votre respect, sénateur Robertson, ce commentaire me paraît désobligeant. Vous interprétez mal ce que nous avons dit. J'ai indiqué clairement, dans mes commentaires précédents, que nous intervenons beaucoup au niveau politique. J'ai mentionné les efforts de lobbyisme considérables et couronnés de succès que nous avons menés auprès de la ministre de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration, l'honorable Barbara McDougall. Je peux vous parler des autres causes que nous avons défendues avec succès, comme la nomination du juge en chef de la Cour suprême du Canada, M. Frank Iacobucci.

Nous avons régulièrement exercé des pressions pour faire nommer certaines personnes ou les membres de certains groupes. Nous avons exercé toutes sortes d'activités de lobbyisme auprès des hommes politiques. En revanche, je suis sûr que nous avons le droit et le devoir, en tant que citoyens, d'intervenir et de critiquer, dans l'intérêt de nos membres. Si l'on bannit la critique, les comités n'ont plus aucune raison d'être.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je vous interdis de critiquer les comités.

Le sénateur Marshall: C'est complètement ridicule!

Le président: Je vous en prie, sénateur Marshall.

M. Münter: Je voudrais rassurer le sénateur Robertson et préciser que les 37 membres de notre conseil ont tous droit de vote et voix au chapitre. Je viens moi-même de la communauté allemande, qui est le troisième groupe ethnique canadien et qui a souvent l'impression de ne pas avoir assez d'influence sur le CEC. Pour ce qui est de votre dernière suggestion, je me suis déjà présenté à l'Assemblée législative ontarienne, mais je vous remercie néanmoins du conseil.

Le président: Les témoins suivants sont déjà arrivés. Nous allons devoir raccourcir les prochaines questions.

Le sénateur David: J'ai relevé ceci dans votre introduction:

La politique et le programme des relations raciales répondent de moins en moins aux besoins urgents des communautés et obéissent de plus en plus aux caprices du Cabinet et des partisans du ministre.

Le multiculturalisme au Canada disparaîtra dans quelques mois si cette tendance n'est pas enrayée.

J'aimerais vous demander de préciser les fondements d'une déclaration aussi agressive. Est-ce que vous désapprouvez la politique du gouvernement ou le financement qu'il accorde? Est-ce que vous êtes en désaccord avec la clientèle ou est-ce que ce sont vos propres sentiments?

M. Cardozo: Les sénateurs qui connaissent bien notre conseil remarqueront que ce mémoire est l'un des plus fermes que nous ayons jamais présentés. Il a fait l'objet d'un débat au sein du conseil et a été entériné par ses membres. Sur cette page de notre mémoire, nous soulevons plusieurs points concernant les deux institutions dont nous parlons aujourd'hui. Un de ces points concerne la croissance des institutions, qui ont reçu, entre autres, l'appui de notre conseil.

[Text]

I want to make it quite clear that our council has strongly supported the creation of a Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship. It has been on our records for five years, if not longer. We have strongly supported the creation of the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute and we strongly supported the proposed Canadian Race Relations Foundation. However, at the same time there has been an eroding of the funding that is provided to organizations. Approximately two years ago the funding that was provided in the budget to minority organizations—to be able to take part on the national stage and come and talk to you on matters like this—was cut back by 15 per cent. Over the course of three years—because that funding has been frozen—we are really talking about a cut of 25 per cent to 30 per cent, given inflation.

Communities are asking—and in our council those who wanted to support these bills had to do some fighting because people were also asking—“Why are we supporting these bills in this department when you are cutting the funding to groups?” The question that arises is: Will multiculturalism be governed and driven by bureaucracies and institutes rather than by the voluntary sector and the organizations? In some ways, in answer to an earlier question by the chairman, there were some people in groups who felt that we should be against this and should be primarily in favour of the funding to organizations because that funding provides assistance to large batteries of volunteers and allows communities to participate in an national debate of all issues that allow us to take part in all sorts of debates.

In terms of some of the funding decisions that were made out of the minister's office, there were a couple of major projects regarding media minorities, which is a major concern of a lot of communities, namely, that they are consistently misrepresented in the media. We wanted to do a sensitization of that. There was funding for that; they meet the criteria.

The other issue was employment equity, where there was a large number of organizations and people who wanted to have a national conference on employment equity. At the last minute the funding was removed at the minister's office level. We could debate that kind of stuff for a long time. The concern there is that here are concerns regarding media and employment which supposedly the government does share, and which concerns a large number of people.

What are two of the main issues in terms of race relations? They are media and employment. I can bring reams of statistics to you about the employment of visible minorities to show you how poorly they are represented in the workforce. I can show you loads of examples of immigrant women of various backgrounds who do not speak English or French and have to work in low-paying jobs. Those are the kinds of issues that we want the community to be able to deal with and these institutes to be able to deal with.

The Chairman: We are out of time. However, we have four senators who want to ask questions. I shall ask you to make brief interventions, because we do not want to keep our other witnesses waiting.

[Traduction]

J'aimerais souligner que notre conseil a fortement appuyé la création du ministère du Multiculturalisme et de la Citoyenneté. Cela fait cinq ans, sinon plus, que nous le réclamons. Nous avons fortement appuyé la création de l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales et nous sommes tout à fait en faveur du projet de Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. Toutefois, nous avons assisté, parallèlement, à une diminution de l'aide accordée aux organisations. Il y a deux ans environ, les fonds prévus dans le budget pour aider les organisations minoritaires à intervenir à l'échelon national et à venir vous parler de questions comme celle-ci ont réduits de 15 p. 100. Sur une période de trois ans, puisque les fonds ont été gelés, il s'agit d'une réduction de 25 à 30 p. 100, compte tenu de l'inflation.

Les communautés posent des questions et, au sein de notre conseil, ceux qui étaient favorables à ces projets de loi se sont heurtés à l'opposition de ceux qui ne voyaient pas l'utilité d'appuyer ces projets de loi, puisque le ministère avait réduit l'aide financière accordée aux divers groupes. La question est la suivante: est-ce que le multiculturalisme sera régi et appliqué par les bureaucraties et les instituts plutôt que par le secteur bénévole et les autres organisations? D'une certaine façon, pour répondre à une question précédente du président, certains membres des groupes étaient contre et préconisaient le maintien du financement des organisations, étant donné que ces fonds permettaient d'aider dans leur travail un grand nombre de bénévoles et de favoriser la participation des communautés à toutes sortes de débats au niveau national.

Le bureau du ministre a pris, en matière de financement, des décisions touchant d'importants projets concernant les médias, qui posent un grave problème dans beaucoup de communautés, qui accusent les médias de les représenter régulièrement de manière défavorable. Nous voulions sensibiliser le bureau du ministre à cet aspect. Des fonds suffisants ont été débloqués pour répondre à ce besoin.

L'autre question portait sur l'équité en matière d'emploi. Un grand nombre d'organisations et de personnes souhaitaient la création d'une conférence nationale sur l'équité en matière d'emploi. À la dernière minute, le bureau du ministre a refusé le financement. On pourrait parler pendant longtemps de ce genre de choses. Les médias et l'emploi sont deux questions qui préoccupent beaucoup de gens, et le gouvernement lui-même prétend s'en soucier.

Les médias et l'emploi sont deux des principaux problèmes qui affectent les relations raciales. Je pourrais vous présenter des volumes entiers de statistiques qui prouvent que les minorités visibles sont sous-représentées dans la population active. Je peux vous citer de nombreux exemples d'immigrées de diverses origines, ne parlant ni anglais ni français, qui doivent se contenter d'emplois mal rémunérés. Voilà le genre de problèmes auxquels la communauté et les instituts doivent pouvoir s'attaquer.

Le président: Il ne reste plus de temps, mais quatre autres sénateurs veulent encore poser des questions. Je vais vous demander de faire une brève intervention, car nous ne voulons pas faire attendre les autres témoins.

[Text]

Senator Di Nino: I will be brief. I want to ask a question relating to the comments made a moment ago by Mr. Cardozo. Before I do that, I want to say, sir, that I think you agree with me—and I know your organization; you are aware that I know it—that Canada is probably at the forefront of all the world in the way it treats its new citizens. It would be appropriate for you, each and every time you make a presentation to a body of this nature, that that be one of the first things that you state.

The other question I have is: was the enforcement of Bill C-63 and Bill C-37 a unanimous endorsement of your council or was there a difference of opinion?

Mr. Cardozo: I do not believe that there was any difference in opinion on that, but in both cases the briefs were delivered by committees and put forward to the membership. If any of these sorts of changes were made there would have been complete agreement.

The thing is that when you make a brief and ask for some changes and none of the changes are made, then do you support it or not? That remains to be seen.

Senator Di Nino: But, obviously there was a vote as to whether or not this would be the document to be presented.

Mr. Cardozo: Yes. That was endorsed entirely as recently as October.

Senator Di Nino: And was carried unanimously?

Mr. Cardozo: Yes.

Senator Theriault: I am surprised at the reaction from my colleagues. I do not necessarily agree with everything that the witnesses have stated, but I respect their right to say it. This is what the country is all about.

The Chairman: Senator Bosa.

Senator Bosa: Madam Chairman, I think that Senator Marshall should withdraw the remark he made previously. The expression that he used is unparliamentary and is intimidating to the witnesses. If he disagrees with the witness, he can rebut what they say. However, there is no reason why a senator should use such an expression, because that is not in keeping with the dignity of the Senate.

The Chairman: Thank you. I should like to ask the witnesses to give me a reply—not at this moment, but in writing—to a question of substance. We have just dealt with Bill C-18, which has no definition of multiculturalism. We reported the bill, asking that the mother bill—the Multiculturalism Act—revisit that question.

We then get to racism. I would like a reply in writing of how you see multiculturalism being defined and how you see racism being defined for the purposes of the Race Relations Foundation and whether, in programmatic terms, you see any difference between those two things. It remains a mystery to members of this committee. We would be very grateful if you would give us an answer to that.

Mr. Cardozo: It is the view of most of the organizations that multiculturalism is, to a large part, defined in Bill C-93, the earlier bill.

[Traduction]

Le sénateur Di Nino: Cela ne sera pas long. Je voudrais poser une question au sujet des commentaires que vient de faire M. Cardozo. Auparavant, je veux vous dire que vous conviendrez avec moi—et je connais votre organisation, vous le savez—que le Canada est sans doute à l'avant-garde pour la façon dont il traite ses nouveaux citoyens. Chaque fois que vous présentez un mémoire à une institution comme la nôtre, vous devriez commencer par mentionner ce fait.

Voici mon autre question: votre conseil a-t-il approuvé à l'unanimité la mise en application des projets de loi C-63 et C-37?

M. Cardozo: Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait eu d'opposition, mais dans les deux cas, les mémoires ont été rédigés par des comités et soumis à l'approbation des membres. Toute modification aurait reçu l'accord de tous.

Évidemment, quand on rédige un mémoire et que les modifications demandées ne sont pas apportées, est-on d'accord pour approuver le texte? Ce n'est pas certain.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Il y a tout de même eu un vote pour déterminer si le mémoire allait être présenté.

M. Cardozo: Oui. Le geste a été parfaitement appuyé en octobre.

Le sénateur Di Nino: À l'unanimité?

M. Cardozo: Oui.

Le sénateur Thériault: La réaction de mes collègues m'étonne. Je ne suis pas nécessairement d'accord en tous points avec les témoins, mais je respecte leur droit de s'exprimer. C'est ainsi que les choses se passent au Canada.

Le président: Sénateur Bosa.

Le sénateur Bosa: Madame le président, je crois que le sénateur Marshall devrait se rétracter. L'expression qu'il a employée n'est pas de mise au Parlement et elle intimide les témoins. S'il n'est pas d'accord avec eux, il n'a qu'à réfuter leurs propos. Il n'y a toutefois aucune raison pour qu'un sénateur utilise une telle expression indigne du Sénat.

Le président: Merci. Je vais poser aux témoins une question de fond à laquelle je voudrais qu'ils répondent non sur-le-champ, mais par écrit. Nous venons de terminer l'étude du projet de loi C-18, qui ne comporte aucune définition du multiculturalisme. Nous en avons fait rapport en demandant que la question soit revue dans le cadre de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme.

Nous en arrivons maintenant au racisme. Je voudrais que vous me disiez par écrit comment on devrait définir le multiculturalisme et le racisme aux fins de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales et si vous faites la distinction entre les deux concepts à l'égard des programmes. Cela demeure un mystère pour les membres de notre comité. Nous vous serions très reconnaissants si vous pouviez nous fournir une réponse.

M. Cardozo: Selon la plupart des organisations, le multiculturalisme est défini en gros dans le projet de loi C-93, celui qui a été présenté plus tôt.

[Text]

The Chairman: On Tuesday we heard from witnesses about what racism is and, frankly, it is difficult to see that.

I would like to thank you for coming this morning. You have raised some interesting and, obviously, controversial questions. You may be interested to know that this committee has asked for the Estimates, the annual report and the operational definitions from the new Department of Multiculturalism to be referred to us next year. So, this question is not over as far as our committee is concerned. I hope that you will come back and talk to us further about it.

I should like to ask the Assembly of First Nations witnesses to take their seats. Mr. Ovide Mercredi and Mrs. Ruth Norton are the two witnesses appearing before us on the Heritage Languages Act. While the witnesses are coming forward, may I remind everyone on the committee that we received from Mr. Fournier the government's history of Aboriginal languages as they are reflected in Bill C-37.

We welcome the witnesses today. I understand that they will be testifying on both bills.

Senator Corbin: I have here a document entitled: "Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations". Have the members of the House of Commons been made aware of this at the committee level?

Mrs. Ruth Norton, Director (Education), Assembly of First Nations: We have just completed that report and it has been presented.

Senator Corbin: Are we the first in Parliament to be considering it then?

Mrs. Norton: Yes.

Senator Corbin: Thank you.

The Chairman: Mr. Mercredi.

Mr. Ovide Mercredi, Regional Vice-President (Manitoba), Assembly of First Nations: We have two presentations to make. Ruth Norton is our Director of Education for the Assembly of First Nations. She will begin with a presentation dealing with the heritage legislation. When she has concluded her presentation, I will then talk about the other legislation dealing with race relations that is before this committee.

Mrs. Norton: On behalf of the leadership, the elders, the mothers and grandmothers of the First Nations, I am here to give a presentation to the Senate legislative committee on Bill C-37, an act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

I would first like to share with you the Assembly of First Nations' declaration on Aboriginal languages.

The Aboriginal languages were given by the Creator as an integral part of life. Embodied in Aboriginal languages is our unique relationship to the Creator, our attitudes, beliefs, values, and the fundamental notion of what is truth.

Aboriginal language is an asset to one's own education, formal and informal. Aboriginal language contributes to greater pride in the history and culture of the community;

[Traduction]

Le président: Mardi, nous avons entendu des témoins nous expliquer ce qu'était le racisme et, franchement, c'était difficile à admettre.

Je veux vous remercier d'être venus ce matin. Vous avez soulevé des questions intéressantes et évidemment controversées. Vous voudrez peut-être savoir que notre comité a demandé que lui soient renvoyés l'an prochain pour étude les prévisions budgétaires, le rapport annuel et les définitions opérationnelles du nouveau ministère du Multiculturalisme. Ce n'est donc pas fini en ce qui nous concerne. J'espère que vous reviendrez nous en parler.

Je demande maintenant aux représentants de l'Assemblée des premières nations de prendre place. M. Ovide Mercredi et Mme Ruth Norton sont les deux témoins qui viennent nous entretenir de la loi sur les langues patrimoniales. Pendant que les témoins s'installent, je voudrais rappeler à tous les membres du comité que nous avons reçu de M. Fournier l'historique des langues patrimoniales visées par le projet de loi C-37 que le gouvernement préparait.

Nous souhaitons la bienvenue aux témoins. Je crois comprendre qu'ils traiteront des deux projets de loi.

Le sénateur Corbin: J'ai sous les yeux un document intitulé: «*Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations*». Les membres du comité de la Chambre des communes le connaissent-ils?

Mme Ruth Norton, directrice (Éducation), Assemblée des Premières Nations: Ce rapport vient à peine d'être terminé.

Le sénateur Corbin: Nous sommes donc les premiers parlementaires à le voir?

Mme Norton: Oui.

Le sénateur Corbin: Merci.

Le président: Monsieur Mercredi.

M. Ovide Mercredi, vice-président régional (Manitoba), Assemblée des Premières nations: Nous avons deux exposés à vous présenter. Ruth Norton est la directrice de l'éducation à l'Assemblée des Premières Nations. Elle va commencer par un exposé sur la loi concernant les langues patrimoniales. Quand elle aura terminé, je vous entendrai de l'autre projet de loi concernant les relations raciales qu'étudie le comité.

Mme Norton: Au nom des dirigeants, des anciens, des mères et des grands-mères des Premières Nations, je suis ici pour présenter au comité législatif sénatorial un exposé sur le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Je voudrais d'abord vous lire la déclaration de l'Assemblée des Premières Nations sur les langues autochtones.

Le Créateur nous a donné les langues autochtones comme faisant partie intégrante de la vie. Ces langues incarnent notre relation unique avec le Créateur, nos attitudes, nos croyances, nos valeurs et la notion fondamentale de la vérité.

La langue autochtone est un atout pour notre propre éducation, scolaire et autre. Elle contribue à accroître le sentiment de fierté que la collectivité tire de son histoire et de

[Text]

greater involvement and interest of parents in the education of their children; and greater respect for Elders.

Language is the **principal means** by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from generation to generation. The key to identity and retention of culture is one's ancestral language.

Aboriginal languages are the founding languages of Canada. This is their country of origin. They were not brought here as part of the long process of immigration. We cannot return to another country to learn our languages. If they are to be preserved, they have to be preserved here. We prefer, therefore, to refer to our Aboriginal languages as founding languages, rather than heritage languages, and to treat them as such.

The Aboriginal languages have been subjected to the most cruel and unbelievable circumstances over the centuries. The residential school system consistently forbid the speaking of Aboriginal languages by students upon sentence of severe punishment. The provincial school system has also had assimilation and integration as goals of native education, as was reflected in their curriculum in off-reserve locations. There are many other reasons for the decline of Aboriginal languages, including government policies, of which I will elaborate later on. Given all this, it is surprising that any of our languages have survived. Some have not, and it is sad to say that some will not.

At the present time, our languages are declining very fast. The 1982 Museum of Man's report on Aboriginal language use estimated that only three of the 53 Aboriginal languages have an excellent chance of survival, with over 5,000 speakers. Twelve Aboriginal languages are moderately endangered; 11 languages are endangered with 500 to 1,000 speakers; 13 languages are quite endangered with 100 to 500 speakers; five languages are extremely endangered with only ten to 100 speakers; and eight languages are on the verge of extinction, with fewer than ten speakers.

Another analysis of languages among First Nations was completed for the Secretary of State using the 1981 census data. A profile was compiled on 11 linguistic groups. The report concluded with the recommendation that:

Since these languages are unique to this continent, there is a need for immediate development of work if these national cultural resources are to be preserved not only in Canada, but in the world.

The Assembly of First Nations undertook a First Nations Language Community Survey last year, and that is the report that you have before you. This random survey of 151 First Nations found that 25 per cent of First Nations have declining languages; 30 per cent First Nations have endangered languages; and 11 per cent of First Nations have critical languages with less than 10 speakers. This was similar to the report that was done by the Museum of Man and Nature.

[Traduction]

sa culture, la participation des parents à l'éducation de leurs enfants et leur intérêt pour celle-ci, et le respect des anciens.

La langue est le principal moyen de constituer et de partager la culture et aussi de la transmettre de génération en génération. La clé de l'identité et de la préservation de la culture, c'est la langue ancestrale.

Les langues autochtones sont les langues originales du Canada. C'est ici qu'elles ont été créées. Elles n'ont pas été importées par des immigrants. Nous ne pouvons pas retourner dans un autre pays pour aller y apprendre nos langues. S'il faut les préserver, c'est ici même qu'il faut le faire. Nous préférons donc qualifier nos langues autochtones de langues d'origine du pays plutôt que de langues patrimoniales. C'est ainsi que nous les considérons.

Les langues autochtones ont subi le sort le plus cruel et le plus incroyable pendant des siècles. Le réseau des pensionnats a toujours interdit aux élèves de parler leur langue autochtone sous peine de graves punitions. Le réseau des écoles provinciales a aussi visé l'assimilation et l'intégration des autochtones, comme le reflétaient les programmes d'étude dans les écoles en dehors des réserves. Il y a bien d'autres explications au déclin des langues autochtones, y compris les politiques gouvernementales dont je reparlerai plus longuement tout à l'heure. Après tout cela, il est étonnant que certaines de nos langues aient survécu. Certaines ont disparu, et il est triste de voir que certaines autres ne survivront pas.

En ce moment, l'usage de nos langues régresse très rapidement. Selon un rapport sur l'emploi des langues autochtones préparé en 1982 par le Musée de l'Homme, seulement trois des 53 langues autochtones avaient d'excellentes chances de survie puisqu'elles étaient parlées par plus de 5,000 personnes. Douze langues autochtones sont quelque peu en danger; onze sont en danger puisqu'elles ne sont parlées que par 500 à 1,000 personnes, treize sont très en danger puisqu'elles sont parlées par 100 à 500 personnes; cinq langues sont extrêmement en danger puisqu'elles sont parlées par dix à 100 personnes et huit sont sur le point de disparaître car moins de dix personnes les parlent encore.

Le Secrétariat d'État a fait une autre analyse des langues des Premières nations à partir des données du recensement de 1981. On a ainsi établi le profil de onze groupes linguistiques. Dans la conclusion du rapport, on faisait la recommandation suivante:

Comme ces langues sont propres à notre continent, il faut se mettre immédiatement au travail si l'on veut préserver ces richesses culturelles nationales non seulement au Canada, mais dans le monde entier.

L'Assemblée des Premières nations a entrepris l'an dernier un sondage sur les langues des Premières nations, dont les résultats sont présentés dans le rapport que vous avez en main. Par cette enquête faite au hasard auprès de 151 Premières nations, on a découvert que 25 p. 100 d'entre elles ont des langues qui sont en déclin; 30 p. 100, des langues en voie de disparition; et 11 p. 100 des Premières nations ont des langues dans un état critique qui sont parlées par moins de dix personnes.

[Text]

Regarding government trends and responses, there is no question but that the critical condition of Aboriginal languages is in part a result of the effect of government policies. The Hawthorne report concluded that:

The government's policy on the preservation of the Indian languages is ambiguous. It would appear that there is a general unwillingness to make open statements on this subject. However, the lack of attention in the course of study would seem to indicate rather clearly that the Indian languages might be allowed to disappear and be replaced by either English or French (in Quebec).

Government support for Aboriginal languages has been fulfilled under the mandate of the Native Social and Cultural Development Program. During 1983 to 1987, \$2 million annually was proportioned to 262 applicants for native language retention projects.

Major findings of a 1988 internal evaluation of the program were ignored, including the suggestions:

... prioritize language funding to those languages with the greatest likelihood of survival ... The major area of concern ... was that of funding levels; informants believe that the program budget has not kept pace with growing demands on the NSCDP.

The budget was reduced from \$2 million to \$1 million, badly crippling the language component.

First Nations have become increasingly frustrated with the policies that have been implemented by the Secretary of State. A 1985 discussion paper, "A proposal for an Aboriginal Languages Policy", suggested six program elements and five policy objectives, with a resourcing level of \$100 million over five years. To date, the federal government has not acted on the proposal.

The Secretary of State's response to the proposal AFN submitted in 1988 for an Aboriginal language policy is extremely delayed. It seems quite clear that the Secretary of State will acknowledge little responsibility for Aboriginal languages and has no intention of developing an Aboriginal language program. It has been frustrating to First Nations that neither the Secretary of State nor the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development has developed a clear policy on Aboriginal languages.

Canada's international obligation on language rights came into force in August 1976, following its signing of the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights. Canada does not have a good record on meeting its international obligations with regard to Aboriginal people. The Canadian Human Rights Commissioner stated in his report that the conditions under which Canada's First Nations live must be addressed by government.

[Traduction]

Les résultats sont donc comparables à ceux du rapport fait par le Musée de l'homme et de la nature.

En ce qui concerne les tendances et les réactions gouvernementales, il est évident que la situation critique dans laquelle se trouvent les langues autochtones résulte en partie des politiques gouvernementales. Le rapport Hawthorne a conclu ce qui suit:

La politique gouvernementale sur la préservation des langues indiennes est ambiguë. Il semblerait y avoir une réticence généralisée à faire des déclarations publiques sur la question. Cependant, le manque d'attention durant l'étude indiquerait assez clairement qu'on laisserait les langues indiennes disparaître au profit de l'anglais ou du français (au Québec).

Le programme du développement social et culturel des autochtones avait pour mandat d'apporter un soutien gouvernemental à la protection des langues autochtones. De 1983 à 1987, on a versé annuellement 2 millions de dollars, répartis entre 262 projets de préservation des langues autochtones.

On n'a pas tenu compte des principales conclusions d'une évaluation interne du programme faite en 1988, notamment les suggestions suivantes:

... financer en priorité les projets visant les langues les plus susceptibles de survivre ... Le principal sujet de préoccupation, c'est le niveau de financement. Selon certaines sources, le budget du programme n'a pas augmenté au même rythme que les demandes auxquelles le programme devrait faire face.

Le budget est passé de deux millions de dollars à un million de dollars, ce qui a paralysé la composante langue.

Les politiques mises en œuvre par le Secrétariat d'État sont de plus en plus frustrantes pour les Premières nations. Un document de travail de 1985 présentant une proposition de politique sur les langues autochtones suggérait six éléments de programme et cinq objectifs de politique assortis d'un budget de l'ordre de 100 millions de dollars sur cinq ans. Jusqu'à présent, le gouvernement fédéral n'y a pas donné suite.

La réponse du Secrétariat d'État à la proposition de politique sur les langues autochtones, présentée par l'Assemblée des Premières nations en 1988, se fait vraiment attendre. De toute évidence, ce ministère n'assumera pas vraiment la responsabilité des langues autochtones et n'a aucunement l'intention d'élaborer un programme à ce sujet. Pour les Premières nations, c'est très frustrant de constater que ni le Secrétariat d'État ni le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord n'ont établi une politique claire au sujet des langues autochtones.

Le Canada a des obligations internationales à l'égard des droits linguistiques depuis août 1976, date à laquelle il a signé le pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques. Le Canada n'a pas très bonne réputation quant au respect de ses obligations internationales à l'endroit des autochtones. Le Commissaire canadien aux droits de la personne a déclaré dans son rapport que le gouvernement devait se pencher sur les conditions dans lesquelles les Premières nations canadiennes vivent.

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Legislative responsibility for native education is vested with Indian and Northern Affairs under the Constitution Act and the Indian Act. We must ensure that our children receive the education they need to survive. Unfortunately the current system under INAC has failed, as evidenced by the high illiteracy rates and high drop-out rates among native people.

Aboriginal languages were not included in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism because they were not considered a "founding race". However, the commission did recommend:

...that everything possible must be done to help the Native populations preserve their cultural heritage... that the Canadian government in close co-operation with the provinces concerned, should take the necessary steps to assist the survival of the Eskimo (Inuit) language and the most common Indian dialects.

Aboriginal languages have not received any legislative recognition in Parliament. However, some provincial and territorial legislative assemblies have developed policies on Aboriginal languages. The Northwest Territories government has recognized nine Aboriginal languages as their official languages.

The position of the Assembly of First Nations is that the federal policies or actions which impact upon Aboriginal people must ensure the recognition and affirmation of existing Aboriginal and treaty rights.

The First Nations maintain that the Canadian government continues to be bound by its acknowledged respect for Aboriginal rights, as well as domestic treaty obligations. First Nations maintain that education is an inherent Aboriginal right. The federal government accepted the National Indian Brotherhood's 1973 Indian Control of Indian Education policy paper, but failed to make comprehensive changes. The assembly reviewed and updated this document, and then published the results in a four-volume report entitled, "Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future". The report made 54 national recommendations, including some related to language and literacy issues.

As a founding people of Canada, the federal government must officially recognize Aboriginal languages in the Constitution and through supporting legislation. Necessary resources must be provided to ensure the development of language structures, curriculum materials, language teachers, resource centres and immersion programs.

On the issue of Aboriginal control, First Nations education programs must ultimately be in the hands of local First Nations education authorities. Each First Nations government will be responsible for decisions regarding jurisdiction over their education programs, policy development, funding levels and management framework.

[Traduction]

La Loi constitutionnelle et la Loi sur les Indiens confient au ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord la responsabilité de l'éducation des autochtones. Nous devons nous assurer que nos enfants recevront l'instruction dont ils ont besoin pour survivre. Malheureusement, le système actuel du ministère des Affaires indiennes a échoué, comme le prouvent les taux élevés d'analphabétisme et de décrochage chez les autochtones.

Les langues autochtones ne faisaient pas partie du mandat de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme parce que les autochtones n'étaient pas considérés comme un «peuple fondateur». La Commission a tout de même recommandé:

... qu'elles les autorités compétentes doivent tout mettre en œuvre pour aider les populations indigènes à conserver en héritage culturel... Que le gouvernement canadien, en étroite collaboration avec les provinces intéressées, doit prendre les mesures nécessaires pour favoriser la survivance de la langue esquimaude (inuit) et des dialectes indiens les plus répandus.

Les langues autochtones ne sont reconnues par aucune loi fédérale. Cependant, certaines assemblées législatives provinciales et territoriales ont établi des politiques sur les langues autochtones. Le gouvernement des Territoires du Nord-Ouest a reconnu neuf langues autochtones comme langues officielles.

La position de l'Assemblée des Premières nations, c'est que les politiques et mesures fédérales qui ont des répercussions sur les autochtones doivent assurer la reconnaissance et l'affirmation des droits existants, aussi bien les droits ancestraux que ceux découlant de traités.

Les Premières nations soutiennent que le gouvernement canadien continue d'être lié par son respect reconnu des droits ancestraux de même par ses obligations découlant des traités antérieurs. Les Premières nations soutiennent aussi que l'éducation est un droit inhérent des autochtones. Le gouvernement a accepté l'énoncé de politiques sur la gestion de l'éducation des Indiens par les Indiens qu'a présenté en 1973 la Fraternité nationale des Indiens, mais il n'a pas apporté de modifications complètes. L'Assemblée a révisé et mis à jour le document, qu'elle a ensuite publié en quatre volumes sous le titre: «Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future». On y présentait 54 recommandations nationales, dont certaines portaient sur les langues et l'alphabétisation.

Comme les autochtones sont l'un des peuples fondateurs du Canada, le gouvernement fédéral doit officiellement reconnaître les langues autochtones dans la Constitution et dans les lois connexes. Il doit fournir les ressources nécessaires pour assurer le développement de structures langagières, la production de matériel pédagogique, la formation de professeurs de langue, la mise sur pied de centres de ressources et de programmes d'immersion.

Quant à la gestion par les autochtones, les programmes d'éducation des Premières nations doivent être administrés en dernier ressort par les autorités locales compétentes des Premières nations. Chaque gouvernement des Premières nations doit avoir la responsabilité de prendre des décisions concernant les programmes d'enseignement, l'élaboration des politiques, les niveaux de financement et le cadre de gestion.

[Text]

Throughout Canada there are many culture and language centres which are actively endeavouring to conserve and revitalize Aboriginal languages. With limited resources, these organizations are desperately taking measures to keep their own languages alive. Many have developed community focused programs and are often dependent upon volunteers to implement these programs. Others have successfully incorporated Aboriginal language immersion programs into their local school systems. These efforts represent a growing concern and commitment on the part of First Nations to preserve their special cultures and languages.

The reason we are here today is that a government bill was introduced by the Honourable Gerry Weiner, Secretary of State of Canada and Minister of State for Multiculturalism and Citizenship, in the form of Bill C-152, then by way of Bill C-37, to establish the Canadian Heritage Language Institute. Although First Nations were not consulted, we have always maintained that, as a founding race, Aboriginal cultures and languages must receive appropriate recognition and distinctive support. We strongly object to being included in the Canadian Heritage Language Institute bill. Mr. Weiner has ignored our concerns regarding this matter.

It is indeed an outrage that in this enlightened age Aboriginal people continue to be denied the respect and courtesy of being consulted before and during policy formulation. However, it is our position that we do not want to be included in the bill.

Thank you for your time. I will now turn this over to my Vice-Chief, Ovide Mercredi.

The Chairman: Mrs. Norton, we should like to ask you a few questions before we move on to the next bill.

Bill C-152, which was the earlier bill that died, was the subject of a great debate about whether Aboriginal languages should be included or excluded. The information we have from officials is that Aboriginal languages are removed from the definition clause in this bill. What is it that you are asking us to do to amend this bill? Are not Aboriginal languages excluded from the definition clause, as you had requested?

Mrs. Norton: Yes.

The Chairman: Are you happy with this bill as it now stands or do you want further changes?

Mrs. Norton: We do not want any further changes. We are excluded from the bill.

The Chairman: But, of course, you want Aboriginal languages recognized?

Mrs. Norton: Yes.

Senator Corbin: On that very point, I used a comment in my speech on second reading, a comment by the minister to the effect that even if they are excluded from the definition, they are still included.

The Chairman: Perhaps I can help you, Senator Corbin. As we heard from officials on Tuesday, the Aboriginal languages are excluded from the definition but the government saw no reason to bar access to the expertise of the institute for any

[Traduction]

Il y a dans tout le Canada beaucoup de centres culturels et de centres de langue qui tentent activement de préserver et de revitaliser les langues autochtones. Avec des ressources limitées, ces organismes essaient désespérément d'empêcher leurs langues de mourir. Plusieurs ont élaboré des programmes axés sur la collectivité, dont la mise en œuvre dépend de bénévoles. D'autres ont réussi à intégrer des programmes d'immersion en langues autochtones dans leurs écoles locales. Ces efforts reflètent une préoccupation et un engagement croissant de la part des Premières nations qui veulent préserver leurs cultures et leurs langues spéciales.

Si nous sommes ici aujourd'hui, c'est parce que l'honorable Gerry Weiner, Secrétaire d'État du Canada et ministre d'État au Multiculturalisme et à la Citoyenneté, a présenté le projet de loi C-152, devenu le projet de loi C-37, qui va créer l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. Même si les Premières nations n'ont pas été consultées, elles ont toujours soutenu qu'à titre de peuple fondateur, leurs cultures et leurs langues autochtones doivent obtenir la reconnaissance et l'appui distinct qu'elles méritent. Nous refusons d'être visés par le projet de loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. M. Weiner n'a pas tenu compte de nos interventions en ce sens.

C'est scandaleux qu'à notre époque éclairée, on n'ait toujours pas le respect et la courtoisie de consulter les peuples autochtones avant et durant l'élaboration d'une politique. Nous refusons donc d'être visés par le projet de loi.

Je vous remercie. Je vais maintenant céder la parole au vice-président, Ovide Mercredi.

Le président: Madame Norton, nous voudrions vous poser quelques questions avant de passer à l'autre projet de loi.

Le projet de loi C-152, le premier projet de loi qui est mort au Feuilleton, a soulevé un grand débat sur l'opportunité d'y inclure les langues autochtones. D'après les fonctionnaires, les langues autochtones n'apparaissent plus dans la définition du nouveau projet de loi. Donc, quel amendement voulez-vous que nous apportions? Les langues autochtones n'ont-elles pas été exclues de la définition comme vous l'aviez demandé?

Mme Norton: Oui.

Le président: Êtes-vous satisfaite du libellé actuel du projet de loi ou voulez-vous proposer d'autres amendements?

Mme Norton: Nous ne demandons aucun autre amendement. Nous ne sommes plus visés par le projet de loi.

Le président: Ce que vous voulez, c'est que les langues autochtones soient reconnues, n'est-ce pas?

Mme Norton: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Corbin: À ce sujet, j'ai cité dans mon discours, à l'occasion de la deuxième lecture, un commentaire du ministre, selon lequel si les langues autochtones n'apparaissaient plus dans la définition, elles continuaient tout de même d'être visées par le projet de loi.

Le président: Je vais peut-être vous éclairer, sénateur Corbin. D'après les propos des fonctionnaires mardi, les langues autochtones n'apparaissent plus dans la définition, mais le gouvernement ne voit aucune raison à ce qu'on interdise l'accès à

[Text]

Aboriginal communities who may wish to make use of it. So there is access, but no inclusion in the definition. You can tell us if that is wrong.

Mrs. Norton: It is our position that the Assembly of First Nations has asked, through Ethel Blondin's office, to put forward a bill to establish an Aboriginal languages foundation. That position still continues. We will be continuing to pursue a bill to establish our own foundation.

Senator Thériault: Madam Chairman, I should like to commend the people of the First Nations to fight for their rights in keeping their languages. My question is this: Do you feel confident that you are making progress in the retaining of your native languages? Are you satisfied that you are making some progress in the teaching of your languages at the local level?

Mrs. Norton: We are satisfied up to a certain point, but there comes a time when we need financial resources to continue the in-depth development of languages.

Senator Thériault: But you are on the right track?

Mrs. Norton: We are certainly on the right track. Our people at the local level are working towards the full preservation of our languages.

Mr. Mercredi: The question is this: Is the government on the right track? We are doing whatever we can, within our limited resources and within our limited areas of jurisdiction in the educational system, to try to preserve our language. However, we did not initiate those racist policies that resulted in the demise of our languages. The redress for the destruction of our languages is a federal government responsibility because those policies that denied our people the right to speak their languages is the direct result of federal policy.

A totally new initiative—a remedy—is required for the damage that was done, in much the same way that the government acknowledged the damage they did to the Japanese Canadians when they came up with some efforts to redress that situation, including what we are going to be talking about in a short time, the establishment of a Race Relations Foundation. We need a similar good will gesture by the federal government to ensure that we have the institutions and resources in place to take whatever steps we need to revive our languages and to ensure that they are strengthened and continue for future generations. The issue is what is the government doing and what is their responsibility.

Senator Thériault: I know you need financial assistance for your programs. Are you looking to the federal government for financial assistance?

Mr. Mercredi: Not just financial assistance but a policy.

Senator Thériault: You used the Japanese example.

The Chairman: Senator Thériault, we are coming next to the race relations bill. Perhaps we can deal with this then.

[Traduction]

l'institut aux collectivités autochtones qui souhaiteraient y avoir recours. Donc, les autochtones auront accès à l'institut même si leurs langues n'apparaissent pas dans la définition. Corrigez-moi si je me trompe.

Mme Norton: Par l'entremise du bureau d'Éthel Blondin, l'Assemblée des Premières nations a demandé la présentation d'un projet de loi qui constituerait une fondation des langues autochtones. Voilà notre position. Nous allons continuer d'exercer des pressions pour obtenir une loi créant notre propre fondation.

Le sénateur Thériault: Madame le président, je tiens à féliciter les peuples des Premières nations qui luttent pour leurs droits et la préservation de leurs langues. Ma question est la suivante: Êtes-vous optimiste quant à la préservation de vos langues autochtones? Avez-vous l'impression de faire des progrès dans l'enseignement de vos langues dans les écoles locales?

Mme Norton: Nous sommes satisfaits dans une certaine mesure, mais à un moment donné, il faut des ressources financières pour approfondir le développement des langues.

Le sénateur Thériault: Êtes-vous sur la bonne voie?

Mme Norton: Certainement. Les autochtones à l'échelle locale font des efforts en vue de la préservation totale de nos langues.

M. Mercredi: Il faut plutôt se demander si le gouvernement, lui, est sur la bonne voie? Nous faisons notre possible, avec nos moyens limités et notre domaine de compétence limité en éducation, pour tenter de préserver nos langues. Ce n'est toutefois pas nous qui avons adopté ces politiques racistes qui ont fait périlcliter nos langues. Le gouvernement fédéral a la responsabilité de rétablir la situation puisque ce sont des politiques fédérales qui ont interdit aux autochtones le droit de parler leurs langues.

Il faut un dédommagement, tout comme pour les Canadiens d'origine japonaise envers lesquels le gouvernement a reconnu ses torts quand il a proposé des mesures pour les indemniser, notamment en proposant la création d'une fondation des relations raciales. Le gouvernement fédéral doit manifester de la même façon sa bonne volonté à notre endroit en veillant à ce que nous disposions des institutions et des ressources nécessaires pour prendre les mesures qui s'imposent en vue de ranimer nos langues et de les renforcer pour que les générations futures continuent de les parler. La question est de savoir ce que fait le gouvernement et quelles sont ses responsabilités.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je sais que vous avez besoin d'une aide financière pour vos programmes. Voulez-vous que le gouvernement fédéral nous apporte cette aide?

M. Mercredi: Pas seulement une aide financière, mais une politique.

Le sénateur Thériault: Vous donnez en exemple le cas des Japonais.

Le président: Sénateur Thériault, nous discuterons plus tard de la Fondation des relations raciales. Vous pourrez y revenir à ce moment-là.

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Mr. Mercredi: Let me answer this because I raised the issues and he is following up on it. It is very pertinent to what the presentation was about.

The senator is raising a very important issue. The response to that question will tell us whether the government is committed to deal with the needs of our communities with respect to their languages. We need not just money, we need policies that respect a right to our languages and we need laws enacted by Parliament to ensure that our languages are protected. That will not be accomplished by some umbrella legislation for all other languages. It has to be a particular focus. I think there is a moral and legal basis for that argument.

If you do not make that direction to Parliament, they will be content with this Heritage Act as a sufficient response to our concerns. Quite frankly, it is not an adequate response. They have to come back with new legislation. You have that opportunity once the bill is tabled by Ethel Blondin, who is acting for our interests, as government ought to be doing.

The Chairman: Senator Bosa.

Senator Bosa: Madam Chairman, I took note of the figures the witnesses cited regarding how many Aboriginal people speak one language and the many Aboriginal languages that are spoken. You say that there are some 40 languages in B.C. Is there a common root among them? I do not know much about Aboriginal languages, but is there a commonality within these multitude of languages?

Mrs. Norton: There are common languages with common bases through the linguistic families. There are 11 linguistic families across Canada. Within that, there are 200 languages and there are different dialects. If you take the Cree language, there are four dialects within the Cree language, but the common basis of their language would be the basic Cree language.

However, those 11 linguistic families are as distinct from each other as French is to English. They are very different. There is no commonality between the 11 linguistic families.

Senator Bosa: I should like to provide an example. I was born in Italy. There must be at least 30, if not more, dialects in Italy. Some of them are derived from Italian, but the Italian government only teaches Italian as the official language of communication between these regions and provinces. Some regional governments also encourage the upkeep of their dialect.

This is not only happening to the Aboriginal people of Canada, but it seems to be a widespread situation in Europe, where there are many languages or dialects, but there is only one national language.

Mr. Mercredi: I think I have a sense of what you are asking, and that is: Are all the languages worth saving?

Senator Bosa: Not worth saving, but is it logistically possible?

Mr. Mercredi: Our approach to the preservation of the languages has nothing to do with the distinction between what is official and what is not official within the government sense of thinking. Our approach is that these are founding languages

[Traduction]

M. Mercredi: Permettez-moi de lui répondre puisque c'est moi qui ai soulevé la question. C'est directement relié à notre exposé.

Le sénateur soulève une question très importante. C'est en répondant à cette question que nous saurons si le gouvernement s'engage vraiment à satisfaire aux besoins linguistiques de nos collectivités. Ce n'est pas simplement une question d'argent, il nous faut des politiques qui respectent notre droit à nos langues propres. Il nous faut aussi des lois fédérales qui assureront la protection de nos langues. Nous n'y parviendrons pas avec une loi-cadre qui regroupe toutes les autres langues. Il nous faut une loi pour nous seuls. Nous avons des arguments moraux aussi bien que juridiques à cet effet.

Si vous ne le lui mentionnez pas, le Parlement sera convaincu que cette loi concernant les langues patrimoniales est une solution convenable pour nous. En vérité, c'est faux. Il faut une autre loi. Quand Ethel Blondin, qui défend nos intérêts, déposera son projet de loi, vous aurez la possibilité d'agir.

Le président: Sénateur Bosa.

Le sénateur Bosa: Madame le président, j'ai noté les chiffres qu'ont donnés les témoins à propos du nombre d'autochtones qui parlent certaines langues et aussi des nombreuses langues autochtones qui existent. Vous dites qu'il y en aurait une quarantaine en Colombie-Britannique. Ont-elle une racine commune? Je ne connais pas grand-chose sur les langues autochtones, mais je voudrais savoir si toutes ces langues ont des points communs?

Mme Norton: Certaines langues appartiennent à la même famille linguistique et ont donc des bases communes. Il existe au Canada 11 familles linguistiques qui regroupent 200 langues et divers dialectes. Le cri, par exemple, comporte quatre dialectes qui ont tous en commun les fondements du cri.

Cependant, ces 11 familles linguistiques sont aussi différentes les unes des autres que le français et l'anglais. Il n'y a aucun point commun entre les familles.

Le sénateur Bosa: Je voudrais vous donner un exemple. Je suis né en Italie. Là-bas, il doit y avoir au moins 30 dialectes, sinon plus. Certains sont dérivés de l'italien, mais le gouvernement italien n'enseigne que l'italien puisque c'est la langue officielle de communication entre les régions et les provinces. Certains gouvernements régionaux favorisent aussi la préservation du dialecte.

La situation n'est pas particulière aux autochtones canadiens. C'est assez courant en Europe, où il y a bien des langues et des dialectes différents, mais une seule langue officielle.

M. Mercredi: Je pense savoir où vous voulez en venir. Toutes ces langues mériteraient-elles d'être sauvées?

Le sénateur Bosa: Pas nécessairement, mais est-ce possible?

M. Mercredi: Notre idée de la préservation de nos langues n'a rien à voir avec la distinction que voudrait faire le gouvernement entre une langue officielle et une langue non officielle. Pour nous, ce sont les langues d'origine du Canada et elles

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and that they deserve preservation in their own right. We do not want to make decisions as to which one deserves more attention than the next. We want to give the capacity in law, in policy and in terms of resources to each First Nation with a distinctive language to take whatever measures are needed to preserve their own language, whatever that language is. That is, in essence, what we are saying to you.

Senator Bosa: I am supportive of that. Thank you for the information.

The Chairman: Senator Di Nino.

Senator Di Nino: Madam Chairman, first I should like to make a couple of comments. I also, like Senator Bosa, am Canadian by choice, one who came here and was welcomed by this country. I was born in Italy.

I never truly appreciated the issues that the Aboriginal peoples have brought forth until a number of years ago—and I say this with a little bit of shame—when I experienced other Aboriginal peoples' problems in different parts of the world, such as Australia and Tibet. Because of my experiences outside of our country, the forest and the tree syndrome has sunk into my thick skull. I have a great deal of sympathy for the issues that the Aboriginal people have been bringing forth in the last number of years. Therefore, I am supportive of their requests and comments.

Senator Bosa gave the example of different dialects in the country that he and I were born in. There is probably more like 300 rather than 30 dialects. Mrs. Norton made a comment, and I believe it is worth repeating. She said—and I am paraphrasing—that the key to identity in culture for the native people is language. That is the issue more so than can we retain a particular language.

Having said that, I have a question that I believe was answered, but I would like some clarification. Mrs. Norton, are you saying that you are satisfied and today you are not asking for any changes or any further amendments to Bill C-37?

Mrs. Norton: That is correct. We are asking to be removed from that bill because we are not part of the heritage languages.

Senator Di Nino: That is being accomplished now with the change that has taken place?

Mrs. Norton: Yes.

Senator Di Nino: So if we recommend Bill C-37, that would satisfy your concerns?

Mrs. Norton: Yes.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I understand that you came here in front of the Senate to make your point in relation to Canadian policy. You have made quite a number of references to the language of education, which you consider very important. I realize that, after the family, school is the next best way to protect the language, and I was wondering if, in your mind, you make a distinction between provincial and federal responsibilities? I think the general policy on Aboriginal language belongs to the federal government but I am not sure whether, in some other areas, you should not be addressing your concerns to the vari-

[Traduction]

méritent d'être préservées. Nous ne voulons pas décider que certaines méritent plus d'attention que d'autres. Nous voulons avoir les lois, les politiques et les ressources qui permettent à chaque Première nation de prendre les mesures qui s'imposent pour préserver sa langue propre, quelle qu'elle soit. Voilà en essence ce que nous sommes venus vous dire.

Le sénateur Bosa: Je suis d'accord avec vous. Merci pour ces renseignements.

Le président: Sénateur Di Nino.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Madame le président, je voudrais d'abord faire quelques observations. Comme le sénateur Bosa, j'ai choisi le Canada, où j'ai été bien accueilli. Je suis né en Italie.

Je n'ai jamais vraiment compris les problèmes que soulevaient les autochtones jusqu'à il y a quelques années—et j'avoue en avoir honte—quand j'ai constaté les problèmes qu'avaient d'autres peuples autochtones ailleurs dans le monde, notamment en Australie et au Tibet. À cause de ce que j'ai vécu à l'étranger, j'ai fini par comprendre. J'écoute maintenant avec beaucoup plus de bienveillance les problèmes que nous exposent les autochtones depuis quelques années. J'appuie donc leurs demandes et leurs commentaires.

Le sénateur Bosa a donné l'exemple des différents dialectes qui se parlent dans le pays où lui et moi sommes nés. Il faudrait plutôt parler de 300 dialectes et non pas de 30 seulement. Mme Norton a fait une observation qui mérite d'être répétée. Elle a dit en gros que la clé de l'identité culturelle des autochtones, c'est la langue. C'est d'ailleurs beaucoup plus important que la seule préservation d'une langue.

Cela dit, je voudrais poser une question à laquelle on a déjà répondu, mais j'aimerais des précisions. Madame Norton, avez-vous bien dit que vous étiez satisfaite du projet de loi C-37 et que vous ne réclameriez aucun autre amendement?

Mme Norton: C'est exact. Nous demandons à ne pas être assujettis à ce projet de loi, car nous ne faisons pas partie des langues patrimoniales.

Le sénateur Di Nino: C'est là l'effet de la modification?

Mme Norton: Oui.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Ainsi, si nous recommandons l'adoption du projet de loi C-37, vous seriez satisfaite?

Mme Norton: Oui.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Vous vous êtes présentée au Sénat pour vous faire entendre en ce qui concerne la politique canadienne. Vous avez parlé souvent de la langue de l'enseignement, que vous considérez comme très importante. Je comprends qu'après la famille, l'école est la meilleure façon de protéger la langue et je me demandais si, selon vous, il y a une distinction entre les pouvoirs provinciaux et les pouvoirs fédéraux? Je crois que la politique globale sur les langues autochtones relève du gouvernement fédéral et je ne suis pas certaine que, dans d'autres domaines, ce n'est pas aux divers gouverne-

[Text]

ous provincial governments. Do you have any response? You have talked about the situation in the Territories in relation to education, and I can understand that. If you want a language to survive, it has to be useful and you have to master it, and that is done in school. As far as I understand, education is a provincial responsibility. I am wondering what kind of distinction you make between the two governments in the sharing of responsibilities?

Mr. Mercredi: This jurisdictional dispute that sometimes surfaces between the federal government and the provinces as to who is responsible for services or programs is an ongoing headache, and the result of that headache, of course, is a lack of services and resources that are generally available to everybody else. We have no access to those services and resources simply because someone says, "We are not responsible for you. You are a federal matter," or, "You are a provincial matter." Education is not just a provincial responsibility when it comes to Indian people. It is a federal legal responsibility. If you read provisions of the Indian Act, you will see that they have taken the initiative to take full charge of the education of Indian people. It is pursuant to the Indian Act that they are responsible for the education of Indian people. So if the federal government chose to utilize their legal jurisdiction over Indians under section 91(24) by enacting specific legislation respecting the protection of Indian languages, that law would be binding on the provinces, whether it falls under education or not. The fact of the matter is that Parliament does have the responsibility to protect these languages, and if they chose to exercise their legal power to make laws to accomplish that objective, the provinces would have to comply with those laws. That means that, if the legislation said that every measure will be taken by educational institutions to protect and to teach the native languages, then provincial school systems, not just Indian schools, would have to take measures necessary to accomplish that objective. We have a lot of children, not just on reserves, who are being educated in the public school systems. We have them in urban schools as well. At the present time, the curriculum is controlled entirely by the school boards, and they are under provincial legislation, and provincial legislation does not currently acknowledge the cultural differences of the people who come to those schools. To accomplish that, I submit, we need federal law.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Is it different on the reserves?

Mr. Mercredi: No. It is the same on the reserves. There is no legislation compelling any school in Canada to teach a native language right now.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: In Quebec, the Inuit and the Cree are taught in Inuit, Cree and English. They have a choice of French, if they want, as a second language, but they are mostly English-speaking. That is in the legislation.

Mr. Mercredi: I am talking about something that would be made compulsory, not optional at the discretion of some other authority like the school board.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: The official language is English or Cree, and that is in the legislation.

[Traduction]

ments provinciaux que vous devriez vous adresser. Avez-vous une réponse? Vous avez parlé de la situation de l'enseignement dans les territoires, et je peux comprendre cela. Si l'on veut qu'une langue survive, elle doit être utile et il faut la maîtriser, et cela se fait à l'école. Pour autant que je sache, l'éducation relève des provinces. Je me demande quelle sorte de distinction vous établissez entre les deux gouvernements pour ce qui est du partage des pouvoirs?

M. Mercredi: Le conflit de compétence que l'on constate parfois entre le gouvernement fédéral et les provinces, quant à savoir de qui relèvent les services ou les programmes, est un problème constant, d'où, bien sûr, l'absence de services et de ressources qui sont en général offerts à tous les autres. Nous n'avons aucun accès à ces services et à ces ressources tout simplement parce que quelqu'un dit: «vous ne relevez pas de nous, vous relevez du fédéral», ou «vous relevez du provincial». L'éducation n'est pas exclusivement de compétence provinciale quand il s'agit des Indiens. Elle relève du fédéral. Si vous consultez la Loi sur les Indiens, vous constaterez que le gouvernement fédéral a pris l'initiative de se charger entièrement de l'éducation des Indiens. C'est aux termes de la Loi sur les Indiens que l'éducation des Indiens relève du fédéral. Ainsi, si le gouvernement fédéral choisissait d'utiliser sa compétence en ce qui concerne les Indiens aux termes de l'article 91(24) en adoptant des lois sur la protection des langues indiennes, ces lois lieraient les provinces, qu'il s'agisse ou non d'éducation. En fait, le Parlement a le devoir de protéger ces langues, et s'il choisit d'exercer son pouvoir de légiférer à cette fin, les provinces devront respecter ces lois. En d'autres termes, si la loi dispose que les établissements d'enseignement prendront toutes les mesures nécessaires pour protéger et enseigner les langues autochtones, alors les systèmes scolaires provinciaux, et pas seulement les écoles indiennes, devront prendre les mesures nécessaires à la réalisation de cet objectif. Nous avons beaucoup d'enfant, pas seulement dans les réserves, qui sont instruits dans les systèmes scolaires publics. Nous en avons aussi dans les écoles urbaines. À l'heure actuelle, le programme d'études est régi entièrement par les conseils scolaires, qui relèvent des lois provinciales, et les lois provinciales ne reconnaissent pas actuellement les différences culturelles de ceux qui fréquentent ces écoles. Je soutiens que pour y arriver, il nous faut une loi fédérale.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: La situation est-elle différente dans les réserves?

M. Mercredi: Non. Elle est la même dans les réserves. Il n'existe aucune loi obligeant quelque école canadienne que ce soit, à l'heure actuelle, à enseigner une langue autochtone.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Au Québec, les Inuit et les Cris reçoivent un enseignement en inuit, en cri et en anglais. S'ils le désirent, ils peuvent choisir le français comme langue seconde, mais ils sont pour la plupart anglophones. C'est ce que prévoit la loi.

M. Mercredi: Je parle de dispositions obligatoires, et non laissées à la discrétion de quelque autre autorité, comme un conseil scolaire.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: La langue officielle est l'anglais ou le cri, et c'est une disposition de la loi.

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Mr. Mercredi: That is what I am advocating, but it should be done across the country. I do not want to give the impression here that it is being done in one place and so, therefore, that is sufficient. What I am saying to you is that, if it can be done in one place, then that is precedent for it being done everywhere. If you are correct in what you are telling me about the Inuit language, then fine, the government should take that as a precedent and use it as a good example and apply it to all Aboriginal people across Canada.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: So, what you are telling me is that, on other Indian reserves, except perhaps in the north, they are only being taught in English? Is that what you are telling me?

Mr. Mercredi: The native languages are not compulsory.

Senator Thériault: It would not be in Montreal, either.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: He is talking about reserves.

Senator Robertson: I want to thank the witnesses for coming this morning. The last time Mr. Mercredi was with us, he was very helpful.

Mrs. Norton, when you were giving your testimony, you mentioned that you had had \$2 million for language training and that it was reduced to \$1 million. I believe that was a statistic that you gave us. I just want to know if you receive specific money from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for the protection and development of the founding languages.

Mrs. Norton: There is no money for community-based programs. There was a bit of money for in-school programming, but even with that, they do not have a specific policy.

Senator Robertson: Mr. Mercredi, you referred to the fact that there were some 11 languages of the same base with 200 dialects. Is it your intention to work toward the protection, preservation and development of the base languages, or the 200 dialects.

Mrs. Norton: All of the languages.

Senator Robertson: All of the languages, I see. Thank you.

The Chairman: I wonder if we could now ask Mr. Mercredi to take us through his comments on Bill C-63, regarding the Race Relations Foundation? I should just remind senators that our next witness is here, so perhaps we could make the questions to the point.

Mr. Mercredi: I would also like to remind senators that we waited, too, for a while when the other witnesses took some of our time.

The Chairman: I am not trying to cut your time.

Mr. Mercredi: I want to make sure that I have the time I need, and the time that would have been allocated to us to deal with this legislation that is now before the committee. Otherwise, there is no sense in us coming here. If we cannot have the time we need, why call us?

[Traduction]

M. Mercredi: C'est ce que je préconise, mais cela devrait se faire à l'échelle du pays. Je ne voudrais pas donner ici l'impression qu'il suffit que cela se fasse quelque part. Ce que je vous dis, c'est que si cela peut se faire quelque part, c'est là un précédent pour que cela se fasse partout. Si ce que vous me dites est vrai à propos de la langue inuit, alors le gouvernement devrait s'autoriser de ce précédent et l'appliquer à tous les autochtones du Canada.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Ainsi, vous dites que dans les autres réserves indiennes, sauf peut-être dans le Nord, la seule langue d'enseignement est l'anglais? Est-ce bien cela que vous me dites?

M. Mercredi: Les langues autochtones ne sont pas obligatoires.

Le sénateur Thériault: Elles ne le seraient pas à Montréal non plus.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Il parle des réserves.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je remercie les témoins d'être venus aujourd'hui. À sa dernière visite, M. Mercredi a été très utile.

Madame Norton, au cours de votre témoignage, vous avez dit que vous aviez 2 millions pour la formation linguistique et que cette somme a été réduite à 1 million de dollars. Je crois que c'est une statistique que vous nous avez donnée. Je voudrais savoir si vous recevez expressément de l'argent du ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord pour la protection et le développement des langues autochtones.

Mme Norton: Il n'y a pas de fonds pour les programmes communautaires. Il y avait un peu d'argent pour les programmes scolaires, mais il n'y a pas pour autant de politique précise.

Le sénateur Robertson: Monsieur Mercredi, vous avez dit qu'il y a quelque 11 langues ayant la même base et 200 dialectes. Avez-vous l'intention de travailler à la protection, à la préservation et au développement des langues de base ou des 200 dialectes?

Mme Norton: De toutes les langues.

Le sénateur Robertson: De toutes les langues, je vois. Merci.

Le président: Je ne sais pas si nous pourrions demander à M. Mercredi de nous dire ce qu'il pense du projet de loi C-163 sur la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales? Je rappelle aux sénateurs que notre prochain témoin est arrivé et que peut-être il faudrait éviter de nous perdre en digressions.

M. Mercredi: Je rappelle également aux sénateurs que nous aussi nous avons attendu un certain temps pendant que les autres témoins prenaient une partie de notre temps.

Le président: Je ne voudrais nullement réduire votre temps.

M. Mercredi: Je veux m'assurer d'avoir le temps dont j'ai besoin, et le temps qui nous aurait été attribué pour parler de ce projet de loi dont est saisi le comité. Autrement, rien ne sert de venir ici. Si nous ne pouvons avoir le temps dont nous avons besoin, pourquoi nous convoquer?

[Text]

The Chairman: Our next witness says that that is no problem, so please proceed.

Mr. Mercredi: Thank you. To me, the real question in terms of race relations between people in Canada is whether we have the courage in this country to deal with the real problem, which is racism. Senators have to examine themselves in light of this legislation and ask the most basic question, which is: Is the way to deal with racism in Canada by creating foundations which are given the mandate to do research and publications, to hold workshops and conferences and to try to teach people about prejudice and discrimination and the effect of them on people's lives? Is that not already being done by existing institutions across this country, such as universities? Is that kind of work not already being done by non-governmental bodies, which are trying to promote human rights in Canada. What advantage is there in enacting legislation to create a foundation? Will that lead to the elimination of racism in Canada? I submit to you that it will not. However, it will become very convenient for the federal government to use the institution as a justification for not doing what is really needed, even within their jurisdiction. What is it that is really needed? Right now, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs has laid some 18 complaints before the Canadian Human Rights Commission, complaints of employment discrimination, and it is within the federal government's authority right now to ensure that equity, in terms of employment, applies not just to French Canadians or the ethnocultural community, but to Aboriginal people as well.

So, rather than creating an institution, ought not the government to be doing something more direct in ensuring that Aboriginal people find jobs in the civil service and that every effort is made to eliminate whatever prejudice and racism there is within the system, to ensure that people have access to jobs? Beyond that, how do you protect yourself from people who want to discriminate against you? How do you do that if you do not have the financial resources to defend your rights? What has the Secretary of State done to ensure that Aboriginal people have the financial capacity to defend their human rights in Canada? I say to you that they have done nothing to promote our ability to defend our own human rights, but they have done a lot in the opposite direction. They are cutting \$52 million from the Native Citizen's Directorate Program over a five-year period. They have reduced the funding of Friendship Centres, which are native-run organizations that play a very vital role in meeting the basic needs of Indian people in the cities. Actually, they deal not just with Indian people but Métis and Inuit people as well. If you know anything about these Friendship Centres—and some of you may have served as board directors—you will know from your practical experience that they deal not just with the social service needs of these people but with the effects of racism on the lives of these people. Friendship Centres do a lot in terms of public education and creating cultural understanding and the promotion of racial harmony in this country, but their funding has been reduced by the Secretary of State. There have been cutbacks

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Le président: Notre prochain témoin déclare qu'il n'y a aucun problème; veuillez poursuivre.

M. Mercredi: Merci. Pour moi, la véritable question qui se pose en ce qui concerne les relations raciales entre les peuples du Canada est de savoir si nous avons le courage de faire face au véritable problème, c'est-à-dire au racisme. Les sénateurs doivent faire un examen de conscience à la lumière de ce projet de loi et se poser la question fondamentale, c'est-à-dire: pourra-t-on régler le problème du racisme au Canada en constituant des fondations qui ont pour mandat de faire des recherches et de publier des études, de tenir des ateliers et des conférences et de tenter d'enseigner à la population ce que sont les préjugés et la discrimination et leurs effets sur la vie des gens? Est-ce que cela ne se fait pas déjà dans des établissements qui existent dans tout le pays, comme les universités? N'y a-t-il pas déjà au Canada des organismes non gouvernementaux qui font ce genre de travail, qui tentent de promouvoir les droits de la personne au Canada? Quel avantage y a-t-il à adopter une loi pour créer une fondation? Est-ce que cela entraînera l'élimination du racisme au Canada? Je soutiens que non. Toutefois, il sera très commode pour le gouvernement fédéral d'utiliser cette institution comme prétexte pour ne pas faire ce qui est vraiment nécessaire, même si ça relève de sa compétence. Qu'est-ce qui est vraiment nécessaire? L'Assemblée des chefs du Manitoba a déposé quelque 18 plaintes devant la Commission des droits de la personne, des plaintes portant sur la discrimination en matière d'emploi, et le gouvernement fédéral a dès maintenant le pouvoir de veiller à ce que l'équité en matière d'emploi ne s'applique pas uniquement aux Canadiens français ou aux communautés ethnoculturelles, mais aussi aux autochtones.

Au lieu de créer une institution, le gouvernement ne devrait-il pas prendre des mesures plus directes pour veiller à ce que les autochtones trouvent des emplois dans la fonction publique et faire tout son possible pour éliminer les préjugés et le racisme qui existent au sein du système, pour faire en sorte que les gens aient accès à des emplois? À part cela, comment vous protéger contre ceux qui voudraient faire preuve de discrimination contre vous? Comment y parvenir si vous n'avez pas les ressources financières nécessaires pour faire valoir vos droits? Qu'est-ce que le Secrétariat d'État a fait pour veiller à ce que les autochtones aient les moyens financiers de défendre leurs droits au Canada? J'affirme qu'il n'a rien fait pour nous mettre mieux en mesure de défendre nos propres droits de la personne, mais qu'il a fait beaucoup dans l'autre direction. On coupe 52 millions de dollars du programme de la Direction des citoyens autochtones sur cinq ans. On a réduit le financement des centres d'accueil, organismes dirigés par des autochtones qui jouent un rôle très essentiel pour répondre aux besoins fondamentaux des Indiens dans les villes. En fait, ces centres ne s'occupent pas uniquement des Indiens, mais aussi des Métis et des Inuit. Si vous connaissez ces centres d'accueil—et certains d'entre vous ont peut-être été membres des conseils d'administration—vous savez par expérience que ces centres ne s'occupent pas uniquement d'assurer des services sociaux, mais qu'ils se préoccupent également des effets du racisme sur la vie quotidienne. Les centres d'accueil font beaucoup pour l'éducation du public, la compréhension interculturelle et la promotion de

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by 20 per cent for Aboriginal communications societies and 13 northern broadcasting corporations this fiscal year. Funding for 28 Aboriginal political organizations has been cut. Another 24 organizations will be affected and will be losing their funding in the 1991-92 fiscal year.

So, my argument is this: It is hypocritical for the Government of Canada to be creating at this time a foundation to deal with race relations in this country when, at the other end, where they have the capacity to deal with racism, they are doing the very opposite and cutting back on the resources that we need and, therefore, making us unable to defend ourselves and our human rights in this country.

So, as senators, why would you want to approve a bill that will not have the net result of eliminating racism in Canada? Do you think if we had a foundation that Oka might not have happened? Do you think a foundation would have prevented the people in Chateaugay from throwing stones? Do you think a foundation would have prevented what happened to Donald Marshall within the criminal justice system in Nova Scotia? I doubt it. What is needed is concrete action by government, and what kind of action is that?

Within its jurisdiction as a federal government, the Employment Equity Program can be made to work for Aboriginal people too. The federal government should make every effort to accomplish that task. Within its jurisdiction, it can make sure that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, as a high priority, employs Aboriginal people at senior level management positions, not only in the secretarial and lower positions of the department.

These are things within the mandate of this government that can be accomplished, which would help us in dealing with not only the needs of our community but also the issue of racism in Canada. What more can the federal government do? It can expand the equity legislation to extent to private industry so that private employers in Canada will be compelled to hire Aboriginal people as a measure for dealing with the elimination of racism in Canada. That is the kind of legislation that would have a larger impact on the elimination of racism. This foundation is not going to accomplish any of the lofty objectives that are contained in the preamble of that legislation. It will not accomplish any of those goals. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Mercredi.

Senator Kinsella: Thank you, Ovide, for another excellent presentation to a parliamentary committee. I know that those program cuts in the Secretary of State have been difficult for a lot of constituencies that the Citizen Participation Program addressed. You made reference to the Donald Marshall case and also to the importance of the government making greater strides in implementation of employment equity.

Do you think if we had been successful in Nova Scotia with employment equity, with a systemic change in corporate culture, and there had been a high participation rate of native people in the criminal justice system that the Donald Marshall

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l'harmonie raciale au pays, mais le Secrétariat d'État leur a coupé les fonds. Il y a eu des coupures de 20 p. 100 pour les sociétés de communications autochtones et 13 sociétés de radiodiffusion dans le Nord au cours du présent exercice financier. Le financement de 28 organismes politiques autochtones a été réduit. Au cours de l'exercice financier 1991-1992, 24 autres organismes seront touchés et perdront leur financement.

Mon argument est le suivant: Le gouvernement du Canada fait preuve d'hypocrisie en créant à ce moment-ci une fondation pour s'occuper des relations raciales au pays, quand, par ailleurs, dans les domaines où il est effectivement en mesure de s'occuper du racisme, il fait le contraire et coupe les ressources dont nous avons besoin, ce qui nous empêche de nous défendre et de faire valoir nos droits dans ce pays.

Honorables sénateurs, pourquoi approuver un projet de loi qui n'aura pas pour résultat d'éliminer le racisme au Canada? Pensez-vous que si la fondation avait existé, les événements d'Oka ne se seraient pas produits? Croyez-vous qu'une fondation aurait empêché les gens de Chateaugay de lancer des pierres? Croyez-vous qu'une fondation aurait empêché ce qui est arrivé à Donald Marshall dans le cadre du système de justice pénale de Nouvelle-Écosse? J'en doute fort. Ce qu'il nous faut, ce sont des mesures concrètes de la part du gouvernement; de quelle sorte de mesures s'agit-il?

Dans le cadre de la compétence du gouvernement fédéral, le programme d'équité en matière d'emploi peut réussir pour les autochtones aussi. Le gouvernement fédéral devrait tout tenter pour accomplir cette tâche. Dans les limites de sa compétence, il peut veiller à ce que le ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord emploie prioritairement les autochtones dans des postes de cadres, et pas uniquement dans des postes de secrétariat et des postes inférieurs du ministère.

Ce sont là des choses que le gouvernement peut accomplir dans le cadre de son mandat, et il nous aiderait non seulement à répondre aux besoins de notre communauté, mais aussi à traiter de la question du racisme au Canada. Qu'est-ce que le gouvernement fédéral peut faire d'autre? Il peut rendre les lois sur l'équité en matière d'emploi applicables à l'industrie privée, de sorte que les employeurs privés du Canada soient tenus d'engager des autochtones en vue d'éliminer le racisme au Canada. Des mesures législatives de ce genre feraient beaucoup plus pour éliminer le racisme. Cette fondation ne permettrait de réaliser aucun des objectifs nobles que contient le préambule. Aucun de ces buts ne sera atteint. Merci beaucoup.

Le président: Merci, monsieur Mercredi.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Je vous remercie, Ovide, d'avoir présenté un autre excellent exposé à un comité parlementaire. Je sais que les coupures de programmes au Secrétariat d'État ont créé des difficultés pour bon nombre de ceux qui étaient visés par le Programme de participation des citoyens. Vous parlez de l'affaire Donald Marshall et vous dites qu'il est également important que le gouvernement avance plus vite dans l'application de l'équité en matière d'emploi.

Croyez-vous que si nous avions réussi à implanter en Nouvelle-Écosse l'équité en matière d'emploi et à apporter un changement systémique à la culture des sociétés, et que s'il y avait eu un taux élevé de participation des autochtones dans le

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incident would not have occurred? In other words, if there was no institutional change to the justice system, and that there was a higher participation rate of native persons and persons from the black community as well in the province, do you think that the Donald Marshall incident would not have happened anyway?

Mr. Mercredi: I doubt that there is a single Aboriginal person in Canada who has not experienced one form of prejudice, discrimination or racism in Canada. We know what it feels like to be excluded and rejected in a society that promotes itself as believing in equality and equity for all so-called citizens of the country.

Even that negative experience of rejection and exclusion does not mean that we have no confidence in changing the attitudes of Canadians toward us. But it will not happen as a result of education alone. We know that. It will not happen just because someone makes a nice speech about racism in Canada. It will not happen because we have nice legislation on human rights across Canada or, for that matter, because we have good constitutional law. It will only happen, in my view, if the action is direct and affirmative.

People have to wake up to the reality that if you really want Aboriginal people to feel welcome in your society, then you ought to open the doors. It is not enough to say to us that we have a society that does not believe in discrimination. You have to show us that there will not be any discrimination. That means that within the criminal justice system, for example, we should see our people as judges, clerks of the court, and lawyers within that court. We should see people at the front end of that system as police officers enforcing the laws of this country or the laws of their First Nations. That would be the most effective way of eliminating racism within the system as it is right now, by having our people employed within the system and, through that, being able to share their concerns with fellow employees about whatever attitudinal problems they may have about our people.

Senator Kinsella: Therefore, do you not see, based upon what you have said, the need for us to be critical in our analysis and understanding of the institutions that need change? Obviously the change will come about, to a large extent, by having greater participation. But if the institutions themselves do not change, we will still have problems. I am wondering whether or not the foundation and other agencies in other parts of our social justice infrastructure must find the state-of-the-art techniques of management renewal to change the corporate culture of the institutions; that they not only be reflective of the community, but that they be in constant development with and by the community. In other words, with respect to Bill C-63, this institute, being a research institute, would help find those state-of-the-art techniques, whether they be management training modules or what have you, so we deal with "yes" attitudes and "yes" behaviour, but, more importantly, systemic and institutional racism and discrimination.

Mr. Mercredi: This institute will have no greater impact on racism than what is currently being accomplished by universi-

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système de justice pénale, l'affaire Donald Marshall n'aurait pas eu lieu? En d'autres termes, s'il n'y avait aucune modification institutionnelle de l'appareil judiciaire et s'il y avait un taux de participation plus élevé des autochtones et des membres de la communauté noire de la province, estimez-vous que l'affaire Donald Marshall ne se serait pas produite?

M. Mercredi: Je doute qu'il existe au Canada un seul autochtone qui n'ait pas subi une certaine forme de préjugé, de discrimination ou de racisme. Nous savons ce que c'est d'être exclus et rejetés dans une société qui se targue de croire en l'égalité et en l'équité pour tous les soi-disant citoyens du pays.

Même cette expérience négative de rejet et d'exclusion ne signifie pas que nous ne sommes pas persuadés de pouvoir modifier les attitudes des Canadiens envers nous. Mais l'éducation ne suffira pas. Nous le savons. Cela ne se produira pas tout simplement parce que quelqu'un fait un beau discours sur le racisme au Canada. Ça ne se produira pas parce que nous avons une belle loi sur les droits de la personnes dans tout le Canada, ni en fait, parce que nous avons un bon droit constitutionnel. Cela ne se produira, selon moi, que si l'on prend des mesures directes et positives.

La population doit se rendre compte que si l'on veut vraiment que les autochtones se sentent les bienvenus dans notre société, il faut leur ouvrir des portes. Il ne suffit pas de dire que notre société ne croit pas à la discrimination. Il faut nous montrer qu'il n'y aura aucune discrimination. Cela signifie que dans l'appareil judiciaire, par exemple, nous devrions voir des autochtones qui soient juges, greffiers et avocats. Il faudrait qu'il y ait des autochtones en première ligne, à titre d'agents de police chargés d'appliquer les lois du pays ou des Premières nations. La façon la plus efficace d'éliminer le racisme au sein du système actuel serait que des autochtones soient employés au sein du système et puissent ainsi faire connaître leurs préoccupations à leurs collègues quant à leurs problèmes d'attitude à l'égard de nos gens.

Le sénateur Kinsella: D'après ce que vous avez dit, vous n'estimez pas nécessaire que nous procédions à une analyse critique des institutions qui doivent être modifiées? Certes, le changement viendra, dans une large mesure, d'une participation accrue. Mais si les institutions elles-mêmes ne sont pas modifiées, nous aurons toujours des problèmes. Je me demande si la fondation et d'autres organismes dans notre infrastructure de justice sociale doivent trouver des techniques modernes de renouvellement de la gestion pour modifier la culture des institutions, de sorte qu'elles ne fassent pas que refléter la communauté, mais qu'elles soient en constante évolution avec la collectivité. En d'autres termes, en ce qui concerne le projet de loi C-63, cet institut, étant un établissement de recherche, aiderait à découvrir ces techniques modernes, qu'il s'agisse de modules de formation des cadres ou d'autre chose, de sorte que nous nous attaquions aux attitudes et aux comportements, mais surtout, au racisme et à la discrimination systémiques et institutionnels.

M. Mercredi: Cet institut n'aura pas plus d'effet sur le racisme que ce que font actuellement les universités, les orga-

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ties, non-governmental organizations and ourselves. We are out in the field trying to promote a better understanding of what our aspirations are as a people and an acceptance by Canadian society of our people as a distinct society within Canada. The argument I am giving to you is that the foundation is a wasted effort. It is a waste of everyone's time, and it is creating a fallacy in the thinking of parliamentarians that they are dealing with racism by creating an institution.

The fact of the matter is, as I stated earlier, education has limited benefits when it comes to dealing with racism. It does not eliminate it. What is required are more concrete and direct measures by government compelling people to do things whether they like it or not because it is in the public interest to eliminate racism. That means that when an existing institution, such as the court system, is found wanting in terms of its people and their attitudes toward Aboriginal people, the legal profession itself should have a responsibility to respond to that issue, but something should compel it to respond if it does not want to respond. Do you see the point?

Senator Kinsella: Yes.

Mr. Mercredi: The foundation will not have that kind of authority. As I read the legislation, the foundation will only have an advisory assisting role in working with institutions in much the same way that existing human rights institutions now have—such as the Canadian Human Rights Commission or the Manitoba Human Rights Commission. They have the legal capacity to talk to employers and try to get them to voluntarily comply with the human rights legislation that exists in those provinces or nationally. That has been found to be deficient. The experience we have lived with in this country for 15 years has not resulted in anything concrete for Aboriginal people so something else is needed. That is the argument I am presenting to you.

The Chairman: So defeat this bill?

Mr. Mercredi: Defeat this bill.

Senator Robertson: Mr. Mercredi, I am sure you are not intending to give me the impression that I perhaps falsely have. It is nagging at me. You say we should fall back on the instruments of government we now have and work harder, but you are not inferring that racism will be solved by legislation.

Mr. Mercredi: Do you think you can eliminate racism by good will? Let's grow up. I believed that too. At one time I was naive to believe that, through good will and education, there would be less rejection and less exclusion of our people in a dominant society. But the reality is that it is a waste of time for us to try to concentrate on teaching people to treat us as human beings. Other things need to be done.

I am suggesting that if the Secretary of State is sincere in its mandate to deal with racial harmony in Canada, it could accomplish that objective by taking measures other than those that are vital to the native community to defend itself against

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nismes non gouvernementaux et nous-mêmes. Nous sommes sur le terrain pour tenter de mieux faire connaître nos aspirations collectives et de mieux faire accepter notre peuple par la société canadienne à titre de société distincte au sein du Canada. L'argument que je vous présente, c'est que la fondation est un gaspillage d'efforts. C'est un gaspillage du temps de tout le monde, qui entretient chez les parlementaires l'idée fausse qu'ils s'attaquent au racisme en créant une institution.

La vérité, comme je l'ai dit tout à l'heure, c'est que l'éducation n'est guère utile pour s'attaquer au racisme. Elle ne l'élimine pas. Ce qu'il faut, c'est davantage de mesures concrètes et directes de la part du gouvernement pour forcer les gens à faire des choses, bon gré malgré, parce qu'il est de l'intérêt public d'éliminer le racisme. Cela signifie que lorsqu'une institution, comme l'appareil judiciaire, présente des lacunes en ce qui concerne son personnel et l'attitude de ce dernier envers les autochtones, c'est à la profession juridique elle-même qu'il devrait incomber de s'attaquer à ce problème, mais elle devrait y être forcée si elle ne veut pas le faire. Comprenez-vous ce que je veux dire?

Le sénateur Kinsella: Oui.

M. Mercredi: La fondation n'aura pas ce pouvoir. Si j'interprète bien le projet de loi, la fondation n'aura qu'un rôle consultatif auprès des institutions, à peu près comme le font actuellement les institutions sur les droits de la personne, comme la Commission canadienne des droits de la personne ou celle du Manitoba. Elles ont le pouvoir de parler aux employeurs et de tenter de les amener à se conformer volontairement aux lois sur les droits de la personne de la province ou de l'ensemble du pays. Cette méthode s'est avérée insuffisante. L'expérience des 15 dernières années n'a pas abouti à quelque chose de concret pour les autochtones; il faut quelque chose d'autre. C'est là l'argument que je vous présente.

Le président: Vous voulez donc que le projet de loi ne soit pas adopté?

M. Mercredi: C'est cela.

Le sénateur Robertson: Monsieur Mercredi, je suis certain que vous n'avez pas l'intention de me donner l'impression que j'ai peut-être à tort. Cela m'agace. Vous dites que nous devrions nous en remettre aux instruments de gouvernement dont nous disposons déjà et travailler plus fort, mais vous ne laissez pas entendre qu'on règlera le problème du racisme par des lois.

M. Mercredi: Croyez-vous pouvoir éliminer le racisme par la bonne volonté? Il faut voir les choses en face. Je croyais cela, moi aussi. J'ai déjà été assez naïf pour croire que, par la bonne volonté et l'éducation, on pourrait diminuer le rejet et l'exclusion de nos gens dans une société dominante. Mais en fait, c'est une perte de temps pour nous que de tenter d'enseigner aux gens de nous traiter comme des êtres humains. C'est autre chose qu'il faut faire.

Je dis que si le Secrétariat d'État veut sincèrement remplir son mandat, qui est d'instaurer l'harmonie raciale au Canada, il pourrait y arriver en supprimant des mesures autres que celles qui sont essentielles à la communauté autochtone pour

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racist attitudes or experiences in Canada. I am also suggesting that the federal government, within its existing authority, can do better within its mandate to ensure that it has employment equity within its departments to ensure that our people are employed within the civil service. Beyond that, if it really wanted to promote understanding of Aboriginal people, it could become less of an irritant in terms of denying us our distinct status in Canada and begin promoting our Aboriginal and treaty rights as part of the fundamental characteristics of Canada. In my view, the most effective way to deal with racism against our people is for the federal government to accept us on our terms. Perhaps if the federal government said to the rest of Canada, "We believe that Aboriginal people have the right to self-government, to their language, to their culture and their institutions of government," maybe the rest of white society would be more interested and more willing to accept us. However, when they see their governments rejecting and excluding us from that kind of recognition, what do you think their response will be: They will comply as, I assume, they are complying with the war, and go along with what their government is doing. More than that, government has the power to enact legislation dealing with racism in Canada. The foundation is an example. I am saying to you that that is misplaced, that there are other ways to accomplish that objective.

Senator Di Nino: Do you see Bill C-63 as harming your objective?

Mr. Mercredi: In the long run, if our experience with government runs its present course and repeats itself, the institution will become a convenient excuse for the government to do nothing with regard to the real experiences of racism that we will face in this country. They will just refer us to the institution, as they refer us to the Canadian Human Rights Commission or to the Manitoba Human Rights Commission or to any other institution they choose to create in the future.

Senator Di Nino: You have said that what is needed is other action. Would I be correct in saying that what is created by this legislation is not negative or an obstruction to other action that should be taken? Are you suggesting that by enacting Bill C-63 the Government of Canada will not be able to take the kind of action that you would like it to take in the future?

Mr. Mercredi: If our experience with the government runs its course and repeats itself, yes, that is what I am saying.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mrs. Norton: I would like to inform the committee that the Assembly of First Nations is sending out invitations to all senators and Members of Parliament to join us on January 22 at a banquet that we are holding during our Aboriginal Language and Literacy Conference. It is being held at the Skyline Hotel next Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock. Tickets are \$35.

The Chairman: Thank you very much for your very helpful testimony, and we look forward to seeing you again.

Before we hear from Mr. Vernon, we have some matters to discuss. Honourable senators, we have received a request from

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qu'elle puisse se défendre contre les attitudes racistes au Canada. Je dis également que le gouvernement fédéral, dans le cadre des pouvoirs qu'il possède déjà, peut faire davantage pour assurer l'équité en matière d'emploi au sein de ses ministères, pour veiller à ce que nos gens aient des emplois dans la fonction publique. En outre, si le gouvernement voulait vraiment faire en sorte que les autochtones soient mieux compris, il pourrait agir de façon moins irritante qu'il ne le fait en nous refusant notre statut distinct et commencer à affirmer que nos droits ancestraux et les droits qui nous sont garantis par traité font partie des caractéristiques fondamentales du Canada. À mon avis, la façon la plus efficace de lutter contre le racisme, c'est que le gouvernement fédéral nous accepte à nos propres conditions. Si le gouvernement fédéral disait au reste du Canada: «Nous croyons que les autochtones ont le droit à l'autonomie politique, à leur langue, à leur culture et à leurs institutions de gouvernement», peut-être le reste de la société blanche serait-il plus prêt à nous accepter. Cependant, lorsque la population constate que ses gouvernements nous refusent cette reconnaissance, comment croyez-vous qu'elle réagira; elle suivra comme je suppose qu'elle suit pour ce qui est de la guerre, et elle acceptera ce que son gouvernement fait. Mieux encore, le gouvernement a le pouvoir d'adopter des lois portant sur le racisme au Canada. La fondation en est un exemple. J'affirme qu'elle est malvenue, qu'il y a d'autres façons de réaliser cet objectif.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Estimez-vous que le projet de loi C-63 nuira à votre objectif?

M. Mercredi: À long terme, si l'on peut en juger d'après ce que l'on soit du gouvernement, cette institution deviendra pour le gouvernement une excuse commode pour ne rien faire en ce qui concerne les vrais cas de racisme auxquels nous serons confrontés. On se contentera de nous renvoyer à cette institution, tout comme on nous renvoie à la Commission canadienne des droits de la personne ou à celle du Manitoba ou à toute autre institution qu'on pourrait choisir de créer à l'avenir.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Vous avez dit qu'il faut d'autres mesures. Ai-je raison de dire que l'institution créée par ce projet de loi n'est pas négative et ne constitue pas un obstacle aux autres mesures qui devraient être prises? Voulez-vous laisser entendre que s'il adopte le projet de loi C-63, le gouvernement du Canada ne pourra pas prendre les mesures que vous aimeriez lui voir prendre à l'avenir?

M. Mercredi: Si j'en juge d'après ce que nous savons du gouvernement, oui, c'est ce que j'affirme.

Le président: Merci beaucoup.

Mme Norton: J'aimerais informer le comité que l'Assemblée des Premières nations envoie à tous les sénateurs et à tous les députés une invitation à assister au banquet que nous donnerons le 22 janvier dans le cadre de notre conférence sur les langues autochtones et l'alphabétisation. Il aura lieu à l'hôtel Skyline mardi soir prochain à 19 heures. Les billets coûtent 35 \$.

Le président: Merci beaucoup de votre très utile témoignage. Nous serons heureux de vous revoir.

Avant d'entendre M. Vernon, nous avons certaines questions à discuter. Honorables sénateurs, la *Saskatchewan Organisa-*

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the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages to appear before this committee next week on Bill C-37. I believe I have canvassed the members here and I propose that we hear these witnesses. Are we all in agreement?

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I will agree, Madam Chairman, if we agree to meet at 10 o'clock and not 9 o'clock.

The Chairman: Very well, we will meet next Tuesday at 10 o'clock. Is it agreed?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

Senator Corbin: As I understand it, this Heritage Language Institute is designated now to cover all of Canada. Originally it was regional in concept. Have we not had any requests from people in Quebec to appear before the committee?

The Chairman: No, we have not. It has been known for quite some time that we were to deal with this bill, in fact, all spring and summer, and we did not have any requests from Quebec.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: It is not that there is little interest in the situation in the province of Quebec. It is that there is little interest in Quebec representatives appearing before the Senate or, in fact, any parliamentary committee.

The Chairman: We have heard every witness who has asked to appear. If we hear this group from Saskatchewan we will have heard them all.

Honourable senators, we have two other bills to deal with, one of which has already been referred to us. Bill C-258 has not yet been referred to committee but Bill C-260 came to us from the Senate this week. It is a private member's bill of Mr. Kempling of the other place and it deals with credit splitting under the Canada Pension Plan. If you are in agreement, my proposal is that we call Mr. Kempling next Tuesday and a witness from LEAF, the women's Legal Education Action Fund. That is the group that took a case related to this matter to the Supreme Court.

Ms. Patricia MacDonald, Research Assistant, Parliamentary Centre: I have spoken to the woman in charge and she will get back to me sometime today or tomorrow to inform me whether or not they want to appear.

Senator Kinsella: Is there not an association of Canadian pension carriers that we should hear from?

Ms. MacDonald: Are you referring to the actuaries?

Senator Kinsella: You are referring to the Canadian Institute of Actuaries. I am wondering if we should hear from someone from the pensions industries.

The Chairman: You will find that they are not interested in this issue because it is a divorce question. The CPP credit does not have anything to do with pension differentials per se. Unless you hear to the contrary, I think you will find that they will not want to appear.

[Traduction]

tion for Heritage Languages demande à comparaître devant le comité la semaine prochaine à propos du projet de loi C-37. Je crois que nous avons consulté les membres présents et je propose que nous entendions ces témoins. Sommes-nous tous d'accord?

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je serai d'accord, madame le président, si nous convenons de nous réunir à 10 heures et non à 9 heures.

Le président: Très bien, nous nous réunirons mardi prochain à 10 heures. Sommes-nous d'accord?

Des voix: D'accord.

Le sénateur Corbin: Si je comprends bien, cet Institut des langues patrimoniales doit couvrir l'ensemble du Canada. Au départ, cela devait se faire au niveau régional. Est-ce que personne du Québec n'a demandé à comparaître devant le comité?

Le président: Non, personne. On sait depuis assez longtemps que nous devons nous occuper de ce projet de loi; en fait, le printemps et l'été sont passés, et nous n'avons eu aucune demande du Québec.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Ce n'est pas qu'on ne s'intéresse guère à la situation dans la province de Québec. C'est qu'on ne souhaite pas que des représentants du Québec comparaissent devant un comité sénatorial, ou devant n'importe quel comité parlementaire.

Le président: Nous avons entendu tous les témoins qui ont demandé à comparaître. Si nous entendons cette association de Saskatchewan, nous les aurons tous entendus.

Honorable sénateurs, nous avons deux autres projets de loi à traiter, dont l'un nous a déjà été renvoyé. Le projet de loi C-258 n'a pas encore été renvoyé au comité, mais le projet de loi C-260 nous est arrivé du Sénat cette semaine. Il s'agit d'un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire, présenté par M. Kempling de l'autre chambre et qui porte sur le partage des crédits en vertu du Régime de pensions du Canada. Si vous êtes d'accord, je propose que nous convoquions M. Kempling mardi prochain, de même qu'un témoin du FAEJ, le Fond d'action et d'éducation juridiques pour les femmes. C'est l'association qui a porté une affaire liée à cette question en Cour Suprême.

Mme Patricia MacDonald, attachée de recherche, Centre parlementaire: J'ai parlé à la responsable et elle me rappellera aujourd'hui ou demain pour me dire si son association désire comparaître.

Le sénateur Kinsella: N'y a-t-il pas une association des caisses de retraite que nous devrions entendre?

Mme MacDonald: Parlez-vous des actuaires?

Le sénateur Kinsella: Vous parlez de l'Institut canadien des actuaires. Je me demandais si nous devrions entendre quelqu'un des caisses de retraite.

Le président: Vous constaterez qu'ils ne sont pas intéressés par cette question, car c'est une affaire de divorce. Le crédit du RPC n'a rien à voir avec les différences de pensions comme telles. Sauf erreur, je crois qu'ils ne voudront pas comparaître.

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The other piece of legislation which is about to be referred to us is Mr. Boyer's bill on the Centennial Flame Research Award. This bill tends to be not straightforward since it has a number of complications attached to it. I will circulate a background note on that which is now being prepared. Perhaps senators would let me know their views when they have had an opportunity to look at the bill. Perhaps you could let us know your views when you have looked at the bill.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Madam Chairman, what is the purpose of that bill?

The Chairman: Very briefly, the bill takes the coins that are thrown into the Centennial Flame Fountain and suggests that, instead of going to charities through the present route, which is through Public Works, the money be given to the Internal Economy Committee of the House of Commons to distribute to people with disabilities who would have to apply for it. The total amount collected on an annual basis is around \$1,000, and we understand that it would cost more than \$1,000 to administer this.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: And it is going to cost so much more just to get the bill through.

The Chairman: I suggest that we look into this bill and that you express your views about it when we are considering it. We also have Bill C-223 regarding the day of mourning for workers killed or injured in the workplace. Perhaps Ms. MacDonald could tell us what it is all about.

Ms. MacDonald: It is really very straightforward. It is a very short bill announcing that April 28 of every year shall be known as the day of mourning for persons killed or injured in the workplace, but this will not be a legal holiday. It will be a non-judicial day as well.

The Chairman: So, is it agreed by members of the committee that Tuesday, when we meet, we will continue with Bill C-37 and we will deal with Bill C-260 and whatever else we can cope with on that day, at 10:00 o'clock?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

The Chairman: Our next witness is from the Canadian Jewish Congress. Welcome. I understand you are speaking to both Bill C-37 and Bill C-63.

Mr. Eric Vernon, Director General, Canadian Jewish Congress: Yes. Thank you, Madam Chairman. Honourable senators, on behalf of the Canadian Jewish Congress and its president, I would like to thank the committee for the opportunity to speak to two important bills on the multiculturalism dossier.

If I may, I should just like to begin by indicating that the Canadian Jewish Congress is the national representative organization of Canada's Jewish community of some 350,000. Since its inception in 1919, the Congress has actively fulfilled its mandate as a vehicle for advocacy on a wide range of issues, some specific to our community but many others of broader, national scope. One of the most enduring and meaningful issues on the Congress' agenda has been multiculturalism. I

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L'autre projet de loi qui nous sera bientôt transmis est celui de M. Boyer sur la Bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire. Ce projet de loi n'est pas particulièrement simple, puisqu'il comporte plusieurs complications. Je ferai circuler un document d'information qui est actuellement en cours de préparation. Les sénateurs pourraient peut-être me faire connaître leur avis lorsqu'ils auront eu l'occasion d'examiner ce projet de loi. Peut-être pourriez-vous nous faire connaître vos opinions lorsque vous aurez examiné le projet de loi?

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Madame le président, quel est l'objet de ce projet de loi?

Le président: Très brièvement, il s'agit de prendre les pièces de monnaie qui sont jetées dans la fontaine de la Flamme du centenaire et, au lieu de les remettre à des œuvres de charité par l'intermédiaire des travaux publics, comme on le fait actuellement, de donner l'argent au Bureau de régie interne de la Chambre des communes, qui distribuerait ces fonds aux personnes handicapées, qui devrait en faire la demande. La somme totale recueillie chaque année est d'environ 1 000 \$, et nous croyons savoir qu'il en coûterait plus que 1 000 \$ pour administrer ce projet.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Et il en coûtera encore plus tout simplement pour faire adopter le projet de loi.

Le président: Je propose que nous examinions ce projet de loi et que vous exprimiez vos opinions à cet égard lorsque nous l'étudierons. Nous avons également le projet de loi C-223 concernant la journée de deuil pour les travailleurs tués ou blessés sur les lieux de travail. Peut-être Mme MacDonald pourrait-elle nous dire de quoi il s'agit.

Mme MacDonald: C'est très simple. C'est un projet de loi très bref annonçant que le 28 avril de chaque année sera la journée de deuil pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail, mais qu'il ne s'agira pas d'un jour férié. Ce sera une journée non juridique également.

Le président: Les membres du comité sont donc d'accord qu'à notre réunion de mardi, nous poursuivrons l'étude du projet de loi C-37, puis celle du projet de loi C-260 et de toute autre affaire que nous pourrions régler, ce même jour, à 10 heures?

Des voix: D'accord.

Le président: Notre prochain témoin vient du Congrès juif canadien. Je crois savoir que vous parlerez à la fois du projet de loi C-37 et du projet de loi C-63.

M. Eric Vernon (directeur général, Congrès juif canadien): Oui. Merci, madame le président. Honorables sénateurs, au nom du Congrès juif canadien et de son président, j'aimerais remercier le comité de l'occasion qui nous est donnée de parler de deux projets de loi importants du dossier multiculturel.

J'aimerais commencer par dire que le Congrès juif canadien est une association nationale représentant la communauté juive du Canada, qui compte quelque 350 000 membres. Depuis sa création en 1919, le Congrès s'est acquitté activement de son mandat de défense des droits pour toute une gamme de questions, dont certaines sont particulières à notre communauté mais dont d'autres ont une portée plus vaste, voire nationale. La multiculturalisme est l'une des questions les plus importan-

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am speaking on behalf of a community which has faced the challenges of maintaining its distinctive identity while integrating into mainstream Canadian society.

I propose, in my opening remarks, to touch on some of our key concerns with Bill C-37 and Bill C-63, following which I would be pleased to entertain your questions.

My remarks on Bill C-37 will be somewhat philosophical. Over the years, the Canadian Jewish community has found that a critical element of the retention of our identity has been the transmission of our heritage languages, namely Hebrew and Yiddish, from one generation to the next. A heritage language, perhaps like no other single factor, unifies an ethnocultural group, providing a link to the cultural roots which connect the past to the future. For the Jewish community, Hebrew is also the language of our sacred scriptures, texts and liturgy which form the core of our religious life and practices. As such, the Canadian Jewish Congress is keenly interested in federal legislation establishing an institute for heritage languages.

The Canadian Jewish Congress has commended the government for its previous initiatives towards multiculturalism while availing itself of the consultative opportunities afforded by our parliamentary system to indicate our substantive concerns with aspects of particular legislation.

Just a couple of months ago, we had the privilege of appearing before this committee to discuss Bill C-18. With Bill C-37, our concern is less one of substance than one of principle and symbolism. The stated objectives of the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, particularly as enumerated in clause 4 of Bill C-37, are certainly laudable, particularly as they send an important signal about the profound significance of heritage languages in the establishment and maintenance of a truly multicultural Canada. As I indicated before, we are conceptually in support of the institute. However, on February 20, 1990, the Minister of Finance announced cuts of \$46 million over the next two years in the budgets of the Secretary of State, for multiculturalism and citizenship. In the latter, cuts of \$4.1 million have eliminated the Cultural Enrichment Program which provides for heritage language instruction across the country. This program has assisted some 150,000 children learning 60 languages in over 1,550 community schools. Programs already underfunded will now receive no federal money whatsoever, and many communities have indicated that this withdrawal of federal funding may sound the death knell of their heritage language programming.

Within the Jewish community, figures indicate a loss of some \$500,000, affecting the teaching of close to 23,000 children. The likely shutdown of community heritage language programs resulting from these cuts will jeopardize the maintenance of cultural and ethnic identity in a multicultural Canada because it will break the chain of cultural transmission at its

[Traduction]

tes qui figurent le plus régulièrement à l'ordre du jour du Congrès. Je parle au nom d'une communauté qui a fait face au défi de maintenir son identité distinctive tout en s'intégrant aux grands courants de la société canadienne.

J'ai l'intention, au cours de mes remarques préliminaires, d'aborder l'une de nos principales préoccupations en ce qui concerne les projets de loi C-37 et C-63, après quoi, je répondrai avec plaisir à vos questions.

Mes observations sur le projet de loi C-37 auront un caractère assez philosophique. Avec les années, la communauté juive canadienne a constaté que la transmission de nos langues patrimoniales, soit l'hébreu et le yiddish, d'une génération à l'autre constitue un élément essentiel de la conservation de notre identité. Une langue patrimoniale, peut-être plus que tout autre facteur, unifie un groupe ethnoculturel, format un lien avec les racines culturelles qui relient le passé à l'avenir. Pour la communauté juive, l'hébreu est également la langue des livres sacrés, des textes et de la liturgie qui sont au cœur de notre vie et de nos pratiques religieuses. C'est pourquoi le Congrès juif canadien s'intéresse de très près à une mesure législative fédérale créant un institut des langues patrimoniales.

Le Congrès juif canadien a félicité le gouvernement de ses initiatives antérieures dans le domaine du multiculturalisme, tout en se prévalant des occasions de consultation qu'offre notre système parlementaire pour faire valoir nos préoccupations de fond à l'égard de certains aspects de certains projets de loi.

Il y a quelques mois, nous avons eu le privilège de comparaître devant ce comité pour parler du projet de loi C-18. Dans le cas du projet de loi C-37, notre préoccupation porte moins sur le fond que sur les principes et le symbolisme. Les objectifs déclarés de l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales, selon la liste qui figure à l'article 4 du projet de loi C-37, sont certes louables, surtout étant donné qu'ils constituent une déclaration importante quant à la signification profonde des langues patrimoniales pour l'établissement et le maintien d'un Canada véritablement multiculturel. Et comme je l'ai déjà dit, nous sommes en faveur de l'Institut sur le plan des principes. Toutefois, le 20 février 1990, le ministère des Finances a annoncé des coupures de 46 millions de dollars au cours des deux prochaines années dans le budget du Secrétariat d'État pour le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté. Des coupures de 4,1 millions de dollars ont causé la suppression du programme d'épanouissement culturel, qui prévoit des cours de langues patrimoniales dans tout le pays. Ce programme a aidé quelque 150 000 enfants à apprendre 60 langues dans plus de 1 550 écoles communautaires. Des programmes qui manquent déjà de fonds ne recevront plus du tout d'argent fédéral, et bon nombre de localités ont indiqué que ce retrait des fonds fédéraux pourraient sonner le glas de leurs programmes en langues patrimoniales.

Dans le cas de la communauté juive, les chiffres révèlent une perte de quelque 500 000 \$ touchant l'enseignement à près de 23 000 enfants. La suppression vraisemblable des programmes communautaires relatifs aux langues patrimoniales découlant de ces coupures mettra en danger le maintien de l'identité culturelle et ethnique dans un Canada multiculturel, car la chaîne de la transmission culturelle sera rompue à son chaînon le plus

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weakest link, the children, who are in the critical early stage of learning to value the meaning of that identity.

A national policy of multiculturalism based upon respect for, and understanding of, ethnocultural distinctiveness will seem incongruous to future generations who will have no secure grounding in their own culture. Given the withdrawal of the federal government from the partnership in funding hands-on heritage language training, the burden will fall to the communities themselves to carry on. This will have the effect, we submit, of ghettoizing the ethnocultural communities and will belie the government's assertion that multiculturalism is for all Canadians.

Conceptually, the institute makes sense. The reality of February 20, 1990, suggests otherwise. The Canadian Jewish Congress is struck by the anomaly generated by the elimination of the cultural enrichment program because a well-intentioned institute to promote heritage language training will exist for fewer and fewer consumers. Why train heritage language teachers when there will be fewer children to teach? Why develop Canadian-based resources for programs being eliminated? Why develop programs to upgrade the quality of heritage language instruction while cutting the funding for heritage language classes?

Honourable senators, this leads me to our conclusion. We have one recommendation that we would like to table before you. We recommend that, if the budget cuts cannot be restored—and the experience of almost one year's hindsight indicates that that is certainly the case—we suggest that the institute itself be mandated, in clauses 4 and 5 of Bill C-37, to fund heritage language classes, and that sufficient federal funding be allocated for this purpose. This could certainly fall under the ambit of clause 5(1)(a), which includes, in the institute's powers, authority to "initiate, finance and administer programs and activities related to its purpose." When we made this suggestion before the House legislative committee, one of the members suggested that this would be coming in through the back door. Our response was that we do not care if they come in through the back door or the window, as long as the funding is there.

In summary, the Canadian Jewish Congress respectfully suggests that it would be difficult to gauge the future value of the institute if classes at the grass-roots level wither and die.

Shall I pause here to entertain questions on this bill?

The Chairman: That is an excellent idea.

Senator David: Why do you speak of the reality of February 20? What happened on February 20?

[Traduction]

faible, les enfants, qui en sont au premier stade, le plus critique, de l'apprentissage de la valeur et du sens de cette identité.

Une politique nationale du multiculturalisme fondée sur le respect et la compréhension du caractère particulier des diverses communautés ethnoculturelles semblera incongrue aux générations futures qui ne seront plus vraiment enracinées dans leur propre culture. Puisque le gouvernement fédéral a mis fin à sa participation au financement des programmes d'enseignement pratique des langues patrimoniales, il appartiendra désormais aux communautés elles-mêmes d'assumer ce fardeau, ce qui aura d'après nous pour effet d'enfermer les communautés ethnoculturelles dans un ghetto et ira à l'encontre de l'affirmation du gouvernement selon laquelle le multiculturalisme vise l'ensemble des Canadiens.

Les principes qui sous-tendent la création de l'Institut sont tout à fait logiques. Mais ce qui s'est passé le 20 février 1990 nous pousse à conclure dans un autre sens. Le Congrès juif canadien est particulièrement frappé par l'anomalie qu'a entraînée la suppression du Programme d'épanouissement culturel sous prétexte qu'un institut bien intentionné chargé de promouvoir l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales existera maintenant, à l'intention d'un nombre toujours plus restreint de consommateurs. Pourquoi former des professeurs de langues patrimoniales alors qu'il y aura moins d'enfants à qui enseigner? Pourquoi mettre sur pied des ressources proprement canadiennes pour des programmes qui vont être supprimés? Pourquoi élaborer des programmes visant à améliorer la qualité de l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales, alors même que l'on réduit le financement accordé à cet enseignement?

Honorables sénateurs, voilà qui m'amène à notre conclusion. Nous n'avons qu'une seule recommandation à vous soumettre: si les réductions budgétaires ne peuvent pas être annulées—comme l'expérience que nous avons vécue au cours de la dernière année, ou à peu près, nous porte à le croire—nous suggérons que l'Institut lui-même reçoive, en vertu des articles 4 et 5 du projet de loi C-37, le mandat de financer les cours de langues patrimoniales et qu'il reçoive du gouvernement fédéral les fonds nécessaires à cette fin. Ce mandat serait certainement conforme aux dispositions de l'alinéa 5(1)a), qui prévoit que l'Institut aura notamment le pouvoir de «lancer, financer et gérer divers programmes ou activités» qui se rattachent à sa mission. Quand nous avons présenté cette suggestion au comité de la Chambre des communes, un des membres du comité nous a fait remarquer que cela reviendrait en fait à faire passer l'Institut par la petite porte. Nous avons répondu que nous ne nous soucions pas que l'Institut entre par la petite porte ou par la fenêtre, tant qu'il dispose des fonds nécessaires.

Pour résumer, je dirai que le Congrès juif canadien suggère respectueusement qu'il sera difficile de déterminer la valeur future de l'Institut si les cours dispensés dans les collectivités mêmes finissent par être supprimés.

Devrais-je m'interrompre ici pour répondre à vos questions sur ce projet de loi?

Le président: C'est une excellente idée.

Le sénateur David: Pourquoi parlez-vous du 20 février? Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé ce jour-là?

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Mr. Vernon: That was the day the Minister of Finance tabled the budget. That budget included these drastic cuts which have manifested themselves in the elimination of this program.

Senator David: The fact that this institute will be recognized as a non-profit organization and will receive exemptions for tax purposes, do you not think that there could be some taxes imposed by the government which can then deal with the preoccupation you have so well illustrated?

Mr. Vernon: That would be appropriate, as far as we are concerned. As I indicated, our major concern is that these programs be adequately funded so that they can perform the function they are intended to perform, which is to perpetuate the transmission of these heritage languages.

If the institute can provide that kind of financial resource as a result of donations it receives, that would be fine. The only problem is that there are no guarantees of any kind of consistent funding.

In the times we are in now it would be logical to think that donations would dry up and there would not be a consistent level to maintain these programs.

We would prefer to see a commitment on behalf of the federal government to fund classes either through the reinstatement of these funds or by channelling them through the foundation.

Senator David: I think there is a four or five-year program contained in the bill itself. Therefore, what other organizations can give will be in addition to that. Of course, the amount may go up and down, as any non-profit organization knows very well. This may help doomed programs continue.

Mr. Vernon: As I indicated earlier, Senator David, we do think that the establishment of a heritage foundation for heritage languages, to do the kinds of things it sets out to do in terms of the professionalization of standards and training, the creation of a Canadian-based program, which would certainly be appropriate in our own country, are all laudable goals. Our main concern is that you are creating these resources and you are establishing high professional standards for teachers, who may not have anything to do given the fact that the programs they are designed to assist and facilitate may not exist.

The Chairman: The money is gone.

Mr. Vernon: The money is gone. As far as the foundation is concerned, there is nothing statutorily, as the bill exists now, that mandates it to provide funding directly to classes, and that is what we would like to see.

Senator Robertson: Cuts are always difficult, no matter who is being cut. There never seems to be a satisfactory answer to them.

I understand from previous witnesses that the heritage language training classes in the various ethnic communities are also supported by provincial governments, and in some instances by municipal governments, as well as private funding.

[Traduction]

M. Vernon: C'est la date où le ministre des Finances a déposé son budget, qui prévoyait les restrictions sévères qui ont mené à la suppression de ce programme.

Le sénateur David: Étant donné que l'Institut sera considéré comme un organisme sans but lucratif et bénéficiera de certaines exonérations d'impôt, ne pensez-vous pas que le gouvernement pourrait imposer certaines taxes pour répondre à la préoccupation que vous avez très bien exprimée?

M. Vernon: Cela serait en effet approprié, d'après nous. Comme je l'ai dit, ce que nous souhaitons avant tout, c'est que ces programmes bénéficient d'un financement suffisant pour pouvoir remplir effectivement leur mandat, qui consiste à perpétuer la transmission des langues patrimoniales.

Si l'Institut pouvait fournir ces ressources financières grâce aux dons qu'il recevra, ce serait parfait. Le seul problème, c'est que rien ne garantit que ces dons se maintiendraient.

À l'époque où nous sommes, il serait logique de croire que ces dons vont finir par s'épuiser et qu'ils ne seront pas assez constants pour permettre la survie de ces programmes.

Nous aimerions plutôt que le gouvernement fédéral s'engage à financer ces cours, soit en rétablissant le budget qui y était affecté, soit en accordant ces fonds par l'entremise de la fondation.

Le sénateur David: Je pense que le projet de loi lui-même prévoit déjà un programme de quatre ou cinq ans. Par conséquent, les dons qui viendront des autres organismes s'ajoutent à cela. Bien sûr, leur montant peut varier, comme le savent tous les organismes sans but lucratif. Mais cela aidera peut-être au maintien de programmes qui n'auraient autrement aucune chance de se poursuivre.

M. Vernon: Comme je l'ai déjà dit, sénateur David, nous jugeons tout à fait louable la création d'une fondation chargée de promouvoir les langues patrimoniales, et notamment d'établir des normes et des programmes de formation de niveau professionnel, et de créer un programme proprement canadien, ce qui serait certainement approprié pour notre pays. Ce qui nous inquiète, c'est qu'il est bien beau de mettre ces ressources sur pied et de fixer des normes professionnelles sévères pour les enseignants, mais que ces gens n'auront peut-être rien à faire en définitive puisque les programmes qu'ils sont censés faciliter et appuyer n'existeront peut-être plus.

Le président: Il n'y a plus d'argent.

M. Vernon: Non, il n'y a plus d'argent. Dans le cas de la fondation, le projet de loi actuel ne prévoit absolument rien qui l'oblige à financer directement des cours, et c'est cela que nous aimerions voir dans le projet de loi.

Le sénateur Robertson: Les restrictions sont toujours difficiles, quelle qu'en soit la cible. Il ne semble jamais y avoir de solution satisfaisante à ce problème.

Des témoins précédents nous ont dit que les cours de langues patrimoniales offerts dans diverses communautés ethniques sont également financés par les gouvernements provinciaux et, dans certains cas, par les administrations municipales, ainsi que par le secteur privé.

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What percentage of the total budget of the heritage language schools does the cut represent? I understand it is not a large percentage of the overall budget.

Mr. Vernon: We resisted breaking it down in terms of blocks. There was an attempt, as I recall, when the bill was tabled to look at the poor student subsidy. We thought that deflected away from the main issue, in a sense.

When you look at it on a per-student subsidy basis, it was only \$20 or \$30, and on that basis it does not appear to be too serious.

Our main concern is the message that is being sent by the government with this particular cut.

You are absolutely right that in times of fiscal restraint it is difficult to decide where the axe should fall.

Our suggestion is that this is a program that ought not to have been chopped, given the bang for the book.

Senator Robertson: I appreciate that. I thought you might be able to give me the percentage, though.

Mr. Vernon: Regardless of the percentage, the fact is that indications are that there will be an increased burden on individual families. For established communities, this may not be too difficult, but we are concerned about the welfare of newer communities as well.

Senator Robertson: So I suppose there will be a trade off as this institute develops. Provinces have already indicated their willingness to contribute. I suppose the trade off will be the quality of the skills and languages for support at the local level.

I will look up the percentage.

Senator Bosa: There are a number of provinces in Canada which have heritage language programs established. I realize that there is sensitivity when it comes to education and interference by the federal government.

Let me ask you whether you are from Quebec or Ontario?

Mr. Vernon: I am from Ontario.

Senator Bosa: Do you see any strengthening of the intent of this bill if it sought to be integrated with existing provincial programs?

Mr. Vernon: I am not entirely sure what the mechanism for that would be, unless it would be some kind of ministerial cooperation.

Without having studied the question too intensively, my first reaction would be that if that kind of integration would facilitate the work of the institute, then I feel certain it would be beneficial.

Senator Bosa: For instance, are you aware of any Ontario heritage language program for the Jewish community?

[Traduction]

J'aimerais savoir quel pourcentage du budget total des écoles de langues patrimoniales ces restrictions représentent. Il me semble que ce pourcentage n'est pas très élevé par rapport à l'ensemble de ce budget.

M. Vernon: Nous n'avons pas voulu établir une ventilation des diverses sources de financement. Si je me souviens bien, quand le projet de loi a été déposé, on a parlé du montant des subventions par étudiant. Mais nous jugions que, en un sens, cela détournait l'attention du problème central.

En effet, si l'on prend le montant des subventions par étudiant, on n'arrive qu'à 20\$ ou 30\$, ce qui ne semble pas très grave.

Mais l'important, c'est le message que transmet le gouvernement en imposant cette restriction.

Vous avez tout à fait raison de dire que, en période de restrictions budgétaires, il est difficile de décider où le couperet devrait tomber.

D'après nous, ce programme n'aurait pas dû être supprimé parce qu'il était rentable.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je comprends. Mais j'aurais cru que vous pourriez me citer un pourcentage.

M. Vernon: Quel que soit ce pourcentage, le fait est que tout nous porte à croire que les familles devront assumer un fardeau plus lourd. Dans le cas des communautés bien établies, cela ne sera peut-être pas trop difficile, mais nous inquiétons aussi de la prospérité des nouvelles collectivités.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je suppose donc qu'il s'établira un nouvel équilibre au fur et à mesure que l'Institut prendra de l'expansion. Les provinces se sont déjà dites prêtes à y contribuer. Je suppose que, pour augmenter la compétence des professeurs et la qualité de l'enseignement de ces langues, il faudra augmenter l'appui local au programme.

Je vais vérifier ce pourcentage.

Le sénateur Bosa: Il existe des programmes d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales dans un certain nombre de provinces. Je me rends bien compte que l'intervention du gouvernement fédéral dans le domaine de l'éducation est toujours délicate.

Puis-je savoir si vous venez du Québec ou de l'Ontario?

M. Vernon: De l'Ontario.

Le sénateur Bosa: Pensez-vous qu'il serait plus facile d'atteindre l'objectif de ce projet de loi si l'on intégrait les programmes à ceux qui existent déjà dans les provinces?

M. Vernon: Je ne suis pas certain des mécanismes qu'il faudrait appliquer pour ce faire, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une coopération ministérielle quelconque.

Sans avoir étudié la question très à fond, ma première réaction serait la suivante: si ce genre d'intégration pouvait faciliter le travail de l'Institut, je suis certain qu'elle serait utile.

Le sénateur Bosa: Par exemple, savez-vous s'il existe en Ontario des programmes d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales pour la collectivité juive?

[Text]

Mr. Vernon: Ontario is an interesting example, because there is no provincial subsidy for heritage language full time day school programs, which is something else that is contentious. Certainly in Ontario the overall atmosphere, or the inclination, towards support for programming in our community is not as forthcoming as we would like.

Senator Bosa: So the Jewish community is not benefitting from provincial programs in the heritage language programs of the province?

Mr. Vernon: Not to any great extent.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I am not sure whether you are familiar with the parochial schools that exist for the Hebrew community in Montreal. There must be close to 30 parochial schools subsidized by the provincial government.

Mr. Vernon: Correct.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I did not know that they were also being financed by the Secretary of State. How much money was coming from it?

Mr. Vernon: We are talking about different kinds of programming. The programs in jeopardy within our community and others are more along the lines of afternoon programs and Sunday school programs or what might be loosely called extra-curricular programming. In only made reference to the Ontario situation because there we do not even have funding for the full-time day schools that meet the provincial curriculum criteria.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: You were talking about classes.

Mr. Vernon: They are actual training classes, but they are not within the context of a day school.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I do not know if it should be the mission of the institute to finance classes. You have them in another area of activity that might distract them from their main goal, which is one of research, preparing tools for the teaching of languages and animating the community at large. I think if they are financing classes, whether they are full time or extra-curricular, I do not know if that is the answer. I do not know the answer, but if the Secretary of State has had to cut money for that activity, I do not know how it could return that money to the institute. If it has the money, it should keep it where it is. I understand your recommendation, but I am not sure that is the proper answer, taking into account the goals of the institute.

Mr. Vernon: I agree with you. Our first choice would be to have the funding cut reinstated. Given the reality that that will not happen, we are searching for alternatives. Again, I would re-emphasize the anomaly of putting money toward developing training and resources for classes that will be cut. It seems to me that there is a gap there.

[Traduction]

M. Vernon: L'Ontario constitue un exemple intéressant parce que la province ne subventionne pas l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales dans les écoles offrant un programme d'étude à plein temps, ce qui est un autre problème. Il est certain qu'en Ontario, les programmes mis sur pied par notre collectivité ne reçoivent pas autant d'appui que nous le voudrions, en règle générale.

Le sénateur Bosa: Donc, la communauté juive ne profite pas des programmes provinciaux d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales?

M. Vernon: Pas tellement.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je ne sais pas si vous connaissez les écoles paroissiales qui existent dans la communauté juive de Montréal. Il doit y avoir près d'une trentaine de ces écoles paroissiales, subventionnées par le gouvernement provincial.

M. Vernon: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je ne savais pas que le Secrétariat d'État contribuait aussi à leur financement. Quel était le montant de cette contribution?

M. Vernon: Ce ne sont pas des programmes du même genre. Les programmes qui sont menacés, dans notre collectivité comme dans d'autres, sont surtout offerts l'après-midi ou le dimanche; il s'agit à toutes fins utiles de programmes parascolaires. Si j'ai évoqué la situation en Ontario, c'est simplement parce que nous ne recevons même pas de fonds pour les écoles offrant un enseignement à plein temps et répondant aux critères provinciaux en matière des programmes scolaires.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Vous parliez de cours.

M. Vernon: Il s'agit effectivement de cours, mais pas dans des écoles offrant un enseignement de jour.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je ne sais pas si l'Institut devrait avoir pour mission de financer ce genre de cours. Il se lancerait alors dans un autre secteur d'activité, ce qui pourrait le distraire de son objectif principal, à savoir la recherche, la préparation d'outils pédagogiques pour l'enseignement des langues et l'animation de la collectivité en général. Je pense que la réponse ne consiste pas à financer des cours, que ce soit dans des écoles dispensant un enseignement à plein temps ou dans le cadre de programmes parascolaires. Je ne sais pas exactement qu'elle est la réponse, mais le Secrétariat d'État a dû mettre fin au financement de cette activité, je ne vois pas comment il pourrait accorder ce financement à l'Institut. S'il a l'argent nécessaire, il devrait l'accorder selon les mêmes mécanismes qu'avant. Je comprends votre recommandation, mais je ne suis pas sûre que ça soit la bonne réponse, compte tenu des objectifs de l'Institut.

M. Vernon: Je suis d'accord avec vous. Si nous avions le choix, nous préfererions que le financement antérieur soit rétabli. Mais puisque cela ne se produira certainement pas, nous essayons de trouver des solutions de remplacement. Encore une fois, je tiens à souligner qu'il est un peu absurde de consacrer de l'argent à la formation des enseignants et à la mise sur pied des ressources pour des classes qui seront supprimées. Il me semble qu'il manque quelque chose.

[Text]

Senator Di Nino: How does your presentation on Bills C-37 and C-63 differ from the CEC presentation?

Mr. Vernon: Senator De Nino, it has been a while since I have had a look at its brief on Bill C-37. As I recall, its brief on Bill C-63 focused on the potential politicization of the foundation and stressed the enhancement of the arm's-length relationship that it ought to properly entertain. We have not focused on that in our brief.

Senator Di Nino: The CEC is supposed to represent a group of organizations, of which you are an active member. I was wondering why we are hearing a different presentation from you when I heard from the Executive Director of the CEC that their presentation received unanimous approval from all of the members.

Mr. Vernon: The CEC develops particular position developed on a consultative process among their constituent members. But, first, the constituent members have never deemed the CEC to be its proxy advocate. Conversely, the CEC has never taken upon itself to be the exclusive advocacy voice of the ethnocultural communities. So while we have certain positions of commonality from time to time, we believe that each community has a unique perspective with respect to particular pieces of legislation, and there are many times that we have particular concerns that more directly affect our community that we wish to draw to your attention.

The Chairman: I wonder if we could turn to Bill C-63.

Mr. Vernon: I would be happy to. With respect to Bill C-63, in general, the Canadian Jewish Congress supports the structure and objectives of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, as outlined in this bill. The legislation's purpose clause sets out a mandate for potentially valuable initiatives aimed at eliminating racism and racial discrimination in Canada.

The CJC respectfully submits the following recommendations which we believe will improve the legislation in pursuit of these worthy goals for all Canadians. First, the preamble to Bill C-63 sets out the legal and philosophical underpinnings of the proposed foundation, referring to key domestic instruments, including the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. The CJC recognizes that the house legislative committee reviewing Bill C-63 passed amendments improving this introductory section. The congress suggests, though, that the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, citations in the preamble which are designed to support the foundation, should be further expanded to accomplish two objectives: first, to more fully and completely underscore the anti-discrimination component of the equality rights section, that is, section 15.1, which is only adumbrated in the preamble, by citing the specific bases for discrimination set out in the Charter. Race, after all, is the first criterion on this list; and, racism, liberally defined, may encompass elements of the next four bases for discrimination.

[Traduction]

Le sénateur Di Nino: Quels sont les aspects de votre exposé sur les projets de loi C-37 et C-63 qui diffèrent de la position du CEC?

M. Vernon: Sénateur Di Nino, il y a déjà longtemps que j'ai étudié le mémoire de cet organisme sur le projet de loi C-37. Si je me souviens bien, le CEC évoquait dans son mémoire sur le projet de loi C-63 le risque de politisation de la Fondation et insistait tout particulièrement sur la nécessité d'affirmer encore davantage l'indépendance dont elle devrait jouir. Nous ne nous sommes pas attardés à cet aspect de la question dans notre mémoire.

Le sénateur Di Nino: Le CEC est censé représenter un groupe d'organisations, dont vous êtes un membre actif. Je me demande donc comment il se fait que vous nous présentiez un point de vue différent, alors que le directeur général du CEC nous a affirmé que tous les membres de cette organisation avaient approuvé son mémoire à l'unanimité.

M. Vernon: Le CEC établit sa position après consultation de ses membres constituants. Mais, tout d'abord, ces membres n'ont jamais donné au CEC le mandat de les représenter par procuration. Et inversement, le CEC ne s'est jamais considéré comme le seul porte-parole des communautés ethnoculturelles. Donc, bien que nous ayons une position commune à certains moments, nous estimons que chaque collectivité a son point de vue bien à elle sur les diverses mesures législatives et que nous avons souvent des préoccupations particulières qui touchent plus directement notre collectivité et que nous souhaitons porter à votre attention.

Le président: J'aimerais que nous passions maintenant au projet de loi C-63.

M. Vernon: Avec plaisir. En ce qui concerne le projet de loi C-63, le Congrès juif canadien appuie d'une façon générale la structure et les objectifs de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales tels qu'ils sont définis dans le projet de loi C-63. De l'article qui traite de la mission de la Fondation se dégage un mandat dans le cadre duquel pourraient être réalisés des projets valables visant à éliminer le racisme et la discrimination raciale au Canada.

Le CJC soumet respectueusement les recommandations suivantes qui, croyons-nous rendront plus précises la mesure législative et aideront à la réalisation de ces louables objectifs, pour le plus grand bien de tous les Canadiens. Premièrement, le préambule du projet de loi C-63 pose les principes juridiques et philosophiques qui forment l'assise de la Fondation proposée, et l'on y fait renvoi à des instruments législatifs essentiels du Canada, notamment à la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* et à la Loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien. Le CJC reconnaît que les modifications adoptées par le comité législatif de la Chambre des communes chargé d'étudier le projet de loi C-63 ont amélioré le préambule de cette mesure législative. Il propose cependant que les citations tirées de la Charte, dans le préambule, en vue d'appuyer la Fondation devraient être augmentées afin, premièrement, de mettre pleinement en évidence le principe antidiscriminatoire de l'article sur les droits à l'égalité, à savoir l'article 15.1, qui n'est qu'esquissé dans le préambule, en citant les motifs de discrimination précis énoncés dans la Charte. Après tout, la race constitue le premier cri-

[Text]

Second, it should include direct reference to the importance Canada, through the Charter, as expressed in section 27, assigns to the multicultural nature of its society. We believe this sends a stronger message about the value of multiculturalism than its constitutional recognition.

Accordingly, CJC recommends that the following be added to paragraph 2 of the preamble at line 12:

and, in particular, without discrimination based on raced, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability;

AND WHEREAS the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is to be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians;

The next area we wish to discuss is clause 24 dealing with the potential dissolution of the foundation. The section proposes that if the foundation dissolves, its finances should be "transferred to the Government of Canada and any other government on a proportional basis having regard to their total contribution to the Foundation". The Canadian Jewish Congress suggests that this formulation errs in dissociating the establishment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation from the government's compensation package to the Japanese Canadian community. The January 31, 1990 news release from Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, announcing the tabling of Bill C-63, notes with respect to the Government of Canada's \$24 million endowment for the foundation that, "half of this sum, \$12 million, is provided on behalf of the Japanese Canadian community, as announced by the Prime Minister . . . in the context of the Japanese Canadian Redress Agreement". Bill C-63 essentially incorporates this notion in subclause 22(1) and lines 28 and 29 of the amended preamble. As such, if the foundation dissolves, the CJC recommends that \$12 million of its finances be transferred according to the wishes of the National Association of Japanese Canadians as delineated in its brief to the House of Commons legislative committee on Bill C-63. CJC recommends the replacement of lines 19 to 21 on page 10 with the following:

Canada, to the Japanese Canadian community through a charitable organization, and any other government having regard to their initial contribution to the Foundation.

Finally, I would like to discuss clauses 26 and 27, which focus on parliamentary review. As I said at the outset, CJC is supportive of this initiative. Our main thrust is to let the foundation get up and running and then return in four years to see what it has accomplished. We have some thoughts on enhancing that kind of monitoring process.

[Traduction]

tière énuméré dans cette liste; en outre, le racisme, dans sa définition la plus large, peut parfois comprendre des éléments des quatre autres motifs de discrimination. Deuxièmement, il faudrait intégrer une mention directe à l'importance que le Canada accorde au caractère multiculturel de sa société, tel qu'il l'exprime à l'article 27 de la Charte. Nous pensons que ces deux modifications mettraient davantage en évidence l'importance du multiculturalisme, au-delà de sa reconnaissance constitutionnelle.

Par conséquent, la CJC recommande que les ajouts suivants soient apportés au paragraphe 2 du préambule, à la ligne 13:

sans qu'il y ait discrimination, notamment des discriminations fondées sur la race, l'origine nationale ou ethnique, la couleur, la religion, le sexe, l'âge ou les déficiences mentales ou physiques;

que toute interprétation de la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés*, doit concorder avec l'objectif de promouvoir le maintien et la valorisation du patrimoine multiculturel des Canadiens;

Notre prochaine observation porte sur l'article 24, qui traite de la dissolution possible de la Fondation. Cet article prévoit que les fonds de la Fondation, en cas de dissolution, sont «transférés» aux gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux au prorata du total de leur contribution. Le Congrès juif canadien croit que cette formulation est fautive, car elle dissocie la création de la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales des mesures de dédommagement prises par le gouvernement à l'égard de la communauté canadienne-japonaise. Dans le communiqué publié le 31 janvier 1990 par Multiculturalisme et Citoyenneté Canada, pour annoncer le dépôt du projet de loi C-63, on disait, au sujet des 24 millions de dollars qui constituent le fonds de dotation offert par le gouvernement du Canada pour la Fondation: «la moitié du montant, soit 12 millions de dollars a été versée au nom de la communauté canadienne-japonaise, tel que prévu dans l'entente de dédommagement à l'égard des Canadiens japonais annoncée par le premier ministre . . . » Cette notion est incorporée dans l'esprit du paragraphe 11(1) du projet de loi C-63 et dans les lignes 28 et 19 du préambule modifié. À ce titre, le CJC recommande qu'un prélèvement de 12 millions de dollars soit, en cas de dissolution de la Fondation, effectués sur les fonds de celle-ci et transférés selon le désir de la National Association of Japanese Canadian, comme cette association l'a indiqué dans son mémoire au Comité législatif de la Chambre des communes chargé d'étudier le projet de loi C-63. Le CJC recommande que les lignes 9 à 11 de la page 10 du projet de loi soient remplacées par ce qui suit:

sont transférés au gouvernement fédéral, à la communauté canadienne-japonaise par l'entremise d'un organisme de charité et à tout autre gouvernement en fonction de leur contribution initiale à la Fondation;

Enfin, je voudrais discuter des articles 26 et 27, qui portent sur l'examen parlementaire. Comme je l'ai dit dès le début, le CJC est d'accord avec cette mesure. L'important, d'après nous, c'est de laisser la Fondation atteindre son rythme de croisière avant de devoir rendre des comptes sur ses réalisations, après

[Text]

Bill C-63 establishes an ambitious mandate for the foundation regarding many aspects of race relations in Canada. As such, on-going monitoring of the foundation's effectiveness will prove critical to its success. The bill calls for the tabling in Parliament of an annual report on the activities of the foundation. CJC suggests that tabling such a report in Parliament at large may not be sufficient to guarantee active review of the foundation's work. Congress recommends the reference of the foundation's annual report to the House Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship for scrutiny and follow-up recommendations as deemed necessary. The wording of our proposed recommendation is at the bottom of the brief on page 3.

Section 27 calls for a four year ministerial review of the foundation which may include recommendations for changes, but pursuant only to consultation with the foundation's board of directors. The Canadian Jewish Congress suggests that a wider consultation process will likely yield a more accurate assessment of the foundation's strengths and weaknesses after four years of operation, since the board of directors may not be in the most advantageous position to gauge the effectiveness of the foundation from the consumers' perspective. Accordingly, CJC suggests applying the level of consultation prescribed in Clause 61 of the bill which is for board of directors appointments to the four-year review process. Again, I draw your attention to our brief in the middle of page four. In the interest of time I will not read out our recommended text.

Similarly, this substantial review report should be thoroughly scrutinized by the House Standing Committee on Multiculturalism and Citizenship. We have a further recommendation to incorporate that thought.

Improving race relations in Canadian society should be a top priority on the Canadian social and political agenda. The Canadian Race Relations Foundation bears considerable potential as a vehicle for promoting racial tolerance and harmony in this country.

The Canadian Jewish Congress respectfully submits this brief and its recommendations in the hopes of facilitating the success of this worthwhile initiative.

Senator Kinsella: Madam Chairman, I wish to thank Mr. Vernon and the Congress, which is always so helpful on these dossiers. I think you will find sympathy in this committee with the notion of review. The report that must be tabled annually is subject to our scrutiny as one of the houses of Parliament.

We heard the CEC recommendation to add to the name of the foundation. You drew our attention to the preambular

[Traduction]

quatre ans. Nous avons quelques idées sur la façon de mettre en place un meilleur suivi.

Le projet de loi C-63 confère à la fondation un mandat ambitieux quant à bon nombre d'aspects des relations raciales au Canada. C'est pourquoi il sera essentiel à la réussite de la fondation d'un surveiller constamment l'efficacité. Aux termes du projet de loi, un rapport des activités de la fondation doit être déposé chaque année auprès du Parlement. Le CJC soutient que le dépôt d'un rapport global auprès du Parlement ne suffira pas à garantir un examen sérieux des activités de la fondation. Le congrès recommande que le rapport annuel de la fondation soit renvoyé devant le Comité permanent de la Chambre des communes sur le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté afin que celui-ci en fasse une étude approfondie et qu'il formule les recommandations qu'il juge nécessaires. Vous trouverez au bas de la page 4 de notre mémoire le texte de notre recommandation.

L'article 27 prévoit que le ministre, une fois quatre années écoulées et après conclusion du conseil d'administration de la fondation, procède à un examen des activités et de l'organisation de la fondation et qu'il peut recommander des changements. Selon le Congrès juif canadien, un processus de consultation plus vaste permettrait vraisemblablement d'obtenir une évaluation plus juste des points forts et des points faibles de la fondation après quatre années de fonctionnement, puisque son conseil d'administration n'est peut-être pas le mieux placé pour évaluer l'efficacité de la fondation du point de vue du consommateur. Par conséquent, le CJC suggère que soit appliqué à l'examen effectué tous les quatre ans le même processus de consultation prescrit à l'égard du conseil d'administration au paragraphe 6(1) du projet de loi. J'attire votre attention, encore une fois, au milieu de la page 5, où vous trouverez le texte que nous vous recommandons, mais que je ne lirai pas, faute de temps.

Cet important rapport d'examen devrait également être étudié à fond par le Comité permanent de la Chambre des communes sur le multiculturalisme et la citoyenneté, et nous vous suggérons à nouveau un texte que vous pourriez incorporer au projet de loi.

L'amélioration des relations raciales dans la société canadienne devrait figurer en première place dans la liste des priorités sociales et politiques du Canada. La Fondation canadienne des relations raciales offre de très grandes possibilités comme outil de promotion en matière de tolérance et d'harmonie raciale dans notre pays.

Le Congrès juif canadien soumet respectueusement son mémoire et les recommandations qu'il contient dans l'espoir de contribuer à la réussite de cette louable initiative.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Madame le président, je remercie M. Vernon et le congrès qu'il représente, qui nous est toujours très utile pour bien des dossiers. Vous constaterez sans doute que notre comité prête une oreille sympathique à votre suggestion d'examen. Le rapport qui doit être déposé tous les ans doit nous être soumis à nous, qui sommes une des deux Chambres du Parlement, pour examen.

Nous avons entendu ce qu'avait à dire le Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada au sujet du nom de la fondation. Quant à vous,

[Text]

paragraphs citing the Charter, but as you know it also cites the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Given that that is there, and given that race relations is a universally accepted phrase, is the Congress satisfied that the Canadian Race Relations Foundation is a satisfactory title?

Mr. Vernon: Senator Kinsella, in a word, yes. We have no objection to that name whatsoever. We endorse what you said about race relations being an accepted term and we are quite satisfied.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: The recommendation touching upon the evaluation after four years should be the occasion not only of recommendations from the board of directors but also from a larger group that might be interested in the question, which appears to me to be a standard recommendation. It is true that it might be the best board of administration, but there is always a danger of some type of conflict.

Senator Thériault: Self-preservation.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: No, self-admiration.

Senator Kinsella: You have a recommendation concerning drawing a nexus with section 15 of the Charter. Do you think that a better nexus might not be some of the provisions of the Third Convention, because section 15 is subject to the notwithstanding provision of section 3 of our Charter. Basing anything on the foundation of section 15 is subject to limitation by section 33, which many of us abide by.

Mr. Vernon: I am not entirely certain what you are asking.

Senator Kinsella: I think I understood the thrust of the rationale for making the tie. I am asking, would it not be a better tie with a better instrument, namely the Convention, because section 15 can be wiped away at a blush of a legislative assembly.

Mr. Vernon: I understand what you are saying and I realize the potential is there. I suppose our thinking was that we would like to entrench it as much as possible within Canadian documents and within the provisions that we have here within domestic instruments. Our overall thought here was, why only list part of the section? When it was amended by adding a couple of words and not going any further, that made even less sense to us. As I indicated in the text of the brief, because you have enumerated within these bases for discrimination things that would definitely apply, I think our preference would be to lodge it there and take our chances with the "notwithstanding" clause.

The Chairman: And the "notwithstanding" clause does not wipe it away, it temporarily puts it out of commission for three years in that jurisdiction, or perhaps five years, but it is temporary.

Since there are no further questions, I would like to thank you very much for your helpful brief, once again, and hope that you will return on further legislation. The matters that we

[Traduction]

vous avez attiré notre attention sur les paragraphes du préambule renvoyant à la charte, mais vous savez que le préambule renvoie aussi à la Convention des Nations Unies sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination raciale. Étant donné que le titre de la convention s'y trouve in extenso et que l'expression relations raciales est acceptée de façon universelle, le congrès souscrit-il au titre de la fondation que nous suggérons?

M. Vernon: Oui, sénateur. Ce nom nous convient. Nous sommes d'accord, comme vous, sur l'universalité de l'expression «relations raciales», et le titre nous convient donc.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Votre recommandation d'une évaluation après quatre années d'existence me semble tout à fait normale et devrait permettre non seulement au conseil d'administration d'émettre des recommandations, mais aussi à tout autre groupe élargi qui souhaiterait le fait. En effet, si compétent que puisse être un conseil d'administration, il peut toujours être placé en situation de conflit.

Le sénateur Thériault: C'est ce que l'on appelle l'instinct de conservation.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Non, l'admiration de soi.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Vous recommandez de mettre pleinement en évidence le rapport avec l'article 15 de la charte. Ne voudrait-il pas mieux nous rabattre sur les dispositions d'une troisième convention, étant donné que l'article 15 est soumis à la disposition de dérogation de l'article 3 de notre charte? Tout renvoi à l'article 15 est assujéti aux limites qu'impose l'article 33, auquel beaucoup adhèrent.

M. Vernon: Je ne comprends pas très bien ce que vous voulez savoir.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Je crois avoir compris pourquoi vous vouliez établir ce lien. Mais ne voudrait-il pas mieux renvoyer dans le texte à la convention, étant donné que l'article 15 peut être abrogé n'importe quand par une assemblée législative?

M. Vernon: Je comprends, et c'est en effet possible. Nous avions tout simplement pensé qu'il valait mieux se retrancher le plus possible derrière des documents canadiens, c'est-à-dire derrière des dispositions renvoyant à des instruments canadiens. Nous ne comprenions pas pourquoi le projet de loi ne renvoyait qu'à une partie de l'article en question. Lorsqu'on a proposé de modifier l'article en ajoutant quelques mots, mais pas plus, nous comprenions encore moins. Comme nous l'expliquons dans notre mémoire, étant donné que vous avez énuméré les cas qui s'appliqueraient au titre de la discrimination, nous préférierions inclure cette précision à cet endroit-là du texte et assumer les risques vis-à-vis de la clause dérogatoire.

Le président: Et la clause dérogatoire ne l'élimine pas complètement, mais suspend temporairement, pendant trois ans, ou peut-être cinq ans, son application.

Comme il n'y a pas d'autres questions, je vous remercie de votre mémoire, qui est des plus utiles, et j'espère que nous aurons l'occasion de vous accueillir à nouveau. Nous consta-

[Text]

have been discussing all morning are not resolved by this legislation.

Senator Robertson: Madam Chairman, I believe there are rules or legislation in place in the Department of Finance, which ever department deals with chairs of organizations, on the dissolution of a foundation, but I cannot give the reference.

The Chairman: You would like that question settled when we meet again. Perhaps we can get some help from the department that is responsible.

The committee will adjourn until next Tuesday at 10 a.m. The meeting will be in Room 257, East Block.

The committee adjourned.

[Traduction]

tons que le projet de loi ne répond pas à toutes les questions que nous avons posées ce matin.

Le sénateur Robertson: Madame le président, je crois qu'il existe des règlements ou des textes législatifs au ministère des Finances—ou du moins au ministère qui fait affaire avec les présidents d'organismes—expliquant ce qui se passe au moment de la dissolution d'une fondation, mais je ne puis trouver le renvoi.

Le président: Vous voudriez que la question soit résolue la prochaine fois. Peut-être pourrions-nous demander l'aide du ministère intéressé.

Le comité se réunira à nouveau mardi prochain, à 10 heures, dans la salle 257 de l'édifice de l'Est.

La séance est levée.



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WITNESSES—TÉMOINS

From the Canadian Ethnocultural Council:

Mr. Alex Münter, Member of the Executive Committee and
Member of the German-Canadian Congress;
Mr. Andrew Cardozo, Executive Director.

From the Assembly of First Nations:

Mr. Ovide Mercredi, Regional Vice-President (Manitoba);
Mrs. Ruth Norton, Director (Education).

From the Canadian Jewish Congress:

Mr. Eric Vernon, Director General.

Du Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada:

M. Alex Münter, membre du Conseil exécutif et membre du
Conseil exécutif du Congrès Germano-canadien;
M. Andrew Cardozo, directeur exécutif.

De l'Assemblée des Premières nations:

M. Ovide Mercredi, vice-président régional (Manitoba);
M^{me} Ruth Norton, directeur (Éducation).

Du Congrès juif canadien:

M. Eric Vernon, directeur général.



Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

SENATE OF CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Tuesday, January 22, 1991

Issue No. 31

Third and last Proceedings on:

Bill C-63, An Act to establish the
Canadian Race Relations Foundation

Third and last Proceedings on:

Bill C-37, An Act to establish the
Canadian Heritage Languages Institute

First and last Proceedings on:

Bill C-260, An Act to amend the
Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement)

First Proceedings on:

Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the
Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the con-
tributions to Canadian public life of persons with
disabilities

(continued on next page)

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Le mardi 22 janvier 1991

Fascicule n° 31

Troisième et dernier fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la
Fondation canadienne des relations raciales

Troisième et dernier fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant
l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales

Premier et dernier fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le
Régime des pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial)

Premier fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches
de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la
participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires
publiques canadiennes

(suite à la page suivante)

INCLUDING:

Twentieth Report of the Committee
and
Twenty-first Report of the Committee
and
Twenty-second Report of the Committee

Y COMPRIS:

Le vingtième rapport du Comité
et
Le vingt-et-unième rapport du Comité
et
Le vingt-deuxième rapport du Comité

WITNESSES:

(See back cover)

TÉMOINS:

(Voir à l'endos)

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(or Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(or Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

(Quorum 4)

Pursuant to Rule 66(4), membership of the Committee was amended as follows:

The name of the Honourable Senator Bosa for that of the Honourable Senator Bonnell (January 22, 1991).

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT
DES AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES
ET DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	*MacEachen
Bonnell	(ou Frith)
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray
Hébert	(ou Doody)
Kirby	Spivak
Lavoie-Roux	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

(Quorum 4)

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Bosa substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Bonnell (le 22 janvier 1991).

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, of Thursday, December 20, 1990:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Kinsella, seconded by the Honourable Senator Castonguay, for the second reading of the Bill C-63, An Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Kelly, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, of Friday, December 21, 1990:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Robertson, seconded by the Honourable Senator MacDonald (*Halifax*), for the second reading of the Bill C-37, An Act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Kinsella moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Simard, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, of Tuesday, January 15, 1991:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, be read the second time.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du jeudi 20 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Kinsella, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Castonguay, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Kelly, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du vendredi 21 décembre 1990:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Robertson, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur MacDonald (*Halifax*), tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Simard, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mardi 15 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*,
Wednesday, January 16, 1991:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate resumed the debate on the motion of the Honourable Senator Atkins, seconded by the Honourable Senator Cogger, for the second reading of the Bill C-260, An Act to amend the Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement).

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Atkins moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Rossiter, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mercredi 16 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat reprend le débat sur la motion de l'honorable sénateur Atkins, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Cogger, tendant à la deuxième lecture du Projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial).

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Atkins propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Rossiter, que le projet de loi soit déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon Barnhart

Clerk of the Senate

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MARDI 22 JANVIER 1991
(55)

[Texte]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à 10 h 04, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (président).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs David, Gigantès, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Robertson, Spivak et Thériault. (7)

Autres sénateurs présents: L'honorable sénateur Kinsella pour l'honorable Sénateur Spivak; l'honorable Sénateur Bosa pour l'honorable Sénateur Bonnell; l'honorable Sénateur Atkins.

Également présente: M^{me} Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Témoins:

Du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens:

Mr. Orest H. T. Rudzik, vice-président de la Commission du Congrès sur les Libertés civiles;

Mr. L. Luciuk, membre;

Mr. A. Hluchowewy, directeur de l'information (Ottawa).

De la «Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages»:

Mr. Shakeel Akhtal, président;

M^{me} Pamela Wilson, directeur exécutif.

Mr. Bill Kempling, député.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 21 décembre 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales.

Les représentants du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens font une déclaration et répondent aux questions.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 20 décembre 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

Les représentants de la «Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages» font une déclaration et répondent aux questions.

Le Comité entreprend l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 16 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial).

Mr. Kempling, député, fait une déclaration et répond aux questions.

À 11 h 40, le Comité se réunit à huis clos.

Le Comité entreprend l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 15 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1991
(55)

[Translation]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met this day at 10:04 o'clock a.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators David, Gigantès, Lavoie-Roux, Marsden, Robertson, Spivak and Thériault (7).

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Kinsella for the Honourable Senator Spivak; the Honourable Senator Bosa for the Honourable Senator Bonnell; the Honourable Senator Atkins.

Also present: Mrs. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

Witnesses:

From the Ukrainian Canadian Congress:

Mr. Orest H. T. Rudzik, Vice-President of the Congress' Commission on Civil Liberties;

Mr. L. Luciuk, Member;

Mr. A. Hluchowewy, Director of Information (Ottawa).

From the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages:

Mr. Shakeel Akhtal, President;

Mrs. Pamela Wilson, Executive Director.

Mr. Bill Kempling, Member of Parliament.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated December 21, 1990 respecting Bill C-63, An Act to Establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation.

The representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress made a statement and answered questions.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated December 20, 1990 respecting Bill C-37, An Act to Establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

The representatives of the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages made a statement and answered questions.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated January 16, 1991 respecting Bill C-260, An Act to Amend the Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement).

Mr. Bill Kempling, Member of Parliament, made a statement and answered questions.

At 11:40, the Committee met *in camera*.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated January 15, 1991 respecting Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 20 décembre 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose que le projet de loi C-37 soit rapporté au Sénat, sans amendement.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 21 décembre 1990, concernant le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales.

L'honorable sénateur David propose que le projet de loi C-63 soit rapporté au Sénat sans amendement.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée à la majorité.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 16 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial).

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose que le projet de loi C-260 soit rapporté au Sénat sans amendement.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

À 12 h 15, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTÉ:

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated December 20, 1990 respecting Bill C-37, An Act to Establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute.

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved that Bill C-37 be reported to the Senate without amendment.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated December 21, 1990 respecting Bill C-63, An Act to Establish the Canadian Race Relation Foundation.

The Honourable Senator David moved that Bill C-63 be reported to the Senate without amendment.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative by the majority.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated January 16, 1991 respecting Bill C-260, An Act to Amend the Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement).

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved that Bill C-260 be reported to the Senate without amendment.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

At 12:15 o'clock a.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTEST:

Le greffier du Comité

Serge Pelletier

Clerk of the Committee

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE

WEDNESDAY, January 23, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

TWENTIETH REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred Bill C-37, An Act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, has, in obedience to the Order of Reference of Friday, December 21, 1990, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

WEDNESDAY, January 23, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

TWENTY-FIRST REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred Bill C-63, An Act to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation, has, in obedience to the Order of Reference of Thursday, December 20, 1990, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

WEDNESDAY, January 23, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred Bill C-260, An Act to amend the Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement), has, in obedience to the Order of Reference of Wednesday, January 16, 1991, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

Respectfully submitted,

Le président

LORNA MARSDEN

Chairman

RAPPORTS DU COMITÉ

Le MERCREDI 23 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de présenter son

VINGTIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité auquel a été déféré le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales, a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du vendredi 21 décembre 1990, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Le MERCREDI 23 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de présenter son

VINGT-ET-UNIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité auquel a été déféré le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales, a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du jeudi 20 décembre 1990, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Le MERCREDI 23 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de présenter son

VINGT-DEUXIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité auquel a été déféré le projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial), a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du mercredi 16 janvier 1991, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Respectueusement soumis,

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, January 22, 1991

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, to which was referred Bill C-63, to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation; Bill C-37, to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Foundation; and Bill C-260, to amend the Canada Pension Plan (spousal agreement), met this day at 10 a.m. to give consideration to the bills.

Hon. Lorna Marsden (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, we will deal first with Bill C-63, to establish the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. With us are representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Dr. Rudzik, I understand you have a statement to make on the bill, and then we will have questions.

Dr. Orest H.T. Rudzik, Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Congress Commission on Civil Liberties: Thank you, Madam Chair and members of the committee. We come before you this morning on behalf of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The organization that we come from is the Ukrainian Canadian Congress with its headquarters in Winnipeg and with representation throughout Canada.

Since the first organized arrival of Ukrainians began into Canada, particularly into western Canada back in 1891, the community has grown to its present size of approximately one million members, one million Canadians of whom, it is interesting to note, approximately 95 per cent are Canadian-born. It is not in any real sense any longer an immigrant community. In a sense, we pride ourselves on being a settler nation, certainly as far as the Prairies are concerned.

The particular organization from which we come is an umbrella organization. It pulls together a variety of social, ecclesiastical, political and cultural groups and tries to act as a spokesman for their interests. It is in that capacity that we come before you today.

I am the Vice-President of the National Executive. I come from Toronto. To my immediate right is Professor Luciuk, a professor at the Royal Military College in Kingston, Ontario, and our research director for one of our task force committees known as the Civil Liberties Commission.

As most organizations function these days, so do we. We have a number of task force committees which are delegated to perform specific mandates and we come before you under the aegis of the Civil Liberties Commission. To my immediate left is Mr. Andrew Hluchowewy, Director of our Information Bureau, which is just down the street from you at 180 Elgin Street. It is normally a short walk, but this morning it is a bit of a gauntlet. I am a native Torontonien and keep forgetting that Ottawa can really do it to you, when winter comes, much more than Toronto.

Some of us were involved at the initiatory and exploratory stages of what later became Bill C-63. At that time I had the

TÉMOIGNAGES

Ottawa, le mardi 22 janvier 1991

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, auquel a été déferé le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales; le projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales; et le projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada (contrat matrimonial), se réunit aujourd'hui à 10 heures pour examiner ces projets de loi.

L'honorable Lorna Marsden (*présidente*) occupe le fauteuil du président.

La présidente: Honorables sénateurs, nous examinons d'abord le projet de loi C-63, Loi constituant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales. Nous avons avec nous les représentants du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens. Dr. Rudzik, je crois que vous avez une déclaration à faire sur le projet de loi, après quoi nous poserons des questions.

M. Orest H. T. Rudzik, vice-président, Commission des libertés civiles du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens: Merci, madame la présidente et membres du comité. Nous nous présentons ce matin devant vous au nom de la communauté ukrainienne du Canada. Nous représentons le Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens, dont le siège social est à Winnipeg et qui compte des membres partout au Canada.

Depuis la première migration organisée d'Ukrainiens au Canada, plus spécialement dans l'ouest en 1891, la communauté a grandi au point qu'elle atteint aujourd'hui environ un million de membres, de Canadiens dont, fait à noter, à peu près 95 p. 100 sont nés ici. Ce n'est donc plus à proprement parler une communauté d'immigrants. Dans un sens, nous sommes fiers d'être une nation de colonisateurs, en ce qui concerne les Prairies, en tout cas.

Notre organisme en chapeaute plusieurs autres. Il rassemble divers groupes sociaux, religieux, politiques et culturels dont il cherche à défendre les intérêts. C'est à cette fin que nous nous présentons devant vous aujourd'hui.

Je suis vice-président de l'exécutif national. Je viens de Toronto. J'ai à ma droite M. Luciuk, professeur au Collège royal militaire de Kingston en Ontario, et notre directeur de la recherche pour l'un de nos comités d'étude appelé la Commission des libertés civiles.

Nous fonctionnons comme la plupart des organismes le font aujourd'hui. Nous avons un certain nombre de comités d'étude qui sont chargés de remplir des mandats précis, et nous venons témoigner sous l'égide de la Commission des libertés civiles. J'ai à ma gauche M. Andrew Hluchowewy, directeur de notre Bureau d'information situé à quelques portes d'ici, au 180 rue Elgin. C'est normalement à courte distance de marche, mais ce fut une aventure ce matin. Je suis né à Toronto et j'oublie que l'hiver peut être beaucoup plus éprouvant à Ottawa qu'à Toronto.

Certains d'entre nous ont travaillé aux stages préliminaires et exploratoires de ce qui devait devenir plus tard le projet de

[Text]

privilege of being deputy chair of an advisory body to the government, known as the Canadian Multicultural Advisory Council. At that time we were very involved, and very happy to see a successful eventuality to the Canadian Multicultural Act. We were also very much involved with what was a pressing social historical issue, that of the Japanese internment in Canada during World War II. Towards the end of our tenure on the committee we were most pleased to see that the government had responded to that long-standing problem in a highly equitable fashion. One of the results of that settlement, if I may call it that, was the discussion that eventually led to the proposals contained in the bill that is before you, and that was to direct some of the funds that would be provided to settle the question of redress for the Japanese-Canadian community into a foundation that would stand as a kind of resource from that point on, not just to commemorate the Japanese incident but indeed to draw attention to the difficulties that any society experiences in terms of racism, including ours.

It is highly appropriate, then, that we come before you today with an issue that bears looking into, because it has some striking analogies to the Japanese-Canadian issue. If I can put it simply and directly, we come before you to ensure that the bill, when enacted, will have a substantiality to it in terms of what it is that we are concerned with.

The bill is what I would call an instrumental bill rather than a substantial bill. It is a bill that directs itself to set up a structure, a foundation. The mandate of that foundation is almost taken as self-evident, and it is in this regard that we come before you in order to flush in, if I can put it that way, what our concerns are with the issue of racism.

Briefly put, racism to us is something that we have experienced. It is an issue that is very much a vital contemporary problem, but it also has a necessary historical dimension. Indeed, the Japanese settlement was a reflection of that historical dimension. We, at one time, were considered to be a group that was targeted in what were inescapably racial terms.

The social and political consequences were such that, when the country went into a state of crisis during World War I, our community paid for it very dearly. We became hunted, incarcerated and deprived of our rights. This happened to us not only as immigrants but as native born in almost exactly the same way as it happened to the Japanese. In fact, ironically we were a model for the Japanese, so to speak. If the government had been looking for precedents in 1940 and 1941, it could have found them in 1914 and 1915.

It is for this reason that we come before you today, Madam Chairman, to point out the historic dimension of racism, how it has occurred, and how it is extremely important to keep in mind that race is not only a question of one's pigmentation, one's accent or one's religious beliefs. It can be an arbitrary, unilateral decision on the part of the powers that be. If I had been in Toronto in 1914, for all serious purposes I would not have been considered white because I was Ukrainian. In order to make this tellingly, I would ask my colleague, Professor Luciuk, to give you some of the documentation. We have prepared a brief for you which demonstrates how racism can

[Traduction]

loi C-63. J'avais alors l'honneur d'être vice-président de l'organisme connu sous le nom de Conseil consultatif canadien du multiculturalisme. Nous avons collaboré de près et nous nous réjouissions à la perspective que soit adoptée une loi sur le multiculturalisme canadien. Nous nous occupions activement de ce qui était une question sociale pressante, celle de l'internement, au Canada, de Japonais lors de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Vers la fin de notre mandat au comité, nous avons appris avec plaisir que le gouvernement allait résoudre ce vieux problème de manière éminemment équitable. Ce règlement, si je puis dire, a notamment eu pour résultat le débat qui a débouché sur les propositions contenues dans le projet de loi dont vous êtes saisis, celles de verser en partie des indemnités destinées à la communauté nippon-canadienne dans une fondation qui servirait, à partir de ce moment-là, non seulement à commémorer le cas des Japonais, mais en fait à attirer l'attention sur les problèmes de racisme qu'éprouve toute société, y compris la nôtre.

Il est donc tout à fait opportun de venir vous entretenir aujourd'hui d'une question qui mérite examen, parce qu'elle présente des ressemblances frappantes avec le problème nippon-canadien. Pour parler simplement et directement, nous voulons assurer que la loi qui sera adoptée réponde, dans sa substance, à nos préoccupations.

Le projet de loi est ce que j'appelle une mesure instrumentale plutôt qu'une mesure substantielle. Il vise à constituer une structure, une fondation. Le mandat de cette fondation est considéré comme allant presque de soi, et à ce sujet nous venons en quelque sorte faire ressortir nos préoccupations sur la question du racisme.

Brièvement, le racisme est un problème dont nous avons souffert. C'est un problème contemporain majeur, qui a aussi une dimension historique certaine. La réparation des torts faits aux Japonais était le reflet de cette dimension historique. Nous avons été considérés à une époque comme un groupe qui était la cible de propos indéniablement racistes.

Les conséquences sociales et politiques ont été telles que, lors de la crise que notre pays a traversée pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, notre communauté a payé chèrement. Nous avons été traqués, incarcérés et privés de nos droits. Ce traitement n'a pas été réservé seulement à ceux qui avaient immigré mais aussi à ceux qui étaient nés ici, presque de la même façon que dans le cas des Japonais. Ironiquement, nous avons été en quelque sorte le modèle qu'on a appliqué aux Japonais. Si le gouvernement avait voulu trouver des précédents en 1940 et 1941, il n'aurait eu qu'à se reporter aux années 1914 et 1915.

C'est pourquoi, aujourd'hui, madame la présidente, nous venons vous rappeler la dimension historique du racisme, la façon dont il s'est manifesté, et le fait extrêmement important à ne pas oublier, que la question raciale ne tient pas à la couleur de la peau, à l'accent ou aux croyances religieuses. Elle peut tenir à la décision arbitraire, unilatérale du pouvoir établi. Si j'avais été à Toronto en 1914, je n'aurais pas été reconnu comme blanc parce que j'étais Ukrainien. Mon collègue, M. Luciuk, nous citera des faits révélateurs. Nous avons préparé à votre intention un mémoire qui illustre comment le racisme se manifeste et peut devenir un instrument qui est essentiellement

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apply and how it can be an instrument that is essentially a question of power; political power, religious power, or whatever kind of power. For this laudably projected foundation to have its proper scope, we would hope that this historic dimension would be a part of its thinking and awareness.

Perhaps I could direct you to Professor Luciuk and have him provide some far more erudite and learned background than I have at my fingertips. We would then happily invite questions from you as to the applicability of our position and any further issues you might see emerging from our brief.

Professor L. Luciuk, Research Director, Ukrainian Canadian Congress Commission on Civil Liberties: Thank you, Dr. Rudzik. Madam Chairman and members of the committee, I am a Professor of Geography at Queen's University and also a Professor in the Politics Department at the Royal Military College in Kingston.

The reason I am here as part of this delegation is to underscore some of the points that Dr. Rudzik has already made with respect to the nature of racism in Canadian society, both past and present. Quite commonly we associate racism with visible minorities. As my colleague has already underscored, the experience of racism has often affected what we might want to term as "non-visible minorities," groups that to all intents and purposes, in terms of skin colour or cultural habits, might be defined as "white" today, but in the past, and not the distant past, were not considered to be part of the dominant mainstream society of this country.

There have been systematic and nation-wide violations of the rights of Canada's Ukrainian community, almost from the beginning of the immigration period which began in 1891. I am sure some of you are aware that this year and into next year, Canadian-Ukrainians will be celebrating the centennial of their settlement in this country. Over that period of 100 years there have been some very unfortunate dark episodes in Canadian history that have not been properly stressed in Canadian textbooks and the education system.

To perhaps suggest something of the nature of the racist attitudes that were taken toward Ukrainian Canadians and others during those early years of immigration, I would like to read a few quotations from a book published by Professor Jaroslav Petryshyn from Grande Prairie College. The book is entitled *Peasants in the Promised Land, Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914*. It was published by James Lorimer and Company in Toronto in 1985. Professor Petryshyn cites the editor of the *Ottawa Anglo-Saxon*, in an article published on June 9, 1889, at the very early stages of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. The editor, Clive Phillips Wolley, stated:

It is not too much to affirm that in the Anglo-Saxon type, man has reached to the highest point of excellence to which he has hitherto attained and whilst it is our duty to do what we can to bring mankind as a whole up to our level, it is at least fair to ask whether it is wise to spoil THE BEST by reckless admixture of the SCUM.

When he spoke of the "SCUM" he was referring to Ukrainian immigrants.

The editor of the *Belleville Intelligencer* on March 18, 1899, wrote the following:

[Traduction]

une question de pouvoir: pouvoir politique, pouvoir religieux ou de quelque autre ordre. Pour que cette fondation louable qu'on propose puisse exercer pleinement son activité, il est à espérer que cette dimension historique sera inscrite dans sa pensée et dans sa conscience.

Je laisse M. Luciuk vous informer sur la question beaucoup plus savamment que je ne saurais le faire. Nous répondrons ensuite avec plaisir aux questions que vous voudrez nous poser sur l'applicabilité de notre position et sur toute autre question que notre mémoire pourrait susciter.

M. L. Luciuk, directeur de la recherche, Commission des libertés civiles du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens: Merci, M. Rudzik, madame la présidente et membres du comité. Je suis professeur de géographie à l'Université Queen's et professeur au département des sciences politiques du Collège royal militaire de Kingston.

Mon rôle au sein de cette délégation est de souligner certains des points que M. Rudzik a déjà soulevés sur la nature du racisme dans la société canadienne, passée et présente. Nous associons le plus souvent le racisme avec les minorités visibles. Comme mon collègue l'a fait remarquer, le racisme a souvent atteint ce que nous pourrions appeler les «minorités non visibles», les groupes qui, pratiquement, par la couleur de la peau ou les habitudes culturelles, peuvent se définir aujourd'hui comme des blancs, mais qui, dans un passé pas très lointain, n'étaient pas considérés comme appartenant au courant dominant de la société canadienne.

Les droits des Ukrainiens-Canadiens de toutes les régions du pays ont été violés systématiquement presque depuis le début de la période d'immigration qui a commencé en 1891. Certains d'entre vous savent sûrement que cette année et l'année prochaine, les Ukrainiens-Canadiens célébreront le centenaire de leur arrivée au pays. Ces cent années ont été marquées par des épisodes infiniment regrettables de l'histoire canadienne qui ne sont pas rapportés comme ils le devraient dans les manuels scolaires et le système d'enseignement.

Pour vous donner une idée des attitudes racistes adoptées envers les Canadiens d'origine ukrainienne et d'autres au cours des premières années d'immigration, je voudrais vous lire des extraits d'un ouvrage du professeur Jaroslav Petryshyn du Collège Grande Prairie. Le titre de l'ouvrage est *Peasants in the Promised Land, Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914*. Il a été publié par James Lorimer and Company à Toronto, en 1985. Le professeur Petryshyn cite un article du rédacteur en chef de l'*Ottawa Anglo-Saxon*, qui a paru le 9 juin 1889, aux tout premiers stades de l'immigration ukrainienne au Canada. Le rédacteur en chef, Clive Phillips Wolley, a écrit:

Il n'est pas exagéré d'affirmer que, dans le type anglo-saxon l'homme rejoint le plus haut degré d'excellence qu'il ait jamais atteint et bien que nous ayons le devoir de hausser l'humanité dans son ensemble à notre niveau, il est au moins juste de demander s'il est sage d'altérer la PERFECTION par un mélange imprudent avec le REBUT.

Par «rebut», il entend les immigrants ukrainiens.

Le rédacteur en chef du *Belleville Intelligencer* a écrit ce qui suit le 18 mars 1899:

[Text]

The Galicians, (meaning western Ukrainians) they of the sheepskin coats, the filth and the vermin, do not make splendid material for the building of a great nation. One look at the disgusting creatures as they pass through over the C.P.R. on their way west has caused many to marvel that beings bearing the human form could have sunk to such a bestial level.

I think those two quotations sum up the nature of the xenophobic and racist responses to Canadian Ukrainian immigrants in the early part of this century, and perhaps even thereafter.

As my friend Dr. Rudzik has pointed out, it was somewhat later that the greatest violation of Canadian Ukrainian human rights and civil liberties took place. This was during World War I, specifically between 1914 and 1920, when the Ukrainian-Canadian community, then some 171,000 strong in terms of immigrants and larger in terms of natural increase, was subjected overnight to being categorized as enemy aliens. The reason for this was that most of those Ukrainian immigrants had migrated to Canada, being attracted here by promises of freedom and free land, and had come in one large wave beginning in 1891 stretching to 1914. They settled primarily in the western part of Canada, although by 1904 there were settlements throughout central and north-central Canada as well.

These people had come from western Ukraine territories then occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a result, with the outbreak of the war when Canada found itself on the side of Great Britain, these people, without any reflection, were described as enemy aliens and subjected to a series of rather repressive measures. We estimate that some 5,000 were incarcerated in 26 concentration camps spread across Canada. Another 80,000 plus were forced to register as enemy aliens and forced to report regularly to the police authorities.

In 1917, the vast majority of Canada's Ukrainians were disenfranchised. Newspapers were censored. The fledgling left-wing organizations of the community were suppressed. After the conclusion of the war in 1918 these camps were kept open for another two years as selected community leaders and others were deported. The property and valuables of these individuals were often confiscated and never returned. All of this took place within a climate of terror. From evidence we have been able to dig up in RCMP files, we know that as late as World War II many Ukrainian-Canadian leaders were "still in fear of the barbed-wire fence". In other words, they were still in fear of being interned as they were in World War I.

All of this happened despite the fact that in January and February of 1915 the British government, through its Foreign Office, alerted the Canadian government to the fact that these Ukrainians were in no way to be considered enemy aliens, that they were in fact friendly aliens and should be given preferential treatment. Quite to the contrary, they were mistreated.

[Traduction]

Les Galiciens (c'est-à-dire les Ukrainiens de l'Ouest), avec leurs manteaux de peau de mouton, leur saleté et leur vermine, n'ont rien d'admirable à apporter à la construction d'une grande nation. À la vue de ces gens répugnants en route vers l'Ouest à bord des trains du CPR, beaucoup de gens s'étonnent que des êtres à forme humaine puissent sombrer à ce niveau de grossièreté.

Ces deux citations me semblent résumer la nature des réactions xénophobes et racistes envers les immigrants d'origine ukrainienne au début du siècle, et peut-être même après.

Comme mon ami M. Rudzik l'a signalé, c'est un peu plus tard qu'a eu lieu la grande violation des droits humains et des libertés civiles des Ukrainiens-Canadiens. Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, plus précisément entre 1914 et 1920, la communauté ukrainienne-canadienne de quelque 171 000 immigrants qui avait connu un accroissement naturel a été classée du jour au lendemain au rang des étrangers ennemis. La raison en est que la plupart des Ukrainiens, attirés par la promesse de liberté et de terres offertes gratuitement, étaient venus au Canada, en une seule vague massive, qui a commencé en 1891 et a continué jusqu'en 1914. Ils se sont installés principalement dans la partie ouest du Canada, mais en 1904, des colonies existaient aussi partout dans le centre et le centre-nord du Canada.

Ces gens venaient de territoires de l'Ukraine occidentale qui étaient alors occupés par l'empire austro-hongrois. À cause de cela, quand la guerre s'est déclarée et que le Canada s'est retrouvé du côté de la Grande-Bretagne, ces personnes ont été automatiquement désignées des étrangers ennemis et soumises à des mesures répressives. Nous estimons à environ 5 000 le nombre de personnes qui ont été incarcérées dans 26 camps de concentration établis un peu partout au Canada. En plus des personnes détenues, 80 000 autres ont été forcées de s'inscrire comme étrangers ennemis et de se présenter régulièrement devant les autorités policières.

En 1917, la grande majorité des Ukrainiens du Canada ont été privés du droit de vote. Les journaux étaient censurés. Les organisations naissantes de gauche de la communauté ont été supprimées. Après la guerre, en 1918, ces camps sont restés ouverts pendant encore deux ans pendant lesquels les dirigeants de la communauté et d'autres ont été déportés. Leurs biens et objets de valeur ont dans bien des cas été confisqués et ne leur ont jamais été rendus. Tout cela s'est déroulé dans un climat de terreur. Selon les dossiers de la GRC que nous avons pu fouiller, nous savons que jusqu'à la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, de nombreux dirigeants ukrainiens-canadiens gardaient «encore la frayeur des barbelés». Autrement dit, ils craignaient d'être de nouveau internés comme ils l'avaient été lors de la Première Guerre mondiale.

Tout cela s'est produit en dépit du fait que, en janvier et février 1915, le gouvernement britannique, par son ministère des Affaires étrangères, avait informé le gouvernement canadien que ces Ukrainiens ne devaient aucunement être considérés comme des étrangers ennemis, qu'ils étaient en réalité des étrangers amis et qu'ils méritaient un traitement de faveur. Ils ont été maltraités, au contraire.

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All of this was sanctioned under the terms of the War Measures Act of 1914, the very same piece of legislation that was used again in 1941 against our fellow Japanese Canadians that Dr. Rudzik referred to, and again in 1970 against some French Canadians. As late as January 10 there was an editorial in *The Globe and Mail* entitled, "If Canada Goes to War," which pointed out that many of our Arab and Muslim Canadians are also very concerned that similar legislation and measures may be taken against them in light of what is taking place in the Persian Gulf.

I do not want to dwell on these historical facts too long, as there is a brief explanation of the issues in the booklet you have in the information package in front of you. Perhaps I can end the historical part of the presentation on that note.

The Ukrainian Canadian Congress certainly welcomes the formation of the proposed Race Relations Foundation. As we note in our covering letter, we would ask that this foundation be given a broad mandate to include incidents of racism both past and present that affect both visible and non-visible minorities. We believe that there is clear and compelling evidence of the fact that other ethnic religious and cultural groups in history, not simply those who are visible, as we sometimes call them, have been subjected to discrimination and xenophobia both from within society as a whole and from within the government, both in the past and at present. We hope that the foundation will reflect that in its mandate and be given the broadest possible mandate to ensure that all these episodes are fairly treated. We believe that by being given such a mandate the foundation will be made much more acceptable to many other Canadians who perhaps might object if the mandate is restricted. We certainly would ask for proportional representation on any board of directors of such a foundation to ensure that both non-visible and visible minorities are treated fairly.

We hope that the foundation itself will be colour-blind, so it will not only be welcomed by all Canadians but will progressively serve the interests of nation building for the many different peoples and many different races, creeds and colours who have come to make Canada their home.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. We only have ten minutes and I know there will be some questions. First, let me clarify your last statement. Are you suggesting that Bill C-63 is not colour-blind? Is there anything in this bill that you find offensive? As it now stands, it includes full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins.

Dr. Rudzik: Not at all, Madam Chairman. Perhaps we are underlining the obvious. I think the educative process that the bill contemplates has to start with the foundation itself. If one is walking along Bloor and Yonge and asks the man on the street about a race relations foundation, understandably it will be assimilated to concerns with police work, with the current situation at St. Jane and Finch in Toronto, which is unquestionably a problem. The onus is on communities such as ours that have had historical experience of some of these problems to assure that when we talk about race we are not restricting it

[Traduction]

Toute cette répression était sanctionnée par la Loi sur les mesures de guerre de 1914, la même loi qui a servi de nouveau en 1941 contre nos concitoyens canadiens d'origine japonaise dont M. Rudzik a parlé, et une autre fois en 1970 contre des Canadiens-français. Pas plus tard que le 10 janvier dernier, un éditorial du *Globe and Mail*, intitulé «If Canada Goes to War» (Si le Canada entrait en guerre), parlait des nombreux Canadiens arabes et musulmans qui craignent qu'une loi et des mesures semblables soient prises contre eux, étant donné la situation dans le golfe Persique.

Je ne m'attarderai pas trop longtemps à ces données historiques, car vous en trouverez une brève explication dans la brochure de la trousse d'information qui vous a été remise. Je termine le rappel historique sur cette note.

Le Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens applaudit à la création de la Fondation des relations raciales. Comme nous le disons dans la lettre d'accompagnement, nous demandons que le mandat de cette fondation s'étende aux incidents de racisme passés et présents contre des minorités visibles et non visibles. L'histoire fournit des preuves nettes et convaincantes que d'autres groupes ethniques, religieux et culturels, et non simplement les groupes visibles comme nous les appelons parfois, ont été victimes de discrimination et de xénophobie tant au sein de la société dans son ensemble qu'au sein du gouvernement, par le passé et maintenant. Nous souhaitons que le mandat de la fondation en tienne compte et soit le plus large possible pour que tous ces cas soient traités équitablement. Nous croyons que si elle reçoit ce mandat, la fondation sera beaucoup mieux acceptée par tous les autres Canadiens qui auraient objection à un mandat restreint. Nous réclamerons assurément une représentation proportionnelle au sein de tout conseil d'administration de cette fondation pour assurer un traitement équitable aux minorités non visibles comme aux minorités visibles.

Espérons que la fondation même n'exclura personne, afin qu'elle puisse non seulement être acceptée par tous les Canadiens mais que, graduellement, elle travaille en faveur de l'édification nationale par les nombreuses personnes de races, de croyances et de couleurs différentes qui sont venues faire du Canada leur patrie.

Le président: Merci beaucoup. Nous n'avons que dix minutes et je sais qu'il y aura des questions. Permettez-moi de faire préciser pour commencer votre dernière affirmation. Dites-vous que le projet de loi C-63 fait des exclusions? Y a-t-il des aspects du projet de loi que vous jugez offensants? Tel qu'il est formulé, il prévoit la participation totale et équitable de personnes et de collectivités de toutes origines.

M. Rudzik: Pas du tout, madame la présidente. Nous faisons peut-être ressortir des évidences. Je crois que le travail d'éducation que le projet de loi prévoit doit commencer à la fondation même. N'importe qui que vous interrogeriez sur la rue, au coin de Bloor et Yonge, sur une fondation des relations raciales penserait naturellement au travail des policiers, à la situation à St. Jane et Finch, à Toronto, qui est indéniablement un problème. Il incombe aux collectivités comme la nôtre qui ont eu l'expérience de certains de ces problèmes de veiller à ce que, lorsque nous parlons de race, nous ne nous limitons pas à

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to a mere moment in time, that it is a much more complex problem. Yes, you are perfectly right. I do not think there is anything within the bill itself in that regard. We are perfectly pleased with the bill. It is a good one. As I said, it is an instrumental bill. It sets up a foundation. What we would like to do is go on record as to our understanding of what racism has involved and what the particular complexity of problems are which face us in trying to put together a very exciting country, one which is multicultural in its temperament.

Senator Thériault: Madam Chairman, I suppose I could say that I am from a minority. I am an Acadian and French speaking. I have gone through a rough time in my life. I have been told in the capital of my own province to speak "white" more than once. I believe that minorities will always have to fight for their rights.

I agree with all the requests from all the minorities because when they speak I see some of me in what they say. On the other hand, every time we legislate it seems to me that we cause problems. My people were not interned in the war of 1914. As a whole, this country is a great one. If I am not mistaken it is one of your own who is the Deputy Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mazankowski.

Dr. Rudzik: He is an honorary Ukrainian. His background happens to be Polish. But he came from a town where Ukrainian was spoken.

Senator Thériault: Still, he is from another minority. I think this country is great. The immigrants who have made this great country have found freedom and opportunities. They have done very well on the whole. I do not know what the answer to the problem is. I am not sure that more legislation will make it better. I am convinced—and this is only a personal opinion which does not involve politics at all—that paying compensation to Japanese Canadians was a mistake. If some money is given to some group, then how can we justify not giving it to every group? In my humble opinion, if any people in this country are owed money, they are our native people. We should be repaying them for the next million years for what we have done to them.

Do you believe that we help the situation when we pass more and more legislation trying to take care of all our racial and minority problems?

Dr. Rudzik: Senator, you have raised a whole range of interesting issues. I would like to focus on two of them in order to try to provide you with some response.

First, I agree with you that attitudes cannot be legislated. But you can certainly make certain attitudes, how shall I put it, unfashionable and deplorable. I think racism amongst most of our fellow Canadians is a little bit like spiritual body odour. It is something which is unacceptable in public. People take baths and they don't make racist comments. Yet, there is still a great deal of racism which lurks and which can come out. I think it is a question of educating and of creating attitudes.

[Traduction]

un moment particulier de l'histoire et envisageons le problème dans toute sa complexité. Oui, vous avez parfaitement raison. Sauf erreur, il n'y a rien à ce sujet dans le projet de loi. Nous en sommes très satisfaits, c'est une bonne mesure. Comme je l'ai dit, c'est un projet de loi instrumental, en ce sens qu'il établit une fondation. Nous aimerions dire publiquement ce que nous entendons par racisme et décrire la complexité des problèmes qui nous confrontent alors que nous essayons ensemble de bâtir un pays très excitant, un pays à caractère multiculturel.

Le sénateur Thériault: Madame la présidente, je pourrais dire que j'appartiens à une minorité: Acadien, ma langue maternelle est le français. J'ai passé des moments difficiles dans ma vie. À maintes reprises, dans ma propre capitale, on m'a dit de parler la même langue que tout le monde. Je crois que les minorités devront toujours lutter pour faire reconnaître leurs droits.

J'accepte toutes les demandes que font toutes les minorités parce que leurs observations sont l'écho des miennes. Par ailleurs, nous avons l'impression de créer des difficultés chaque fois que nous légiférons. Mes concitoyens ne se sont pas retrouvés dans des camps de concentration au cours de la guerre de 1914. Dans l'ensemble, le Canada est un pays magnifique. Sauf erreur, le vice-premier ministre du Canada, M. Mazankowski, est un de vos concitoyens.

M. Rudzik: Il est Ukrainien, à titre honorifique. Ses antécédents sont polonais, mais il est originaire d'une ville où les gens parlaient l'ukrainien.

Le sénateur Thériault: Même à cela, il appartient à une autre minorité. Je pense que le Canada est un pays magnifique. Les immigrants qui ont bâti notre grand pays y ont trouvé la liberté et des perspectives d'avenir. La plupart d'entre eux sont prospères. Je ne connais pas la réponse au problème. Je ne suis pas certain que des lois additionnelles vont régler la question. Je suis convaincu—c'est une opinion personnelle qui n'a rien à voir avec la politique—que le dédommagement aux Japonais canadiens a été une erreur. Si nous donnons de l'argent à un groupe, pourquoi ne pas en donner à tous les autres? S'il y a des Canadiens à qui nous devons de l'argent, ce sont les autochtones, à mon humble avis. Nous devrions passer un million d'années à réparer les torts que nous leur avons causés.

Croyez-vous que nous améliorons la situation en légiférant davantage pour essayer de régler tous les problèmes que posent les races et les minorités?

M. Rudzik: Sénateur, vous avez soulevé des points intéressants. J'en relève deux pour essayer de vous donner des réponses.

Premièrement, je suis d'accord avec vous: on ne légifère pas sur le comportement humain. Mais c'est possible de rendre certaines attitudes, disons, dépassées et déplorables. Le racisme chez la plupart de nos concitoyens canadiens ressemble un peu à une odeur spirituelle qui se dégage du corps. C'est inacceptable en public. Les gens se lavent et ne tiennent pas de propos racistes. Pourtant, il y a encore beaucoup de racisme dissimulé qui peut s'exprimer. À mon sens, il faut éduquer les gens et créer des attitudes. C'est le but du projet de loi. Il ne

[Text]

This bill is directed to that purpose. It is not to tell people how to behave but rather to educate people.

You talked about throwing money at a problem. It depends on how it is thrown, if that is the right phrase. If it can be proved, as I hope we will be able to, and as I think the Japanese Canadians proved, that the community itself was handicapped by what happened to it, and if it can be proved that it suffered because of governmental action, then the government by creating such foundations as this, as well as by raising awareness, can help bring that community into a fuller participation in Canadian life.

I agree that Canada is a marvellous country. We helped to build it. We have paid our dues. We are very happy to be here, particularly Ukrainians. If my parents had not come here in the 1920s, who knows where I would be today. Perhaps I would be enjoying the hospitality of the Gorbachev regime somewhere in the Far East. It can be demonstrated that the community was handicapped by what happened to it, just as your community was broken up and, ironically, helped to found the United States. Is it not Louisiana that in a sense is rooted in the Acadian experience? Is it not proper, then, that a country that is affluent should permit a safety net for its less fortunate citizens and do the same thing for such a community which can prove it has suffered because of governmental action?

Senator Thériault: Is there not a danger of the other thing happening? That is what bothers me. Every country in the world has minorities in one way or another, including France, England and the United States. They have all been handled in different ways. This country brought in the Chinese to build the railroad, and they had to pay a head tax. When can we say once and for all, "Look, you are all here and we welcome you. We all love one another and you are Canadians." If the country has two official languages, should there be rights for all others? I sometimes think that we are making the problem worse for ourselves and for the minorities.

The Chairman: Senator Thériault, I am sorry to interrupt you. I am going to allow that to stand as a philosophical statement since we do not have time to engage in a debate, although you have raised important issues.

Senator Robertson: I wish to apologize to the committee for arriving a few minutes late. There was a problem with my flight.

I agree with you about vehicles for better understanding. We cannot legislate change, but somehow or other we can work toward better understanding. I do not have my documentation with me. It is still in my office since I came directly from my flight to the meeting. My question is: Is your organization, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, a member of the Canadian Ethnocultural Council.

Dr. Rudzik: Yes, it is.

Senator Robertson: I find it interesting because while you are very supportive of the bill, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council had some very harsh things to say about it. There

[Traduction]

visé pas à leur dire comment se comporter, mais bien à les éduquer.

Vous avez dit qu'on dépense de l'argent pour essayer de régler un problème. Tout dépend comment on le dépense. Si on peut prouver—comme j'espère que nous pourrions le faire et comme les Canadiens japonais l'ont fait, je pense—que la collectivité a été lésée à cause de ces événements, et si on peut prouver qu'elle a souffert à cause des actes du gouvernement, ce dernier, en créant des fondations comme celle-ci et en sensibilisant la population, peut plus facilement intégrer cette collectivité à la vie canadienne.

C'est vrai, le Canada est un pays magnifique. Nous avons aidé à le construire, nous avons fait notre part. Nous sommes très contents d'être ici, en particulier les Ukrainiens. Si mes parents n'avaient pas émigré au Canada dans les années 1920, Dieu seul sait où je serais aujourd'hui. Peut-être serais-je l'hôte du régime de Gorbatchev, quelque part en Extrême-Orient. On peut prouver que les événements ont lésé notre collectivité, tout comme la vôtre a été fractionnée et, ironiquement, a contribué à fonder les États-Unis. Dans un sens, l'expérience acadienne n'est-elle pas à la racine de la Louisiane? Ne convient-il pas qu'un pays riche offre un peu de sécurité à ses citoyens moins fortunés et qu'il fasse la même chose pour une collectivité qui a l'impression et qui peut prouver qu'elle a souffert à cause des actes du gouvernement?

Le sénateur Thériault: Ne risque-t-on pas que l'autre chose se produise? C'est ça qui m'inquiète. Tous les pays du monde ont des minorités, que ce soit la France, l'Angleterre ou les États-Unis. Elles ont toutes été traitées de façons différentes. Le Canada a fait venir des Chinois pour bâtir la voie ferrée. Ils ont dû payer une taxe de capitation. Quand pourrions-nous dire une fois pour toutes: «Bon, vous êtes tous ici et nous vous souhaitons la bienvenue. Nous nous aimons les uns les autres et vous êtes Canadiens». Si le pays a deux langues officielles, toutes les autres nationalités devraient-elles avoir des droits? Parfois, j'ai l'impression que nous envenimons notre situation et celle des minorités.

Le président: Je regrette de vous interrompre, sénateur Thériault. Disons que vous avez fait une déclaration de principe. Vous avez fait des observations intéressantes, mais nous n'avons pas le temps de nous engager dans un débat.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je prie le comité de m'excuser d'être arrivée en retard. Mon vol a éprouvé un problème.

Je suis d'accord avec vous qu'il y a moyen de mieux se comprendre. Nous ne pouvons pas légiférer pour imposer des changements, mais nous pouvons sûrement essayer de mieux nous comprendre. J'ai une question à vous poser, mais je n'ai pas ma documentation avec moi. Elle est encore dans mon bureau, car je suis venue ici directement de l'aéroport. Votre organisation, le Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens, appartient-elle au Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada?

M. Rudzik: Oui.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je trouve cela intéressant: vous appuyez le projet de loi, mais le Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada l'a attaqué ouvertement. Apparemment, les interpréta-

[Text]

seems to be some division in the interpretation and how it is being expressed on behalf of the membership. I do not know where it falls apart.

The Chairman: Do you want to comment on that, or shall we proceed?

Dr. Rudzik: I do not wish to comment, Madam Chairman.

Senator Kinsella: I wish to thank the witnesses for coming here this morning. It is important to underscore the point you are making, namely, the concept of race, as you spoke to it, which embraces the UNESCO concept of phrasing, something which I think Bill C-63 does also. The interpretation is that race is a sociological concept, and through the use of that term we include all those who would be disadvantaged by some perception or another. I think you make a very important point and I am glad to have it on the record.

The Chairman: That provokes me to ask my perennial question. Would the witnesses—at sometimes, not necessarily now—explain the differences they see between ethnicity, race and multiculturalism? We are dealing with bills that use all these terms in an undefined fashion. In any operational sense, it seems to me that they are totally overlapping. I would be most interested, if you have any comments, to receive them at a later point.

If there are no further comments, I, too, would like to thank the witnesses very much for coming and to say that all of us are watching the anniversary with great interest.

I must say that members of the Canadian Ukrainian community publish a lot of books through the University of Toronto Press. They are always bestsellers. Thank you very much for coming.

Members of the committee, we now turn to consideration of Bill C-37, an act to establish the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute, with representatives from the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages.

We have, as our witnesses, Mr. Shakeel Akhtal and Mrs. Pamela Wilson from the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages.

You have heard what has just proceeded, so you understand the method by which we deal with these bills. We are now dealing with the bill on heritage languages. I assume that you have a statement to present, following which we will have questions.

Mr. Shakeel Akhtal, President, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages: Madam Chairman, I would first like to take this opportunity to thank you for the invitation to appear before this committee and to present a brief on behalf of the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages, hereinafter referred to simply as SOHL.

My name is Dr. Akhtal and to my right is Pamela Wilson who is the Executive Director of this organization. The position of SOHL regarding Bill C-37 for the establishment of a heritage languages institute and other related issues is outlined clearly in the brief submitted for your consideration. I would like however, to make some pertinent remarks in regard to this mission.

[Traduction]

tions ne sont pas les mêmes de la part de tous les membres. J'ignore ce qui fait défaut.

Le président: Voulez-vous commenter cette observation, ou désirons-nous continuer?

M. Rudzik: Je n'ai rien à ajouter, madame la présidente.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Je remercie les témoins de leur présence ici ce matin. Il faut insister sur le point que vous soulevez, soit que le concept de race auquel vous avez fait allusion englobe celui de l'UNESCO. Il en est question dans le projet de loi C-63. On interprète la race comme étant un concept sociologique. En utilisant ce terme, nous incluons tous ceux qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, seraient désavantagés. C'est un point important et je suis content que vous l'ayez soulevé publiquement.

Le président: Cela m'incite à poser ma question habituelle. Est-ce que les témoins pourraient expliquer—pas nécessairement tout de suite—la différence qu'ils font entre ethnicité, race et multiculturalisme? Nous examinons des projets de loi où ces termes sont utilisés sans être définis. Dans un sens, j'ai l'impression qu'il y a du chevauchement. Plus tard, je serai intéressée d'entendre vos commentaires à ce sujet.

Si personne n'a rien à ajouter, je vous remercie d'être venus. Nous attendons tous l'anniversaire avec beaucoup d'intérêt.

Je dois dire que les membres de la collectivité ukrainienne du Canada publient beaucoup de livres par le biais de la presse de l'Université de Toronto. Ce sont toujours des succès. Je vous remercie d'avoir comparu.

Le comité passe maintenant à l'étude du projet de loi C-37, Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales. Nous avons des représentants de la Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages.

Nos témoins, M. Shakeel Akhtal et M^{me} Pamela Wilson, en sont membres.

Ayant vu comment nous procédons, vous savez comment nous examinons ces projets de loi. Nous allons étudier un projet de loi différent sur les langues patrimoniales. Je présume que vous avez une déclaration à faire, après quoi nous poserons des questions.

M. Shakeel Akhtal, président de la Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages: D'abord, madame la Présidente, je vous remercie de nous avoir invités à comparaître devant le comité et à présenter un mémoire au nom de la Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Language, à laquelle je référerai en utilisant le sigle SOHL.

Je m'appelle Akhtal. À ma droite, M^{me} Pamela Wilson, directrice de l'organisation. Le mémoire que nous vous avons remis indique clairement la position de la SOHL sur le projet de loi C-37 visant à établir l'Institut des langues patrimoniales et sur les questions connexes. Cependant, j'aimerais faire quelques remarques au sujet de cette mission.

[Text]

The multiculturalism act embodied in Bill C-93 establishes clearly the importance of heritage languages and the commitment of the Government of Canada to the support of the learning of heritage languages, often referred to as modern languages. Some of my comments may appear to be more of a cursory nature. However, they have great relevance to the point, as you will see.

Prior to 1990 the federal government, through the Department of Secretary of State, provided support in a per capita fashion for the teaching of heritage languages throughout the country. As far as Saskatchewan was concerned, that amount was in the order of \$102,630 for the year 1989-90, which was the last year of this operation. However, in early 1990 the announcement of a reduction in funding for the Department of Secretary of State resulted in the complete elimination of the support, since the budget was reduced by nearly \$4.1 million. As a result, the whole process of supplementary heritage language education was put in jeopardy.

It just so happens that at the same time consideration is being given to the establishment of a heritage languages institute with an allocation of \$6.7 million, with an additional endowment for a period of about 5 years, to establish the institute and to keep it running. This clearly reflects, on the one hand, a contradiction in the government's position to express a commitment to be a continued process of community based heritage language education and, on the other hand, to eliminate funding and put a fair number of resources into the establishment of an institute.

If you will look at some of the figures which we have obtained from the Main Estimates you will see that for the year 1989, when support for heritage languages was still in place, the total allocation in the budget of the Department of Secretary of State allocated to multiculturalism was 7 per cent. Of the total expenditure of the government, the allocation for multiculturalism was .076 per cent. However, for heritage languages that amount was only .015 per cent. Since the funding had been eliminated by nearly \$4.1 million in 1989, I wonder if that figure is close to zero per cent at this point.

These figures certainly illustrate that in spite of the legislation, which refers to Bill C-93, there is a rather limited and inadequate support for heritage languages, to begin with, and elimination of that support altogether really puts into question the real commitment on the part of the government to this whole process.

We stated this position and these concerns in our presentation to the minister, Gerry Weiner, on May 16 here in Ottawa. We also had the opportunity to present our views before the parliamentary committee on June 11, 1990 in Ottawa.

In principle, we consider that the institute is a desirable entity with the potential for making significant contributions to the enhancement of heritage languages. What we have concern about is the mandate of the institute and the actual relationship to the provincial jurisdictions. As we all recognize, education in all provinces is a separate matter from federal jurisdiction, and each province tends to follow its own rules. There has been a tendency to transfer the responsibility for heritage language education exclusively to the provinces, but,

[Traduction]

La démarche sur le multiculturalisme que comprend le projet de loi C-37 établit clairement l'importance des langues patrimoniales et l'engagement du gouvernement du Canada d'appuyer l'étude de ces langues souvent décrites comme étant des langues modernes. Le comité aura peut-être l'impression que certains de mes commentaires sont plutôt superficiels, mais vous constaterez que ce n'est pas le cas.

Avant 1990, le gouvernement fédéral, par le biais du Secrétariat d'État, accordait des subventions par personne pour l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales dans tout le Canada. En Saskatchewan, la subvention en 1989-1990, dernière année du programme, s'est élevée à 102 630 \$. Cependant, le Secrétariat d'État a annoncé des compressions budgétaires au début de 1990: le budget étant réduit de presque 4,1 millions de dollars, la subvention était complètement éliminée. Comme résultat, tout le programme d'enseignement des langues patrimoniales a été compromis.

En même temps, on étudie l'opportunité d'établir un institut des langues patrimoniales. On va allouer 6,7 millions de dollars—et des fonds additionnels pour environ cinq ans—pour créer l'institut et le faire fonctionner. C'est une contradiction flagrante dans la position du gouvernement: d'un côté, il s'engage à continuer à appuyer l'enseignement communautaire des langues patrimoniales, de l'autre, il élimine le financement et alloue une partie des ressources à l'établissement d'un institut.

Si vous examinez les données du Budget des dépenses principal, vous verrez que, en 1989, quand le programme de soutien des langues patrimoniales était encore en vigueur, le Secrétariat d'État accordait 7 p. 100 de son budget au multiculturalisme. Le multiculturalisme représente 0,076 p. 100 des dépenses globales du gouvernement. Toutefois, il n'affecte que 0,015 p. 100 de cette somme aux langues patrimoniales. Comme le budget a été réduit de presque 4,1 millions de dollars en 1989, je me demande si ce pourcentage n'est pas rendu à zéro à l'heure actuelle.

Ces chiffres prouvent que, en dépit du projet de loi C-93, l'appui financier aux langues patrimoniales est plutôt limité et inadéquat au départ. La suppression totale de cet appui nous porte à demander si le gouvernement est vraiment sincère dans cette affaire.

Nous avons exprimé nos vues et nos inquiétudes dans un mémoire remis au ministre, Gerry Weiner, le 16 mai, ici à Ottawa. Également, nous avons eu l'occasion de comparaître devant le comité parlementaire à Ottawa, le 11 juin 1990.

En principe, nous croyons que l'institut est un projet souhaitable qui pourrait contribuer beaucoup à promouvoir les langues patrimoniales. Ce qui nous inquiète, c'est son mandat et son statut dans le contexte des responsabilités provinciales. Nous savons que toutes les provinces considèrent l'éducation comme n'étant pas une responsabilité fédérale, et chaque province a ses propres règles à ce sujet. On a proposé de transférer aux provinces la responsabilité exclusive de l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales mais, comme le projet de loi C-37 l'indi-

[Text]

as Bill C-93 will indicate, because of the commitment to multiculturalism, the responsibility for heritage languages still remains with the federal government.

We have made some comments in regard to the structure of the board of directors. As a matter of fact, during our presentation on June 11 before the parliamentary committee, we respectfully submitted some amendments which would mean that the board of directors should include representations from provincial heritage language organizations. We understand that the proposed structure of the board is 21 members. It allows the minister to choose the board in consultation with the community. However, we want some assurances that the process made some guarantees that community-based organizations and their spokespeople had some input. We do not like to see the institute turning to a purely academic exercise. As I indicated, this is a community-based initiative and probably for years to come it will remain so. We simply want to make sure that these changes are in place, because at this point in time it is not our intent to block passage of this bill.

In principle, we support this measure. We have some concerns about the mandate it is given and some of the overlap that we feel will be created because of provincial jurisdiction in the field of education and the kind of things that are proposed which the institute will undertake.

One of the objects of the institute is to produce source material. In Saskatchewan, which is a very small province, through community effort and on a very small scale, we have been able to produce one of the most remarkable studies or source materials, which we would like to submit it to you for your consideration. I have it right here.

We do not receive a great amount of government funding. This material will reflect what communities can do if they put their minds to work. If this kind of material will be duplicated by the institute, we will probably have made our point, that you are dealing with millions of dollars in resources to duplicate services which communities can provide on their own.

Those are my cursory remarks, and we are ready to answer any questions. That is why I have made an effort to be as concise as possible. I must say that I was fascinated by the earlier discussion, because I happen to be involved in that area as well. I thank all the committee members. To me, being a relatively new Canadian—only 27 years in this country—this is a very exciting occasion having the opportunity to appear before such a distinguished group.

Perhaps Pamela Wilson would like to add something.

Mrs. Pamela Wilson, Executive Director, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages: One of our main concerns is public accountability of the endowment fund. We feel strongly that organizations across Canada such as ours should be ensured a place on the board of directors in order to ensure accountability.

Senator Spivak: I have two questions. First, in your last paragraph you say that the government should alter its priorities. Are you recommending that we not pass this bill?

[Traduction]

que, à cause de son engagement dans le domaine du multiculturalisme, le gouvernement fédéral reste responsable des langues patrimoniales.

Nous avons fait quelques observations sur la structure du conseil d'administration. En fait, le 11 juin, nous avons profité de notre témoignage au comité parlementaire pour proposer des amendements qui permettraient à des représentants d'organisations provinciales de langues patrimoniales de siéger au conseil. Aux termes du projet de loi, le conseil aura 21 membres et le ministre pourra les choisir de concert avec les diverses collectivités. Cependant, nous voulons être certains que les organisations communautaires et leurs représentants auront leur mot à dire. Nous ne voudrions pas que l'institut devienne une tribune artificielle. Comme je l'ai dit, c'est une initiative communautaire et la situation ne changera probablement pas d'ici plusieurs années. Nous voulons simplement nous assurer qu'on fera ces changements, car nous n'avons pas l'intention de bloquer l'adoption du projet de loi.

En principe, nous appuyons cette mesure. Nous éprouvons des inquiétudes au sujet du mandat de l'institut et des conflits qu'il pourrait créer à cause de la compétence provinciale en matière d'éducation et de certains rôles qu'on propose de lui confier.

Une des missions de l'institut est de fournir de la documentation de base. La Saskatchewan est une province très petite, mais, avec la collaboration de gens et sur une échelle très réduite, nous avons pu faire une des études les plus remarquables sur la documentation de base. Je l'ai apportée avec moi et je vous la remet afin que vous puissiez l'examiner.

Nous ne recevons pas beaucoup d'aide financière du gouvernement. Ce document montre ce que les collectivités peuvent faire si elles sont motivées. Si l'institut offre le même genre de documentation, nous aurons probablement prouvé que vous dépensez des millions de dollars pour des ressources afin de fournir des services que les collectivités sont capables de fournir elles-mêmes.

Voilà les quelques observations que je voulais faire. Nous sommes disposés à répondre aux questions. C'est pourquoi j'ai voulu être aussi concis que possible. Soit dit en passant, le débat précédent m'a fasciné, car je m'intéresse aussi à ce domaine. Je remercie les membres du comité. Pour moi, relativement nouveau Canadien puisque je suis ici depuis seulement 27 ans, c'est une expérience très excitante que d'avoir l'occasion de témoigner devant un groupe aussi distingué.

Peut-être Pamela Wilson aimerait-elle dire quelque chose.

Mme Pamela Wilson, directrice, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages: Nous nous intéressons surtout à la responsabilité financière publique du fonds de dotation. Nous croyons fermement que des organisations canadiennes comme la nôtre devraient siéger au conseil de direction afin d'assurer la responsabilité financière.

Le sénateur Spivak: J'ai deux questions. D'abord, au dernier paragraphe, vous dites que le gouvernement devrait changer ses priorités. Nous recommandez-vous de ne pas adopter ce projet de loi?

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Mr. Akhtal: We are not recommending that you not pass the bill.

Senator Spivak: So you are suggesting that it be modified so that the priorities are different.

The other question I want to ask relates to page 5 of your brief on which you say that you believe that heritage language education will remain in good measure a local community-based education endeavour in Canada, as it is in Saskatchewan. Would you care to elaborate? Do you mean that this function will be controlled by communities and not within the public school system?

Mr. Akhtal: The term "control" perhaps has a somewhat negative meaning. Let me describe how our community operates with regard to languages. The number of students depends on the population of one particular group. Some groups have a significantly large number of people. As a result there are a large number of students. Some languages in some communities have gained access to the public school system, and that is where the classes are held. However, at the other end of the spectrum, that is not possible for groups that number 10 to 20 in the community. It is difficult to set up education for them in the school system because, if, for example, you have 20 students, they will all be at different levels of learning and in different parts of the community. So every school cannot possibly offer, for example, classes in Cambodian. So the whole notion of these classes being held in schools after hours, on weekends, and so on, will remain, and that is the implication.

Senator Spivak: I know what the funding mechanism is, and the Secretary of State cannot fund school divisions. However, they can fund community groups. Are you suggesting that that is the kind of thing that should remain in place?

Mr. Akhtal: Perhaps the phrase "cannot fund" should be described as "don't want to fund", because that is the decision they have taken.

Senator Spivak: The federal government funds provincial governments which, in turn, fund school divisions.

Mr. Akhtal: That is a totally different area. Provincial governments are funded through the transfer of payments mechanism for overall education. I know that a certain amount of dollars are allocated for languages, and an understanding of that allocation must be worked out between the federal government and the provincial governments. Presently the federal government can fund directly community groups for languages.

Senator Spivak: Do you wish that that support remain in tact?

Mr. Akhtal: It is our vision and hope that the government will continue providing basic support to communities. On the one hand, they are developing post-secondary capabilities and research and development in resource areas and, on the other, they are keeping basic fundamental classroom activity at the same level. In 1989 the support given to Saskatchewan amounted to \$102,630, and that was the last year of the operation. We estimated that the total community contribution in

[Traduction]

M. Akhtal: Nous ne vous recommandons pas de rejeter le projet de loi.

Le sénateur Spivak: Donc vous proposez de l'amender pour que les priorités soient différentes.

L'autre question a trait à la page 5 de votre mémoire où vous dites que, d'après vous, l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales au Canada va demeurer en grande partie une initiative éducationnelle des communautés locales, comme en Saskatchewan. Pourriez-vous vous expliquer? Voulez-vous dire que cette fonction sera contrôlée par les communautés plutôt que par les régimes d'écoles publiques?

M. Akhtal: Le mot «contrôle» a peut-être un sens négatif. Laissez-moi vous dire comment notre communauté traite la question des langues. Le nombre d'étudiants dépend de la population d'un groupe donné. Des groupes sont beaucoup plus considérables que d'autres, donc ils ont plus d'étudiants. Dans certaines localités, on enseigne les langues dans les classes des écoles publiques. Mais cela n'est pas possible là où un groupe n'est formé que d'une dizaine ou d'une vingtaine de personnes. C'est difficile de leur enseigner dans les écoles publiques parce que, par exemple, si vous avez 20 étudiants, ils sont à des niveaux différents et viennent de divers endroits dans la communauté. Ainsi, chaque école ne peut pas donner des cours de langue cambodgienne, par exemple. C'est pour cette raison qu'on va continuer à donner ces cours après les heures normales, les weekends et ainsi de suite. Voilà ce que cela veut dire.

Le sénateur Spivak: Je sais comment le mécanisme de financement fonctionne. Le Secrétaire d'État ne peut pas financer les écoles, mais il peut subventionner les groupes communautaires. D'après vous, ce genre de régime devrait-il être maintenu?

M. Akhtal: Peut-être faudrait-il substituer l'expression «ne veut pas financer» aux mots «ne peut pas financer», car c'est la décision qu'ils ont prise.

Le sénateur Spivak: Le gouvernement fédéral donne des fonds aux gouvernements provinciaux qui eux financent les écoles.

M. Akhtal: C'est un domaine complètement différent. Les gouvernements provinciaux sont financés au moyen de paiements de transfert pour l'éducation en général. Je sais qu'un pourcentage est alloué aux langues, pourcentage convenu entre les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux. À l'heure actuelle, le gouvernement fédéral peut subventionner directement les groupes communautaires aux fins de l'enseignement des langues.

Le sénateur Spivak: Préfereriez-vous que cette situation ne change pas?

M. Akhtal: Nous envisageons et espérons que le gouvernement continuera à accorder un appui de base aux groupes communautaires. D'un côté, il crée des moyens au niveau post-secondaire et des activités de recherche et développement dans des secteurs de ressources, tandis que de l'autre, il maintient au même niveau les activités de base réalisées dans les salles de classe. En 1989, qui fut la dernière année d'activité, l'aide accordée à la Saskatchewan s'est élevé à 102 630 \$. Or nous

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terms of financial resources and assistance in kind amounted to more than \$600,000. So the community is not simply living off government funding in trying to carry on these activities.

Mrs. Wilson: May I make a comment? The reality in Saskatchewan is quite different from the rest of Canada. We have a population of just under one million, and most of the people are in rural centres. So languages as part of the regular school system in Saskatchewan is a long way off. Without community support we will lose many of our languages.

Senator Spivak: I happen to support your point of view. I come from Manitoba, and I think it is vital that we maintain that system..

Senator David: I have not had an opportunity to read your brief because I received it only this morning. However, I applaud the fact that your community seems to be very involved in the question of heritage languages in your province. Without that involvement at the community level, I feel that whatever we do will fail. Therefore, I congratulate you for your efforts and, if possible, I would like to have a look at the documents you have produced.

If I understand your argument, it is that what the federal government is taking away on the one hand, it is giving to you on the other through educational community support programs. They are withdrawing some of that support and, at the same time, constructing the Heritage Languages Institute in Moncton, New Brunswick. You seem to think that there is a contradiction between the two activities. Nevertheless, you admit that education is a provincial jurisdiction. I think that provinces will have to put more effort into heritage languages to help provide them in the communities. Do you not feel that such an institute could provide orientation on new policies or new ways of protecting different communities that are presently building Canada? Would you care to comment?

Mr. Akhtal: I agree with you 100 per cent. We are not saying that the institute will be a useless exercise. We see some contradiction to placing less emphasis on one of the fundamental aspects of continuing grass roots educational systems that will eventually feed into the institute and more emphasis on the institute itself. If I may give a crude example, it is rather like establishing a university in a community that does not have a high school. The question is: By cutting grants and support to the community initiative—which, as I have indicated, is a very small amount—in the end, five or ten years down the road, who will benefit from the institute? You raised the point that educational responsibility lies with the provinces. Of course it does. However, no arrangement has been initiated or finalized between the federal government and provincial governments with regard to handling heritage languages. Of course, there are other systems in place that support heritage languages, such as the educational systems. However, before the institute is put in place, the government is withdrawing support altogether, leaving communities struggling on their own, and that is a questionable approach, to say the least. We

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avons calculé que la contribution totale obtenue des groupes communautaires en ressources financières et en aide en nature s'est élevée à plus de 600 000 \$. Donc la collectivité ne dépend pas uniquement des subventions de votre gouvernement pour exercer ces activités.

Mme Wilson: Permettez-moi une observation. La réalité en Saskatchewan est fort différente de celle du reste du Canada. Notre population est d'un peu moins d'un million d'habitants et la plupart des gens vivent dans des centres ruraux. De ce fait, les langues occupent une place très modeste dans le système scolaire de la Saskatchewan. Sans l'appui des groupes communautaires, nous perdrons plusieurs de nos langues.

Le sénateur Spivak: Pour ma part, j'appuie votre point de vue. Je viens du Manitoba et je crois qu'il est vital que nous maintenions ce système.

Le sénateur David: Je n'ai pas eu l'occasion de lire votre mémoire, car je ne l'ai reçu que ce matin. Toutefois, j'applaudis au fait que votre groupe communautaire semble s'occuper très activement de la question des langues patrimoniales dans votre province. Sans cette participation au niveau communautaire, je crois que tout ce que nous ferons sera voué à l'échec. Je vous félicite de vos efforts et si possible j'aimerais jeter un coup d'œil sur les documents que vous avez déposés.

Si je comprends bien votre raisonnement, vous dites que ce que le gouvernement fédéral retire d'une main, il vous le donne de l'autre par l'entremise de programmes éducatifs de soutien communautaire. Il retire une partie de ce soutien et en même temps il établit l'Institut des langues patrimoniales à Moncton, Nouveau-Brunswick. Vous semblez croire qu'il y a une contradiction entre les deux. Néanmoins, vous admettez que l'éducation relève des provinces. Je crois que les provinces devront consacrer plus d'efforts en matière de langues patrimoniales pour aider à leur diffusion dans les collectivités. Ne pensez-vous pas que cet institut pourrait fournir des orientations générales sur des nouvelles politiques ou de nouvelles façon de protéger les différents groupes communautaires qui édifient actuellement le Canada? Auriez-vous des commentaires à ce sujet?

M. Akhtal: Je suis entièrement d'accord avec vous. Nous ne disons pas que l'institut sera inutile. Nous trouvons quelque peu contradictoire qu'on accorde moins d'importance aux activités d'enseignement qui touchent la base et qui se raccorderont éventuellement à l'institut, et qu'on en mette plus sur l'institut lui-même. Permettez-moi un exemple rudimentaire: c'est à peu près comme si on établissait une université dans une collectivité qui n'a pas d'école secondaire. La question est la suivante: si l'on supprime les subventions et l'appui accordés aux initiatives communautaires, qui, je le répète, représentent une très petite somme, qui donc bénéficiera de l'institut dans cinq ou dix ans d'ici? Vous avez dit que l'enseignement relevait des provinces. Bien sûr. Toutefois, aucun arrangement n'a été proposé ou mis en œuvre entre le gouvernement fédéral et les gouvernements provinciaux en matière de langues patrimoniales. Bien entendu, il y a d'autres systèmes qui appuient les langues patrimoniales, par exemple les systèmes scolaires. Toutefois, avant même que l'institut soit établi, le gouvernement retire tout son appui, laissant aux groupes communautaires l'obligation de lutter tout seuls. C'est là une approche pour le

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would be more than happy if the federal government took the initiative to work out with the provinces a device whereby support for languages will remain, particularly at community levels because of the problems I just explained. Some communities will be operating in this fashion at supplementary levels for years to come.

We must move toward provincial involvement for a variety of reasons. For example, when students are taking classes in heritage languages, there comes a point when these students must be recognized for their efforts. There must be some goal for them, because they have been leaving behind their hockey games and football games to take these classes on a Saturday morning. We must work with the provinces in order to provide that recognition, as they are the only ones who can recognize such efforts in the form of credits. So there is an obvious relationship there.

Mrs. Wilson: This also relates to another concern. Perhaps it is our suspicious nature that has planted the seed in the back of our minds, but if the Heritage Languages Institute is expected to raise funds and the provinces are expected to contribute—Saskatchewan is one of the few provinces that provide provincial support for heritage languages—we can see that provincial support dwindling if the province is expected to invest in this institute.

Senator Gigantès: I am one of these minorities, as I am Greek by origin. Your opposite numbers in my community do not like my attitude, which says that, yes, heritage languages should be studied as modern languages in universities; that, yes, heritage languages should be studied, because it is a free country, where communities wish to establish schools at their own cost to teach those languages—but no public funds for elementary and secondary level teaching of those languages. I hold that view for many reasons, one being that some of these languages seem naturally to disappear in the third generation anyhow. The people come here—at least, I have—to be assimilated. I have not come here to be a Greek Canadian; I have come here to be a Canadian. If I am wrong, please tell me why.

Mr. Akhtal: I will not be so blunt as to say, sir, that you are wrong, but I beg to differ with your opinion. One of the fundamental things about Canada that is unique, in that you do not find it in any other country, is that you can maintain your culture and your roots and still be an equally proud Canadian. That is the premise from which I operate. I believe that is the premise of the Multiculturalism Act, that you can be just about anything you wish, promote your own culture, and so on, and still be a proud Canadian. I am multilingual. I have read somewhere that it is important for people to learn more than one language simply because there are more languages in the world than there are nationalities. On that basis, there is a cultural, intellectual enrichment that one can get from studying languages beyond studying them merely for basic necessity or economic or social reasons. To assume that we should not spend money in this area, or that it should not be publicly

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moins contestable. Nous serions plus qu'heureux que le gouvernement fédéral prenne l'initiative d'élaborer avec les provinces un mécanisme par lequel l'appui accordé aux langues resterait en place, en particulier au niveau communautaire, à cause des problèmes que je viens d'expliquer. Certains groupes communautaires fonctionneront de cette façon, sur une base complémentaire, pendant des années à venir.

Nous devons arriver à une participation des provinces pour diverses raisons. Par exemple, dans le cas des étudiants qui suivent des cours en langue patrimoniale, il arrive un moment où il faut sanctionner leurs efforts. Il faut que ces étudiants aient un but, car ils sacrifient leurs parties de hockey ou de football pour suivre ces cours le samedi matin. Nous devons travailler avec les provinces à sanctionner leurs efforts, car elles sont les seules qui puissent reconnaître ces efforts sous forme de crédits. Il y a donc un lien évident à établir avec elles dans ce domaine.

Mme Wilson: La question suscite aussi une autre préoccupation. Peut-être que c'est notre nature méfiante qui a implanté cette graine dans notre tête, mais si l'Institut des langues patrimoniales doit recueillir des fonds et que les provinces doivent y contribuer,—la Saskatchewan est l'une des rares provinces à accorder un appui aux langues patrimoniales—, on peut prévoir que cet appui diminuera s'il est demandé à la province d'investir dans cet institut.

Le sénateur Gigantès: Je fais partie d'une de ces minorités, étant Grec d'origine. Dans ma communauté, vos homologues n'aiment pas mon attitude, qui est la suivante: oui, les langues patrimoniales devraient être enseignées comme langues modernes dans les universités, oui les langues patrimoniales devraient être enseignées parce que nous sommes un pays libre où les communautés culturelles qui le veulent peuvent établir des écoles à leur frais pour enseigner ces langues. Mais on ne doit pas leur affecter des fonds publics aux niveaux élémentaire ou secondaire. Je suis de cet avis pour plusieurs raisons, l'une étant que certaines de ces langues semblent de toute façon disparaître d'elles-mêmes à la troisième génération. Les gens viennent ici,—du moins ce fut mon cas—, pour être assimilés. Je ne suis pas venu ici pour être Canadien grec. Je suis venu ici pour être Canadien. Si j'ai tort, dites-moi pourquoi, s'il vous plaît.

M. Akhtal: Je ne serai pas direct au point de vous dire, monsieur, que vous avez tort, mais permettez-moi d'être d'un autre avis. L'un des caractères fondamentaux du Canada, qui est unique en ce sens qu'on ne le trouve dans aucun autre pays, c'est que vous pouvez maintenir votre culture et vos racines tout en étant par ailleurs tout aussi fier d'être Canadien. C'est le principe de base de mon action. Je crois que c'est le principe de base de la Loi sur le multiculturalisme, c'est-à-dire que quelle que soit son origine, on peut promouvoir sa propre culture, et ainsi de suite, tout en étant Canadien et fier de l'être. Je suis polyglotte. J'ai lu quelque part qu'il est important d'apprendre plus d'une langue, tout simplement parce qu'il y a dans le monde plus de langues que de nationalités. Si l'on part de ce principe, celui qui étudie les langues en tire un enrichissement culturel et intellectuel qui dépasse une étude faite simplement pour répondre à des besoins élémentaires ou pour des

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funded, when we are funding a lot of things in this country, I think would open a Pandora's box, if we started to decide what should and should not be publicly funded. So the assessment, that spending money on activities of this kind is not wise because people will lose their language two or three years down the road, is one with which I cannot agree.

The Chairman: Also, data shows that it is to the contrary, that third generations revive their language.

Senator Robertson: You have spoken of the necessity of accountability. Were you speaking about accountability in programs or financially? To what were you referring when you asked that the board of directors be accountable?

Mrs. Wilson: My concern is that if the board of directors is left to the discretion of the minister there is some chance that the board will lose touch with the community. Also, if a publicly funded endowment is to be used to fund this institute, it should be accountable to the community.

Senator Robertson: Of course, there will be an automatic financial accountability, and those who contribute to a agency such as this would have access to the audited reports. So I think you need not worry in that regard. I suspect that the same will be true of the programs once they are developed, that they will work like any other institute in that there will be that sort of accountability. Certainly the minister, I believe, having looked at a number of his statements, has reassured the various communities that there will be broad consultation before he chooses a board of directors. So I am quite assured that the board will be broadly based and reflective of the communities involved.

Mrs. Wilson: Our position is that we would like to see a provision to that effect entrenched in the legislation.

Senator Robertson: There are some things you cannot put in legislation, and I am not sure whether you can include that provision. Anyway, I would not worry too much about it. It seems from your remarks that you have developed, and rightly so, somewhat of a parallel system in Saskatchewan that serves your residents very well. If only the other provinces were as well served. I think you will find that your programs could be strengthened by this institute, and I am glad that you support the bill.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: My question is supplementary to Senator Robertson's questions. You said that you would like your organization to be represented on the board of the institute. Is there not a difference to be made between regional representation and provincial representation? Various groups have come here and said that they would like to be represented. Of course, you are a provincial group, but if we accept the requests of all the groups, we could end up with regional

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raisons économiques ou sociales. Supposer qu'on ne doit pas affecter d'argent à ce secteur ou qu'il ne doit pas être financé par les deniers publics, alors que nous finançons tant d'autres choses dans ce pays, ce sera, je crois, ouvrir une boîte de Pandore, si nous commençons à chercher à décider ce qu'il faut et ce qu'il ne faut pas financer avec les deniers publics. Je ne saurais souscrire au principe qu'il n'est pas sage de dépenser de l'argent pour des activités de cette nature sous prétexte que ces gens perdront leur langue dans deux ou trois ans.

Le président: De plus, les données montrent qu'au contraire, ce sont les gens de la troisième génération qui ravivent ces langues.

Le sénateur Robertson: Vous avez parlé de l'obligation de rendre compte. Parliez-vous des programmes ou du point de vue financier? À quoi faisiez-vous allusion quand vous avez demandé que le conseil d'administration soit comptable de ses actes?

Mme Wilson: Ce qui me préoccupe, c'est que si le conseil d'administration est nommé à la discrétion du ministre, il est possible qu'il perde contact avec la collectivité. En outre, si cet institut doit dépendre d'une fondation financée par le public, il faudrait qu'il soit comptable à la collectivité.

Le sénateur Robertson: Naturellement, il devra automatiquement rendre compte de sa gestion financière. Les gens qui contribuent financièrement à un organisme de ce genre doivent accès aux rapports des vérificateurs comptables. Je crois que vous n'avez pas à vous inquiéter à ce sujet. Je suppose qu'il en sera de même des programmes que l'institut élaborera, que cet institut fonctionnera comme tout autre institut, c'est-à-dire qu'il devra rendre des comptes de ce genre. Je crois que le ministre, si j'en juge par plusieurs de ses déclarations, a rassuré les divers organismes communautaires en disant que son choix des membres du Conseil d'administration sera précédé de vastes consultations. Je suis donc tout à fait certain que ce conseil représentera un large éventail de la collectivité et reflétera les organismes communautaires intéressés.

Mme Wilson: Nous aimerions qu'il y ait une disposition en ce sens dans la loi.

Le sénateur Robertson: Il y a des choses qu'on ne peut pas mettre dans une loi. Je ne suis pas sûr qu'on puisse y inclure pareille disposition. Quoi qu'il en soit, je ne m'inquiéterais pas trop de cela. Il semble, d'après vos commentaires, que vous avez élaboré, à juste titre, une sorte de système parallèle en Saskatchewan qui fait très bien l'affaire de vos gens. Si seulement les autres provinces étaient aussi bien servies! Vous allez, je crois, constater que vos programmes pourraient être renforcés par cet institut et je suis content que vous appuyiez le projet de loi.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Ma question complète celles du sénateur Robertson. Vous avez dit que vous aimeriez voir votre organisme représenté au conseil d'administration de l'Institut. N'y a-t-il pas une différence à faire entre représentation régionale et représentation provinciale? Divers groupes ayant comparu devant nous ont dit qu'ils aimeraient être représentés. Bien entendu, votre groupe est un groupe provincial, mais si nous acceptons les demandes de tous, nous risquons d'avoir au

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representation, provincial representation and even ethnic representation within groups, all on the board. So when you refer to regional representation, do you mean provincial representation?

Mr. Akhtal: The amendment that we submitted to the House of Commons committee was as precise as we possibly make it. The Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages represents all language activity in the province. A similar organization exists in Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia, as well as other provinces. Our hope was that the original organizations would be given an opportunity to provide a list of names to be considered as representatives. Those people should have experience in the communities and understand the programs and how they are administered.

He would not be expected to name a person on his own but from a list of people. That way, each province will have some representation and, out of 21 members, a maximum of 10 will come from community-based associations. These people could be academics or other people who have community-based support. That is what our hope is.

If the amendment is not accepted, the I hope that by making this point over and over again we will be able to sensitize the issue and the minister will be a bit more aware of it. I am quite sure he will do a fine job when it comes to selecting. In fact, the request for nominations is already out. It has gone to the various organizations in the country and he is in the process of setting names to be appointed. We wish to make this point as much as we can.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: If I understand you correctly, your first choice would be that, in the law, there would be representation from each province, rather than each region; but if that was not acceptable, you would be satisfied that every province would be consulted on the appointment of members?

Mr. Akhtal: The question is whom do you consult with in the provinces? There are many agencies. Our hope is that agencies and groups or organizations directly involved at the community level in heritage languages would be the natural choice. They could very well go to the departments of education or to the universities, and then, technically, they will have consulted with each province; but does it really come out to the be same? That is our concern.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: You favour the community groups, though you also agree there could be consultation with universities in relation to researchers or academic people?

Mr. Akhtal: Yes.

Mrs. Wilson: I think you have to look somewhat at our experience in the past with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education National Heritage Language Resource Unit, which

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conseil d'administration une représentation régionale, une représentation provinciale et même une représentation ethnique pour ces différents groupes. Quand vous parlez de représentation régionale, voulez-vous dire représentation provinciale?

M. Akhtal: L'amendement que nous avons proposé au comité de la Chambre des communes était aussi précis que nous avons pu le formuler. L'Organisation des langues patrimoniales de la Saskatchewan représente tous les organismes qui s'occupent de langues dans la province. Des organisations similaires existent au Manitoba, en Alberta, en Colombie-Britannique et dans d'autres provinces. Nous espérons que les organisations initiales auraient l'occasion de fournir une liste de gens qui pourraient être considérés comme d'éventuels représentants. Ces gens devraient avoir de l'expérience dans les organismes communautaires et comprendre les programmes et la façon de les administrer.

On peut supposer qu'il ne nommerait pas quelqu'un de son propre chef, mais à partir d'une liste de candidats. De cette manière, chaque province serait représentée et sur 21 membres, un maximum de dix viendraient d'organismes communautaires. Ces personnes pourraient être des universitaires ou des gens jouissant de l'appui de leur groupe communautaire. Voilà ce que nous espérons.

Si l'amendement n'est pas accepté, j'espère qu'en exposant et en réexposant ce point, nous pourrions sensibiliser les intéressés à la question et que le ministre en prendra un peu plus conscience. Je suis tout à fait certain qu'il fera du bon travail quand il devra nommer les membres du conseil. En fait, la demande de candidatures est déjà faite. Elle est parvenue aux divers organismes du pays et le ministre est sur le point de choisir les futurs membres. Nous voulons exposer ce point tant que nous le pourrons.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Si je vous comprends bien, votre premier choix serait une représentation de chaque province, plutôt que de chaque région, mais que si cela n'est pas acceptable, vous seriez satisfaits que chaque province soit consultée sur la nomination des membres?

M. Akhtal: La question est: qui doit-on consulter dans les provinces? Les organismes sont nombreux. Ce que nous espérons, c'est que les organismes et les groupes ou organisations qui s'occupent directement de langues patrimoniales au niveau communautaire soient considérés comme le milieu naturel dans lequel choisir. On pourrait fort bien s'adresser aux ministères de l'Éducation ou aux universités et dès lors on aurait, strictement parlant, consulté chaque province, mais est-ce que cela serait vraiment la même chose? Telle est notre préoccupation.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Vous privilégiez les groupes communautaires, tout en acceptant qu'il y ait des consultations avec les universités, pour trouver des chercheurs ou des universitaires?

M. Akhtal: Oui.

Mme Wilson: Je crois qu'il faut parler de notre expérience passée avec l'Ontario Institute for Studies, au sein de l'Éducation National Heritage Language Resource Unit, qui n'a pas

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has not serviced Saskatchewan at all, and that is what we are concerned about as far as this Edmonton institute goes. If there is an institute—and we are supporting an institute in a cautiously optimistic way—then we must get service from that institute. How do we ensure that we get service?

Senator Thériault: You are afraid that the service will be centred in Quebec and Ontario.

The Chairman: I am sorry, we are running out of time. Senator Bosa would like to ask a question if you have completed.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I am satisfied.

Senator Bosa: Madam Chairman, I have one brief question. As I read the conclusion in your brief, it seems to me that you are saying, in a diplomatic way, that we should shelve this bill and this institute for the time being and give priority to other matters. In essence, that is what you are saying?

Mr. Akhtal: We are not saying that we should shelve this thing. We are simply saying—

Senator Bosa: Put it aside?

Mr. Akhtal:—go at it in a carefully calculated rate. If you are not in a great rush to establish this wonderful institute, then I think it could be a very good and useful exercise. First, do not cut out the support from under the communities that actually will eventually feed the system that you are trying to establish. After you have accomplished that, make sure there is no duplication of any objectives of the institute or any of the things happening in the provinces already. So, we are putting up a fair number of cautions. They are like detours and road signs.

The Chairman: Thank you very much for coming this morning and for raising the matters that you have.

Senators, we turn now to our third bill this morning, Bill C-260. Our witness will be Mr. Kempling. However, before we begin, we shall take a very brief break.

(The committee recessed)

Upon resuming.

The Chairman: I call the meeting to order. As you know, honourable senators, we are dealing with Bill C-260, An Act to amend the Canada Pension Plan. This is a bill on which Mr. Kempling, from the other place, is the sponsor. I will ask Mr. Kempling if he will explain his bill, and then we will have questions.

Mr. Bill Kempling, MP: Thank you very much, Madam Chairman. Perhaps I could start by explaining how I became involved in this. I never thought that I would be presenting a private members bill that would get this far into the Senate, but I had a number of letters from constituents who had gone through a marriage separation and divorce, and I was struck by the number who seemed to be shuffled out of their share of the Canada Pension Plan benefits. I was not aware of the famous *Preece* case, which everyone else seems to know about, but I became interested and found some amazing cases. Each of the cases I had to deal with was a human tragedy, and that

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du tout été utile pour la Saskatchewan, et c'est cela qui nous préoccupe avec cet institut d'Edmonton. S'il doit y avoir un institut—et nous appuyons ce projet avec un optimisme prudent—, alors, cet institut devra dispenser un service. Comment nous assurer que nous aurons ce service?

Le sénateur Thériault: Vous craignez que le service soit centré sur le Québec et l'Ontario.

Le président: Je regrette, nous allons manquer de temps. Le sénateur Bosa aimerait poser une question si vous avez terminé.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je suis satisfaite.

Le sénateur Bosa: Madame le président, je n'ai qu'une courte question. En lisant la conclusion de votre mémoire, il me semble que vous y dites, d'une façon diplomatique, que nous devrions mettre ce projet de loi et cet institut sur la touche pour le moment et accorder la priorité à d'autres questions. Essentiellement, c'est ce que vous dites, n'est-ce pas?

M. Akhtal: Nous ne disons pas qu'on devrait les mettre sur la touche. Nous demandons simplement—

Le sénateur Bosa: Les mettre de côté?

M. Akhtal: ... qu'on aborde le tout à un rythme soigneusement calculé. Si ce merveilleux institut n'est pas établi d'une manière précipitée, je crois que ce pourrait être une très bonne et très utile initiative. Premièrement, ne supprimez pas le soutien des organismes communautaires, lesquels vont, en fait, alimenter le système que vous cherchez à mettre sur pied. Ensuite, assurez-vous qu'il n'y ait pas de doublages dans les objectifs de l'institut ou avec ce qui se fait déjà dans les provinces. Nous faisons donc plusieurs mises en garde, qui sont comme des détours et des panneaux routiers.

Le président: Merci beaucoup d'être venus ce matin et d'avoir soulevé ces questions.

Mesdames et messieurs les sénateurs, nous passons maintenant à notre troisième projet de loi de ce matin, le projet de loi C-260. Notre témoin sera M. Kempling. Mais avant de commencer, nous allons faire une très courte pause.

(La séance est interrompue.)

Reprise de la séance.

Le président: Veuillez faire silence. Honorables sénateurs, comme vous le savez, nous sommes saisis du projet de loi C-260, Loi modifiant le Régime de pensions du Canada. Il s'agit d'un projet de loi dont M. Kempling, de l'autre endroit, est le parrain. Je demande à M. Kempling d'expliquer son projet de loi, après quoi nous aurons quelques questions.

M. Bill Kempling, député: Merci beaucoup, madame le président. Peut-être pourrais-je commencer en expliquant comment je me suis trouvé associé à cette affaire. Je n'avais jamais pensé que je présenterais un jour un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire qui irait si loin au Sénat, mais j'ai reçu plusieurs lettres de mes commettants qui avaient eu à passer par une séparation ou un divorce et j'ai été frappé par le nombre des personnes qui semblaient s'être fait souffler leur part des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada. Je ne savais rien de la célèbre affaire *Preece* que tout le monde semble connaître, mais j'ai fini par m'y intéresser et j'ai fait des constatations

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is what kept me going to try to do something about the situation.

I went to the staff of the Minister of Health and Welfare, and they explained the difficulties and what had happened as a result of the *Preece* case. They helped me draft the bill and we have gone on from there. If I may give you a little history, I believe Monique Begin was the Minister of Health and Welfare at the time we passed amendments to the Canada Pension Plan, providing for credit splitting of Canada Pension. At that time, she asked us to contact all of the lawyers in our constituencies, and she gave us a notice she had prepared saying that the splitting of the Canada Pension Plan was automatic and that you did not have to worry about it, because it could not be part of an agreement that was made between a husband and a wife. So it was left at that and I sent the notices out to all of the lawyers in my area. I suppose everyone else did the same thing. Things went along quite well until about 1982, at which time the credit splitting was challenged before the Pension Review Board. In looking into this, I was amazed that the Pension Review Board could turn back a statute and then say that its decision was not appealable. It absolutely staggered me that we have a process like that in place.

So, after the 1984 election, around 1986, we again passed this section dealing with credit splitting. In the meantime, in that hiatus between when the *Preece* decision came down and we passed our new statute, a great number of women were just shuffled out of their Canada Pension Plan, and there was no administrative way by which they could be brought back in to enable them to collect payments. When I was looking into this, I found some cases of extreme poverty. If I may, I should like to cite an example. While I do not really take sides on this, my example would be a man retired with a \$75,000 per year pension and his Old Age Pension and his Canada Pension, who sloughs off his wife and marries a younger woman and is now living on a yacht down in Tahiti. That seemed rather unfair. His wife was living below the poverty line on \$1,000 a month. There are numerous other cases.

Some of the issues on the legal side bothered me because there were lawyers making deals that shuffled the woman out of her share of the Canada Pension Plan. As I said before, that drove me on to get this bill in place. We drafted the bill, as I say, with the help of the department. The minister agreed not to oppose the bill in any way. In fact, the department is quite happy that we have got this far with it.

I understand some of you are interested in why this is not a government bill, why it is a private member's bill. Normally, these things are handled as part of an omnibus bill. I am sure that senators have been familiar with omnibus bills over the years. My argument was that I did not know whether we were going to have an omnibus bill and I did not think we could wait

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stupéfiantes. Chacun des cas dont j'ai eu à m'occuper était une tragédie et cela m'a poussé à poursuivre pour essayer de faire quelque chose.

Je me suis adressé au ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social, où l'on m'a expliqué les difficultés en cause et ce qui était arrivé à la suite de l'affaire *Preece*. Le ministère m'a aidé à rédiger le projet de loi et depuis lors, les choses suivent leur cours. Permettez-moi un bref historique. Monique Bégin était, je crois, ministre de la santé nationale et du Bien-être social quand nous avons modifié le Régime de pensions du Canada. Ces modifications prévoyaient un partage des crédits. À cette époque, le ministre nous avait demandé de communiquer avec tous les avocats de nos circonscriptions respectives et nous avait fait savoir par un avis que le partage des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada était automatique et qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de s'en inquiéter parce qu'il ne pouvait entrer dans un accord conclu entre conjoints. Cette question fut donc exclue et j'envoyai l'avis à tous les avocats de ma région. Je suppose que chacun a fait la même chose. Les choses allèrent assez bien jusque vers 1982, alors que le partage du crédit fut contesté devant la Commission d'examen des pensions. En examinant la situation, j'ai été stupéfait de constater que la Commission d'examen des pensions pouvait faire reculer une loi, puis dire qu'on ne pouvait pas en appeler de sa décision. Je fut absolument atterré de voir qu'un tel processus pouvait exister.

Donc après les élections de 1984, c'est-à-dire vers 1986, nous avons de nouveau adopté une disposition portant sur le partage des crédits. Dans l'intervalle entre le jugement rendu dans l'affaire *Preece* et l'adoption de notre nouvelle loi, un grand nombre de femmes se sont fait tout simplement souffler leurs prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada et il n'y avait pas de dispositif administratif qui aurait pu être remis en place et leur permettre de toucher leurs versements. En examinant la situation, j'ai constaté des cas de pauvreté extrême. Si vous me le permettez, j'aimerais vous citer rien qu'un exemple, sans prendre parti dans l'affaire. Il s'agissait d'un homme qui avait pris sa retraite avec une pension de 75 000 \$, en plus de sa pension de vieillesse et de ses prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada. Cet homme s'était débarrassé de sa femme, en avait épousé une plus jeune et vivait sur un yacht à Tahiti. La situation paraissait fort injuste. Sa première femme vivait sous le seuil de la pauvreté avec 1 000 \$ par mois. Il y a bien des cas de ce genre.

Il y avait des éléments juridiques qui m'embêtaient parce que certains avocats établissaient des accords aux termes desquels la femme perdait sa part des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada. Comme je l'ai dit, c'est cela qui m'a poussé à élaborer ce projet de loi. Nous l'avons rédigé, je le répète, avec l'aide du ministère. Le ministre a accepté de ne pas s'y opposer de quelque manière que ce soit. En fait, le ministère est fort heureux que nous ayons mené ce projet de loi si loin.

Si je comprends bien, certains d'entre vous aimeraient savoir pourquoi ce projet de loi n'émane pas du gouvernement, pourquoi c'est un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire. Normalement, les questions de ce genre sont traitées par un projet de loi omnibus. Je suis sûr que les sénateurs connaissent bien les projets de loi omnibus des années passées. Mon raisonnement

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because we would just cause these women to have more difficulty until we got around to drafting an omnibus bill. So I suggested that we draft this bill and get it in place, and then, if an omnibus bill were to come along, and if this were to be rolled into it, I would withdraw this bill, but at least we would be getting some action on it. That is the way we proceeded.

I am sure honourable senators know the torturous process we go through with private members' business. After the bill was drawn, I then went to all members in the house. I wrote them an individual letter explaining the purpose of the bill, and I got very good support all the way from all parties. We went through second reading with three or four speeches and then went to committee stage, where we had two meetings. It passed there and then went back into the house for report stage and third reading, and it had such unanimous support in the house on all sides that we passed it in, I think, three minutes, through report stage and third reading by unanimous consent. We have been supported by LEAF, by the National Council on Welfare, and by numerous others. Minister Collins, who speaks for the status of women, has supported us. We are happy that the bill is here before the Senate and we hope that you will see fit to pass it and see that it gets Royal Assent.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Kempling. Senator Gigantès?

Senator Gigantès: I apologize for having to leave to go to another committee, but I should like to say first that I am grateful to you for coming here. I would like to ask you a question based on a real case. Let us suppose there is a separation agreement approved by a court which gives the divorced wife half of the former husband's income after taxes but that, as part of the calculation, she does not get half of his Canada Pension Plan; instead, she gets less than half. Would this bill change that arrangement or make it possible to change that arrangement?

Mr. Kempling: It may. It would depend on dates and other things. You realize we are dealing in common law here, which is under provincial jurisdiction. Each province has its own particular rulings. Saskatchewan and Ontario have had challenges to credit splitting, and both cases are under appeal right now. The opinion we have is that they will fall on appeal.

I cannot be specific, senator, as to whether, in that individual case, it would or would not have the effect you suggest. It just depends on the date and the nature of the agreement. If it fell within a certain period of time, when they were both working, the way it would work out is that they would add the pension and split it down the middle, but if the husband is the only one working, then the wife should be entitled to 50 per cent of the Canada Pension during the period they lived together.

[Traduction]

était que, comme on ne savait pas s'il y aurait un projet de loi omnibus, nous ne pouvions pas attendre parce que nous aggraverions les difficultés de ces femmes jusqu'à la venue d'un tel projet de loi. J'ai donc suggéré qu'on élabore le présent projet de loi et qu'il soit présenté, et que si un projet de loi omnibus était déposé et que la teneur de mon projet de loi y était intégrée, je le retirerais. Mais au moins, son contenu avancerait. C'est ainsi que nous avons procédé.

Je suis sûr que les honorables sénateurs connaissent le processus torturant qu'il faut traverser dans le cas d'une mesure d'initiative parlementaire. Une fois le projet de loi rédigé, il a été distribué à tous les membres de la Chambre des communes. J'ai écrit à chacun une lettre expliquant son but et j'ai obtenu un très bon appui de tous les intéressés. Nous avons franchi l'étape de la deuxième lecture avec trois ou quatre discours, puis nous avons comparu devant le comité, où le projet de loi a fait l'objet de deux séances. Le comité l'a approuvé, puis il est revenu à la chambre pour l'étape du rapport et la troisième lecture. Il a reçu et obtenu l'appui unanime des deux côtés de la Chambre, si bien qu'il a été adopté en trois minutes, je crois, à l'étape du rapport et de la troisième lecture. Nous avons eu l'appui de la LEAF, du Conseil national du Bien-être et d'autres. Le ministre, responsable de la condition féminine, M^{me} Collins, nous a donné son appui. Nous sommes heureux que le projet de loi soit rendu ici, au Sénat et nous espérons que vous jugerez bon de l'adopter et qu'il obtiendra la sanction royale.

Le président: Merci, monsieur Kempling. Monsieur le sénateur Gigantès?

Le sénateur Gigantès: Veuillez m'excuser si je dois partir pour assister à une autre séance de comité. J'aimerais d'abord vous remercier d'être venu ici. J'ai une question à vous poser sur un cas réel. Supposons qu'un accord de séparation approuvé par un tribunal donne à l'épouse divorcée la moitié du revenu de l'ex-mari après impôts, mais que, dans le cadre du calcul, elle obtienne non pas la moitié des prestations versées au mari par le Régime de pensions du Canada, mais moins de la moitié. Ce projet de loi changerait-il cet arrangement ou permettrait-il de le changer?

M. Kempling: Il le pourrait. Tout dépendrait des dates et d'autres éléments de l'affaire. Vous vous rendez compte qu'il s'agit ici de *Common Law*, laquelle relève des provinces. Chaque province a ses propres règles. Le partage du crédit a fait l'objet de contestations judiciaires en Saskatchewan et en Ontario et ces deux affaires font actuellement l'objet d'un appel. Nous sommes d'avis que les plaignants seront déboutés en appel.

Je ne peux pas dire avec précision, monsieur le sénateur, si, dans ce cas particulier, le projet de loi aurait ou n'aurait pas l'effet que vous dites. Tout dépend de la date et de la nature de l'accord. S'il porte sur une période de temps où les deux conjoints travaillent, on ajouterait la pension, puis on la partagerait en deux parties égales, mais si le mari est le seul à travailler, alors la femme devrait avoir droit à 50 p. 100 des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada pour la période où ils vivaient ensemble.

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Senator Spivak: My question is related to ministerial discretion. The minister has the discretion to determine in what cases remedial action will be taken. What criteria will be used by the minister to satisfy this power? He also has the legislative authority to decide upon the appropriate remedial action. What will be the standards he will employ to make this determination? What will guide ministerial discretion?

Mr. Kempling: You realize that the bureaucracy hates ministerial discretion.

Senator Spivak: Doesn't everybody?

Mr. Kempling: Generally speaking, that was put in there because so many of these cases have little twists to them. There is not a common body throughout. Let me give an example. A divorce agreement was consummated and signed through the court wherein a man agreed to pay the woman a certain amount of money each month, so long as he remained on the payroll of the company of which he was president. After that agreement was made and consummated, he arranged to sell the control of the company to a fellow shareholder. Then, instead of taking wages, he took dividends in lieu of wages and, therefore, he was not on the payroll and his wife received nothing. It would shock you to discover the various arrangements that have been made.

Senator Spivak: Perhaps there could be a clause in the legislation whereby the minister was asked to evaluate the implementation and bring that back before Parliament.

Mr. Kempling: That, in fact, is what is done by his staff. A case such as the one that is cited is brought forward and they evaluate it and make a recommendation to the minister. Through this, he has the authority to act on it. Prior to this, he had no authority to act.

Senator Spivak: Without such a clause in the bill there is nothing that requires him to prepare a report. Are there other ways that Parliament can ask the minister or request the minister to report back to Parliament? Many pieces of legislation state that the minister must make a report.

Mr. Kempling: I am not sure, but I would imagine that could be done. I do not see any difficulty as to why it cannot be done. We could have it submitted in the form of an annual report or something of that nature.

Senator Spivak: I wish to congratulate you on your effort here.

Mr. Kempling: Thank you very much, I appreciate that.

Senator Bosa: In a case where there is a divorce, why cannot a woman barter her rights to the Canada Pension Plan in lieu of receiving some other assets and use it as a bargaining tool to get something else?

Mr. Kempling: There are two cases such as the one you describe. One is before the province of Ontario and one is in Saskatchewan. There has been a good deal of discussion between the provinces and the minister regarding the whole

[Traduction]

Le sénateur Spivak: Ma question concerne le pouvoir discrétionnaire du ministre. Le ministre peut décider dans quels cas une mesure corrective peut être prise. Quels critères le ministre appliquera-t-il pour exercer ce pouvoir? Il a également le pouvoir de déterminer quelle sera la mesure corrective appropriée. Quelles normes appliquera-t-il pour prendre cette décision? Sur quoi se guidera le ministre pour exercer ce pouvoir discrétionnaire?

M. Kempling: Vous savez bien que les administrations gouvernementales détestent les articles qui accordent un pouvoir discrétionnaire à un ministre.

Le sénateur Spivak: N'est-ce pas le cas de tout le monde?

M. Kempling: Généralement parlant, cette disposition a été mise parce qu'un grand nombre de ces cas sont tortueux. Ils ne sont pas tous semblables. Permettez-moi un exemple. Il s'agit d'un accord de divorce qui a été entériné par un tribunal et dûment signé. Le mari avait accepté de payer à la femme une certaine somme d'argent chaque mois, tant qu'il serait sur la feuille de paie de la compagnie dont il était le président. Une fois l'accord signé, il s'est organisé pour vendre le contrôle de la compagnie à un actionnaire. Ensuite, au lieu de toucher un salaire, il a commencé à toucher des dividendes tenant lieu de salaire. De ce fait, il n'emargeait plus à la feuille de paie et sa femme ne reçut rien. Vous seriez indignés de voir les diverses sortes d'arrangements qu'on fait.

Le sénateur Spivak: Peut-être que le projet de loi pourrait comprendre une disposition portant que le ministre devra évaluer l'application de cette loi et en faire rapport au Parlement.

M. Kempling: C'est effectivement ce que font ses fonctionnaires. Un cas comme celui que j'ai cité leur est présenté, ils l'évaluent et font une recommandation au ministre. Grâce à ce processus, il a le pouvoir d'agir. Auparavant, il n'était pas habilité à intervenir.

Le sénateur Spivak: Sans pareille disposition, rien ne l'obligerait à soumettre un rapport. Y a-t-il d'autres moyens par lesquels le Parlement pourrait demander au ministre de faire rapport au Parlement? Bien des lois prévoient qu'un ministre doit faire rapport.

M. Kempling: Je n'en suis pas sûr, mais je suppose qu'on pourrait le faire. Je ne vois pas pourquoi on ne le pourrait pas. Cela pourrait prendre la forme d'un rapport annuel ou quelque chose de ce genre.

Le sénateur Spivak: Je tiens à vous féliciter pour vos efforts.

M. Kempling: Merci beaucoup. Je vous en suis reconnaissant.

Le sénateur Bosa: Dans le cas d'un divorce, pourquoi une femme ne peut-elle pas troquer ses droits aux prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada contre certains biens ou les utiliser comme instrument de négociation pour obtenir autre chose?

M. Kempling: Il y a deux affaires de ce genre devant les tribunaux, l'une en Ontario, l'autre en Saskatchewan. Il y a eu bien des discussions entre les provinces et le ministre sur toute la question de l'uniformisation à travers le pays. Nous avons

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matter of trying to get uniformity across the country. While we have understandings with other provinces, this is common law and some provinces do not want us involved in their common law process. I said that I thought both of the cases that have been challenged in the court were under appeal and they would probably fall as a result of the appeal. The appeal would be upheld, in other words.

At the outset, when Madame Bégin put it in place, the intent of this bill was that the work of the woman in the home be recognized as her contribution to Canada Pension. Up to that point the man could walk away and she would get nothing. That was the principle and the House unanimously agreed to support it. We thought it was a great piece of legislation, and we advertised it to all the lawyers. The original statute, and the information put out by the Department of Health and Welfare, notified people that everything else could be split off, but Canada Pension Plan could not be split off. What we found happening was that separation agreements and the division of assets being drawn up in agreements by lawyers would use the term "pensions." The women understood it to be the Old Age Pension and perhaps a company pension plan or a veterans' pension plan. That is what women thought it meant in the way of pensions. However, the court held that pensions are pensions and Canada Pension Plan was encompassed. So where she agreed and thought that she was going to get her share of the Canada Pension Plan, she ended up getting nothing.

Each case is individual and complicated. The only theme is that they are not receiving their share of the Canada Pension Plan as was intended by the legislation of the previous government and by our reinstatement of that legislation in 1986.

Senator Bosa: You stated that there are a couple of cases before the courts in the province of Ontario.

Mr. Kempling: One case.

Senator Bosa: Are you familiar with the case?

Mr. Kempling: I have it here, but I am not a lawyer.

Senator Bosa: Some of us are not lawyers, but we will just provide common sense in these conversations.

Mr. Kempling: In the case of *Albrecht v. Albrecht* the wife claimed a division of her husband's Canada Pension. The court stated that pursuant to amendments to the CPP in 1986 the law no longer recognizes the release of benefits in a separation agreement in Ontario. In this case the court allowed the Canada Pension Plan share to be paid to the woman, but then instructed the woman under a court order to hold the money in trust and pay it back to her husband. That was rather strange.

It also goes on to state that many solicitors told clients that they could not contract out of a CPP split and agreed to split. Others left the agreement silent on the point. Therefore, we have uniform instructions going to people involved in this.

[Traduction]

des ententes avec certaines provinces, mais il s'agit ici de *Common Law* et certaines provinces ne veulent pas que nous nous mêlions de *Common Law*. J'ai dit que deux affaires ayant été contestées devant les tribunaux faisaient l'objet d'un appel. Les plaignants seront probablement déboutés en appel. Autrement dit, l'appel sera maintenu.

Au départ, quand madame Bégin a mis l'affaire en marche, son objectif était de faire reconnaître le travail de la femme au foyer comme étant sa contribution au Régime de pensions du Canada. Jusque là, si le mari partait, elle n'obtenait rien. Tel fut le principe proposé et la Chambre l'a appuyé à l'unanimité. Nous pensions que c'était une loi magnifique et nous l'avons fait connaître à tous les avocats. La loi initiale ainsi que les renseignements publiés par le ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social disaient que tout pouvait être partagé, mais pas les prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada. Or, nous avons constaté que les accords de séparation et de répartition des biens élaborés par les avocats employaient le terme «pension». Les femmes croyaient qu'il s'agissait de la pension de vieillesse et peut-être de prestations versées par un régime de pension de la compagnie ou un régime de pension d'anciens combattants. C'était ce qu'elles croyaient, mais un tribunal a statué que le terme comprenait également les prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada. Donc une femme qui croyait qu'elle allait toucher sa part des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada se retrouvait avec rien.

Chaque cas est particulier et compliqué. Le seul thème commun est qu'elles ne touchent pas leurs parts des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada, comme le prévoyait la loi du gouvernement précédent et notre rétablissement de cette loi en 1986.

Le sénateur Bosa: Vous avez dit que des tribunaux de la province d'Ontario sont saisis de quelques-uns de ces cas.

M. Kempling: Un cas.

Le sénateur Bosa: Le connaissez-vous bien?

M. Kempling: Je l'ai devant moi, mais je ne suis pas avocat.

Le sénateur Bosa: Certains d'entre nous ne sont pas avocats, mais nous allons simplement mettre du bon sens dans ces conversations.

M. Kempling: Dans l'affaire *Albrecht c. Albrecht*, la femme réclamait une part des prestations versées à son mari par le Régime de pensions du Canada. Le tribunal a statué que conformément aux modifications apportées au RPC en 1986, la loi ne reconnaissait plus la libération des prestations dans un accord de séparation conclu en Ontario. Dans l'affaire dont il s'agissait, le tribunal a permis que la part des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada soit payée à la femme, mais il a ensuite ordonné à la femme de garder l'argent en fiducie et de la rendre à son mari. Plutôt curieux!

Bien des avocats, poursuit le document, disent à leurs clients qu'ils ne peuvent pas renoncer par contrat au partage des prestations du RPC et leurs clients consentent au partage. D'autres laissent l'accord muet sur ce point. Nous envoyons donc des instructions uniformes aux gens qui ont affaire à ce genre de situation.

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They also raised the possibility of a number of negligence suits against solicitors who did not try to protect their clients CPP benefits; so there is another complication there.

Senator Bosa: In other words, the intent of this legislation is to prevent a spouse, in this case a wife, from contracting out the share of the Canada Pension Plan to which she would be entitled?

Mr. Kempling: The 1986 amendment, at least the legislation that we put back in, does that. This allows us to pick up those people between—

Senator Bosa: Between 1983 and 1986?

Mr. Kempling: That is right, that is what it does. I do not know how many we are going to get.

Senator Bosa: Can you legislate retroactively?

Mr. Kempling: That is another reason why there is ministerial discretion in there. In some instances we can legislate retroactively, but ministerial discretion is there for that purpose.

Senator Bosa: The ministerial discretion is for the purpose of allowing the minister to review the case to see whether the contractual agreement to give the portion of the Canada Pension Plan entitlement was fair?

Mr. Kempling: Yes.

Senator Bosa: If not, the minister would have the authority to reverse the contractual agreement?

Mr. Kempling: Yes.

Senator Atkins: At the time of most separation agreements the spirit is intended to be fair, but one does hear of a number of cases where one party is defaulting down the road. The bottom line in this bill, is it not, is to give a guarantee that those people who had separation agreements between 1983 and 1986 are guaranteed to receive that income?

Mr. Kempling: That is right.

Senator Atkins: Under the human rights legislation there is a clause entitled "reasonable consideration." In this case, when talking about the minister, it is one opportunity for appeal that might not otherwise be available.

Mr. Kempling: The most difficult part of going through the numerous cases that I read was trying to be impartial. You can read of one person being sat upon and you say that that is not just, right, proper and should not happen, but then realize you may only be reading one side of the story. The cases have to be gone through with a good deal of balance and that is why the bill was drafted the way it is.

Senator Atkins: If there were any amendments to this, we would lose the bill, wouldn't we, since it is a Private Member's Bill?

Mr. Kempling: Yes. I do not know whether the Senate has any influence on its Private Member's Bills, but the Senate

[Traduction]

Le texte soulevait également la possibilité de poursuites en négligence contre des avocats qui n'ont pas essayé de protéger les prestations du RPC de leurs clients. Il y a donc là une autre complication.

Le sénateur Bosa: Autrement dit, le but de cette loi est d'empêcher un conjoint, dans ce cas-ci l'épouse, de céder par contrat la part des prestations du Régime de pensions du Canada à laquelle il ou elle aurait droit?

M. Kempling: La modification de 1986, ou du moins la loi que nous avons réintroduite, a cet effet. Cela nous permet d'atteindre ces gens qui, entre—

Le sénateur Bosa: Entre 1983 et 1986?

M. Kempling: C'est exact. C'est ce qu'elle fait. J'ignore combien de personnes nous allons atteindre.

Le sénateur Bosa: Peut-on légiférer rétroactivement?

M. Kempling: Voilà une autre raison pour laquelle le projet de loi confère au ministre un pouvoir discrétionnaire. On peut en certains cas légiférer rétroactivement, mais le pouvoir discrétionnaire du ministre est là pour cela.

Le sénateur Bosa: Le pouvoir discrétionnaire du ministre a pour but de lui permettre de voir si un accord portant cession d'une part de prestations du CPP était juste?

M. Kempling: Oui.

Le sénateur Bosa: Dans la négative, le ministre est habilité à annuler l'accord?

M. Kempling: Oui.

Le sénateur Atkins: Au moment où sont élaborés la plupart des accords de séparation, l'esprit qui y préside se veut juste, mais on entend souvent parler de cas où l'une des parties manque par la suite à ses engagements. Ce qui compte dans ce projet de loi, n'est-ce pas, c'est d'assurer aux gens qui ont conclu un accord de séparation entre 1983 et 1986 qu'ils pourront toucher ce revenu?

M. Kempling: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Atkins: Dans la Loi sur les droits de la personne, il y a une disposition intitulée «Contrepartie raisonnable». Dans le cas qui nous concerne, quand on parle du ministre, il s'agit d'une possibilité d'appel qui autrement n'existerait pas.

M. Kempling: En parcourant les comptes rendus des nombreux cas que j'ai lus, le plus difficile fut d'essayer d'être impartial. On peut lire qu'une personne s'est fait écraser et se dire que ce n'est pas juste, ni correct, ni convenable et que cela ne devrait pas arriver, mais ensuite on se dit que ce n'est peut-être qu'un côté de l'histoire. Il faut lire chaque cas avec une bonne dose d'équilibre et c'est pourquoi le projet de loi a été rédigé ainsi.

Le sénateur Atkins: Si l'on modifiait le projet de loi, il disparaîtrait, n'est-ce pas, vu que c'est un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire?

M. Kempling: Oui. Je ne sais pas si le Sénat a une influence sur ses projets de loi d'initiative parlementaire, mais le Sénat

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and the House should get together because it is a tortuous process.

The Chairman: Hear, hear!

Mr. Kempling: From the time a clause is picked up and drafted and put through it is a tortuous process.

The Chairman: If I understand the feelings of the committee correctly, we are all enthusiastic in support of the bill. However, this is not the end of the line, because there are people who, for various reasons such as timing, and the point at which they lost the right and so on, will not come forward. Could you say a word to us about whether you intend to keep a watching brief on this for further amendment?

Mr. Kempling: I am going to watch it very closely. I have a good working arrangement with the minister and the people within the department. In fact, they are very enthusiastic in the department that we have gone this far. As we go down the road, we will find some other anomalies and we will pursue those and go through the same process, either as a Private Member's Bill or an omnibus bill. I think we have to keep on this, because the economic inequality between men and women is pretty severe.

The Chairman: It is indeed.

Senator Robertson: I wish to congratulate you for your initiative and thank you for bringing this bill forward. I intend to support it.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I am in full agreement with the purpose of the bill. I am asking you to enlighten my ignorance more than anything else. I am a little surprised to see that the only way we can find to exercise fairness to a woman, or any partner who might be penalized by this gap in the law between 1983 and 1986, is to ask the minister in some way to act as a judge. It seems to me to be a precedent. The minister will decide whether a woman is entitled or not entitled, if there was a fair settlement or not a fair settlement. It seems to me that this is not the job of a minister. There should be other means in our system to provide justice. I am sure you have reflected on those points, and that is why I am asking those questions.

Mr. Kempling: I have. I must tell you that there are some people within the department who feel the same way you do and that ministerial discretion should not be in this particular case. The minister is aware of this. However, we did not know of any other way to handle it without getting into a very technical bill that cited various cases where the minister could or could not do certain things. I suspect what you will find is that the minister will set up an internal committee and many of the cases will be handled there. Once the people are looked after, it will not happen again. Once we have adjudicated the number of cases, I don't think it will be a repeat performance. However, your point is well taken.

[Traduction]

et la Chambre devraient agir de concert, car il s'agit d'un processus tortueux.

Le président: Bravo!

M. Kempling: Entre le moment où une disposition législative est retenue et rédigée et celui où elle est adoptée, le processus est tortueux.

Le président: Si je comprends bien les sentiments du Comité, nous appuyons tous le projet de loi avec enthousiasme. Toutefois, ce n'est pas le bout du chemin, car il y a des gens qui, pour diverses raisons, par exemple vu le moment où l'accord a été conclu, ou le point où ils ont perdu leurs droits, et ainsi de suite, ne viendront pas se présenter. Pourriez-vous nous dire si vous entendez surveiller la situation de près au cas où d'autres modifications seraient nécessaires?

M. Kempling: Je vais la surveiller de très près. J'ai de bons rapports de travail avec le ministre et le personnel de son ministère. En fait, au ministère, on est très enthousiaste de ce que nous soyons arrivés si loin. En poursuivant notre route, nous trouverons d'autres anomalies et nous nous y attaquerons. Nous suivrons alors le même processus, soit avec un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire, soit avec un projet de loi omnibus. Je crois que nous devons poursuivre dans cette voie, parce que l'inégalité économique entre les hommes et les femmes est fort sévère.

Le président: Oui, en effet.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je tiens à vous féliciter de votre initiative et je vous remercie d'avoir présenté ce projet de loi. J'ai l'intention de l'appuyer.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je suis entièrement d'accord avec le but du projet de loi. Je vous pose la question suivante d'abord et avant tout pour que vous éclairiez mon ignorance. Je suis un peu surprise de voir que la seule façon que nous ayons pu trouver pour traiter équitablement une femme, ou tout partenaire qui pourrait être pénalisé par cette lacune de la loi pour la période de 1983 à 1986, soit de demander au ministre d'agir en quelque sorte comme un juge. Il me semble que c'est un précédent. Le ministre décidera si une femme a droit à la chose ou pas, si l'accord était équitable ou pas. Il me semble que ce n'est pas le travail d'un ministre. Il devrait y avoir d'autres moyens, dans notre système, de donner justice. Je suis sûre que vous avez réfléchi à cela et c'est pourquoi je vous pose ces questions.

M. Kempling: J'y ai réfléchi. Je dois vous dire qu'il y a des gens au ministère qui pensent comme vous et que le pouvoir discrétionnaire du ministre ne devrait pas porter sur ce cas. Le ministre en est conscient. Toutefois, nous ne connaissons aucun autre moyen de traiter la chose sans nous aventurer dans un projet de loi très technique qui eut énuméré divers cas où le ministre pourrait ou ne pourrait pas faire telle ou telle chose. Je crois que ce qui se produira, c'est que le ministre mettra sur pied un comité interne et qu'une grande partie des cas seront traités à ce niveau. Une fois que les cas auront été examinés, la chose ne se reproduira plus. Une fois qu'on aura statué sur ces affaires, je ne crois pas qu'il y aura un rappel. Mais ce que vous dites est très juste.

[Text]

Senator Lavoie-Roux: Could there not have been a disposition such as those people who, between 1983 and 1986 had not availed themselves of the provisions of the 1986 bill, would perhaps have six months or a year to make their case, and stop it there? I do not think we should fall into this habit.

Senator Robertson: It is not an unusual procedure. Some provinces do that with warrant cases and the minister sets up committees.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: We were very reluctant to do that type of thing. It is possible that it is done in some provinces, and I do not argue with that. However, I am not sure this is the most appropriate measure to correct the situation, but I am sure you have looked at it.

Mr. Kempling: Yes.

Senator Lavoie-Roux: I must say that I am a little surprised.

Senator Thériault: I am sure that all legislators would agree with you, or anyone who has served in a ministerial capacity would agree with you in principle; but there are exceptions to all rules. I do not like precedents that authorize ministers to do certain things, but this must be the exception. As Mr. Kempling has stated, the possibilities have been looked at and probably it will elapse in a fairly short period of time, or some way will be found to amend the legislation. It is being done because it is felt that it should be done immediately and there are some pressing cases. I commend you for it. Do you have any idea of the numbers that may be dealt with?

Mr. Kempling: We do not. We know that between 1983 and 1986 there were 24,000 divorces, not counting Quebec. We do not know how many of those we will have to deal with. Some of them have abided by the legislation as it was, and some of them have challenged it; so we do not know.

On the point that you raised, Senator Lavoie-Roux, I had the Library of Parliament do a study of that particular portion of it. The young lady who did the study was a lawyer. She came back with a whole series of exceptions that it would be almost impossible to draft into a statute. That was another reason we went to the ministerial discretion, until we find some other way to do it. In the meantime, we will at least look after quite a few people.

The Chairman: The formal estimates are that there are approximately 800 potential beneficiaries.

Mr. Kempling: That is on the low side. The National Welfare Council has a larger number than that.

The Chairman: Perhaps I could state that the Senate had always been on the avant garde of divorce reform, and we will be very interested in what happens as a result of this. Taking up the point that Senator Lavoie-Roux raised about better methods of doing this, we will be looking for legislation that resolves future problems in a way that does not rely on the necessity of ministerial discretion.

[Traduction]

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Ne pourrait-il pas y avoir une disposition prévoyant, par exemple, que les personnes qui, de 1983 à 1986, n'ont pas eu recours à la loi de 1986 ont, mettons six mois ou un an pour présenter leur cas, et s'en tenir à cela? Je ne crois pas que nous devrions prendre cette habitude.

Le sénateur Robertson: Ce n'est pas une procédure exceptionnelle. Certaines provinces le font avec des cas ouverts par voie de mandat et le ministre établit alors un comité.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Nous avons été très hésitants à faire ce genre de chose. Il est possible que cela se fasse dans certaines provinces et je n'en discute pas. Toutefois, je ne suis pas sûre que ce soit la mesure la plus appropriée pour corriger la situation, mais je suis sûre que vous avez examiné la chose.

M. Kempling: Oui.

Le sénateur Lavoie-Roux: Je dois dire que j'en suis un peu surprise.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je suis sûr que tous les législateurs seraient d'accord avec vous, que quiconque a occupé la fonction de ministre serait d'accord avec vous en principe, mais toute règle a des exceptions. Je n'aime pas les précédents qui autorisent les ministres à faire certaines choses, mais ce doit être ici une exception. Comme M. Kempling l'a dit, toutes les possibilités ont été examinées et il est probable que la chose deviendra caduque dans assez peu de temps, ou bien on trouvera un moyen de modifier la loi. On agit ainsi parce qu'on estime qu'il faut agir immédiatement et qu'il y a des cas pressants. Je vous félicite. Avez-vous une idée du nombre de cas dont il pourrait s'agir?

M. Kempling: Non. Nous savons qu'entre 1983 et 1986, il y a eu 24 000 divorces, sans compter ceux du Québec. Nous ne savons pas de combien d'entre eux nous devons nous occuper. Certaines des parties s'en sont tenues à la loi telle quelle, d'autres l'ont contestée. Donc nous ne savons pas.

En ce qui concerne le point que vous avez soulevé, madame le sénateur Lavoie-Roux, j'ai demandé à la bibliothèque du Parlement de faire une étude sur cet aspect. La jeune dame qui a fait l'étude était avocate. Elle a sorti toute une série d'exceptions qu'il serait presque impossible d'intégrer à une loi. C'est là une autre raison pour laquelle nous avons opté pour le pouvoir discrétionnaire du ministre, jusqu'à ce que nous trouvions une autre façon de faire. Au moins, dans l'intervalle, nous aurons pu nous occuper de pas mal de gens.

Le président: D'après les estimations officielles, il y a environ 800 bénéficiaires possibles.

M. Kempling: C'est une estimation minimale. Le Conseil national du Bien-être a un chiffre plus considérable.

Le président: Peut-être pourrais-je dire que le Sénat a toujours été à l'avant-garde en matière de réforme du divorce et nous suivrons avec beaucoup d'intérêt l'application de cette mesure. Pour reprendre le point soulevé par le sénateur Lavoie-Roux concernant de meilleures méthodes, nous allons chercher une mesure législative qui règle les problèmes futurs sans qu'il soit nécessaire de conférer au ministre un pouvoir discrétionnaire.

[Text]

I would like to thank you very much indeed for coming this morning. The committee will now go *in camera* for our decisions on the Heritage Languages Act, the Race Relations Foundation and, if the committee will agree, on Bill C-260.

The committee continued *in camera*.

[Traduction]

Je tiens à vous remercier beaucoup d'être venu ici ce matin. Le Comité va maintenant poursuivre à huis clos pour statuer sur la Loi constituant l'Institut canadien des langues patrimoniales, la Loi concernant la Fondation canadienne des relations raciales et aussi, si le Comité est d'accord, le projet de loi C-260.

Le Comité poursuit à huis clos.



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WITNESSES—TÉMOINS

From the Ukrainian Canadian Congress:

Mr. Orest H. T. Rudzik, Vice-President of the Congress' Commission on Civil Liberties;
Mr. L. Luciuk, Member;
Mr. A. Hluchoweczy, Director of Information (Ottawa).

From the Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages:

Mr. Shakeel Akhtal, President;
Mrs. Pamela Wilson, Executive Director.

Mr. Bill Kempling, M.P.

Du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens:

M. Orest H. T. Rudzik, vice-président de la Commission du Congrès sur les Libertés civiles;
M. L. Luciuk, membre;
M. A. Hluchoweczy, directeur de l'information (Ottawa).

De la «Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages»:

M. Shakeel Akhtal, président;
M^{me} Pamela Wilson, directeur exécutif.

M. Bill Kempling, député.



Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Wednesday, January 30, 1991

Le mercredi 30 janvier 1991

Issue No. 32

Fascicule n° 32

First and last Proceedings on:

Premier et dernier fascicule concernant:

Bill C-223, An Act respecting a day of mourning for
persons killed or injured in the workplace

Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un
jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées
au travail

Second Proceedings on:

Deuxième fascicule concernant:

Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the
Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the
contributions to Canadian public life of persons with
disabilities

Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches
de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la
participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires
publiques canadiennes

INCLUDING:

Y COMPRIS:

Twenty-third Report of the Committee entitled:
"Children in Poverty:
Toward a Better Future"

Le vingt-troisième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«La pauvreté dans l'enfance:
Vers un avenir meilleur»





Second Session
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publiques canadiennes

Y COMPRIS:

Le vingt-troisième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«La pauvreté dans l'enfance:
Vers un avenir meilleur»

and

Twenty-fourth Report of the Committee entitled:
“It’s Almost Too Late”

and

Twenty-fifth Report of the Committee

et

Le vingt-quatrième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«Presque trop tard»

et

Le vingt-cinquième rapport du Comité

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	Lavoie-Roux
Bosa	*MacEachen
David	(or Frith)
Gigantès	Marshall
Hébert	*Murray
Kinsella	(or Doody)
Kirby	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

(Quorum 4)

Pursuant to Rule 66(4), membership of the Committee was amended as follows:

The name of the Honourable Senator Rossiter for that of the Honourable Senator Teed (January 30, 1991).

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT DES
AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES ET
DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	Lavoie-Roux
Bosa	*MacEachen
David	(ou Frith)
Gigantès	Marshall
Hébert	*Murray
Kinsella	(ou Doody)
Kirby	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

(Quorum 4)

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Rossiter substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Teed (le 30 janvier 1991).

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, Wednesday, June 21, 1989:

“The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to examine and report upon the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems; and

That the Committee present its report no later than December 31, 1989.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, December 20, 1989:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Tenth Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (extension of date of final report re study on child poverty), presented in the Senate on 19th December, 1989.

After debate,

The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Watt, that the Report be adopted.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, June 27, 1990:

“The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Leblanc (*Saurel*):

That the Order of Reference of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology dated December 20, 1989, respecting child poverty, be amended by deleting the words “June 29, 1990” and substituting therefor the words “October 31, 1990”.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, January 29, 1991:

“The Honourable Senator Roberston moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Comeau.

With leave of the Senate and notwithstanding Rule 45(1)(a),

That notwithstanding the Order of Reference of December 20, 1989 and the Order of Reference of June

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mercredi 21 juin 1989:

«L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Turner,

Que le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie soit autorisé à examiner le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes; et

Que le Comité présente son rapport au plus tard le 31 décembre 1989.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 20 décembre 1989:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat aborde l'étude du dixième rapport du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie (date du rapport final sur l'étude sur la pauvreté de l'enfance reportée), présenté au Sénat le 19 décembre 1989.

Après débat,

L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Watt, que le rapport soit adopté.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 27 juin 1990:

«L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Leblanc (*Saurel*):

Que l'ordre de renvoi du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie du 20 décembre 1989, concernant la pauvreté dans l'enfance, soit modifié en retranchant les mots «29 juin 1990» et en les remplaçant par les mots «31 octobre 1990».

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 29 janvier 1991:

«L'honorable sénateur Roberston propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Comeau.

Avec la permission du Sénat et nonobstant l'article 45(1)a) du Règlement,

Que nonobstant l'ordre de renvoi adopté par le Sénat le 20 décembre 1989 et l'Ordre de renvoi du 27 juin 1990, le

27, 1990, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology which was authorized to continue its examination of child poverty in Canada, be empowered to present its report no later than Thursday, March 28, 1991.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate* of June 28, 1989:

“With leave of the Senate,
The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates, which were referred to the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance on 2nd May, 1989, be withdrawn from the said Committee and referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, of Tuesday, January 15, 1991:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, be read the second time.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate* of Wednesday, January 16, 1991:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Forrestall, that the Bill C-223, An Act respecting a Day of Mourning for Persons Killed or Injured in the Workplace, be read the second time.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

Comité permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie qui a été autorisé à poursuivre son étude sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada, soit habilité à présenter son rapport au plus tard le jeudi 28 mars 1991.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 28 juin 1989:

«Avec la permission du Sénat,
L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Turner,

Que les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants, contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990, qui a été déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des finances nationales le 2 mai 1989, soient retirés dudit Comité et déferés au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mardi 15 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,
La motion, mis aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le projet de loi soit déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mercredi 16 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Forrestall, que le Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

The Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Forrestall, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

L'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Forrestall, que le projet de loi soit déféré au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Clerk of the Senate

Gordon Barnhart

Le greffier du Sénat

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to study and report on childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of Wednesday, June 21, 1989, proceeded to that inquiry and now presents its final report entitled: "Children in Poverty: Toward a Better Future".

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

TWENTY-FOURTH REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred the Bill C-223, An Act respecting a Day of Mourning for Persons Killed or Injured in the Workplace, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of Wednesday, January 16, 1991, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to examine and report on Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of June 28, 1989, proceeded that inquiry and now presents its report entitled "It's Almost Too Late".

Respectfully submitted,

Chair

Lorna Marsden

La présidente

RAPPORTS DU COMITÉ

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

VINGT-TROISIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité, autorisé à étudier à faire rapport sur le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mercredi 21 juin 1989, entrepris cet examen et présente maintenant son rapport final intitulé: «La pauvreté dans l'enfance: vers un avenir meilleur».

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

VINGT-QUATRIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité, auquel a été déféré le Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mercredi 16 janvier 1991, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

VINGT-CINQUIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité, autorisé à étudier les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15, et 20 des Anciens combattants dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990, a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du 28 juin 1989, entrepris cet examen et présente maintenant son rapport intitulé: «Presque trop tard».

Respectueusement soumis.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1991
(56)

[Translation]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met, *in camera*, this day at 1:04 o'clock p.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators Bosa, David, Gigantès, Hébert, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson, and Kinsella. (8)

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Rossiter for the Honourable Senator Teed; the Honourable Senator Bonnell.

Also present: Mrs. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator, and Miss Sandra Harder, Research Officer, Library of Parliament.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated June 21, 1989 respecting the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and measures that might better alleviate such problems.

The Committee considered the draft report on childhood poverty in Canada.

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Kinsella, that the report be adopted and tabled in the Senate.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Honourable Senator Bosa moved that one thousand copies of the report be printed under separate cover.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated September 26, 1991: "That a Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs be established for the purpose of hearing evidence and considering matters relating to the Order of Reference adopted by the Senate on June 28, 1989 concerning Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates which was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology."

The Committee considered the report of the Subcommittee, presented by the Honourable Senator Marshall, Chair.

The Honourable Senator Marshall moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Robertson, that the Subcommittee's report be adopted and tabled in the Senate.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Honourable Senator Bonnell moved that two thousand five hundred copies of the report be printed under separate cover.

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MERCREDI 30 JANVIER 1991
(56)

[Texte]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à huis clos, à 13 h 05, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (présidente).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs Bosa, David, Gigantès, Hébert, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson et Kinsella. (8)

Autres sénateurs présents: L'honorable sénateur Rossiter pour l'honorable sénateur Teed; l'honorable sénateur Bonnell.

Également présentes: Madame Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche et M^{lle} Sandra Harder, attachée de recherche, Bibliothèque du Parlement.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 21 juin 1989, concernant le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes.

Le Comité considère le projet de rapport sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson, appuyée par l'honorable sénateur Kinsella, propose l'adoption du rapport et son dépôt au Sénat.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

L'honorable sénateur Bosa propose,—Que le rapport soit imprimé, avec couverture spéciale, à raison de 1 000 exemplaires.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 26 septembre 1989: «Qu'un sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants soit établi pour entendre des témoignages et étudier toutes questions se rattachant à l'Ordre de renvoi du Sénat du 28 juin 1989 sur les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990 qui a été déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.»

Le Comité considère le projet de rapport du sous-comité, présenté par son président, l'honorable sénateur Marshall.

L'honorable sénateur Marshall, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Robertson, propose l'adoption du rapport du sous-comité et son dépôt au Sénat.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

L'honorable sénateur Bonnell propose,—Que le rapport soit imprimé, avec couverture spéciale, à raison de 2 500 exemplaires.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated January 16, 1991 respecting Bill C-223, An Act respecting a Day of Mourning for Persons Killed or Injured in the Workplace.

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved that Bill C-223 be reported to the Senate without amendment.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Reference dated January 15, 1991 respecting Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities.

The Committee considered its future business.

The Chair mentioned that she would try to accelerate the study of the Committee's history undertaken by the Library of Parliament.

After the adjournment, the Committee will advise as to the timeliness of undertaking a special study into the use of illegal drugs in Canada.

At 1:25 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTEST:

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité entreprend l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 16 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose,—Que le projet de loi C-223 soit rapporté au Sénat, sans amendement.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du mardi 15 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes.

Le Comité considère ses activités futures.

La présidente indique qu'elle tentera de faire progresser l'étude sur l'histoire du Comité, entreprise par la Bibliothèque du Parlement.

Le Comité avisera, après l'ajournement, sur l'opportunité d'entreprendre l'étude spéciale sur l'utilisation des drogues illégales au Canada.

À 13 h 25, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTÉ:

Clerk of the Committee

Serge Pelletier

Le greffier du Comité



CHILDREN IN POVERTY: TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE

**Standing Senate
Committee on
Social Affairs,
Science and Technology**

**Chairman
The Honourable Lorna Marsden
Deputy Chairman
The Honourable Brenda Robertson**

**Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament**

January 1991

MEMBERSHIP

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*

The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Jack Austin, P.C.

Peter Bosa

Paul David

Philippe Gigantès

Jacques Hébert

Michael Kirby

Thérèse Lavoie-Roux

*Allan MacEachen, P.C.

(or Royce Frith)

Lorna Marsden

Jack Marshall

*Lowell Murray, P.C.

(or William Doody)

Brenda Robertson

Noel A. Kinsella

Norbert Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

Note: The Honourable Senators Beaudoin, Bonnell, Cochrane, Doyle, Haidasz, Rossiter, Spivak and Tremblay also participated in the proceedings of the Committee.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate, Wednesday, June 21, 1989:

The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to examine and report upon the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems; and

That the Committee present its report no later than December 31, 1989.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate, December 20, 1989:

Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Tenth Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (extension of date of final report re study on child poverty), presented in the Senate on 19th December, 1989.

After debate,

The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Watt, that the Report be adopted.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate, June 27, 1990:

The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Leblanc (*Saurel*):

That the Order of Reference of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology dated December 20, 1989, respecting child poverty, be amended by deleting the words "June 29, 1990" and substituting therefor the words "October 31, 1990".

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate, January 29, 1991:

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Comeau,

With leave of the Senate and notwithstanding Rule 45(1)(a),

That notwithstanding the Order of Reference of December 20, 1989 and the Order of Reference of June 27, 1990, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology which was authorized to continue its examination of child poverty in Canada, be empowered to present its report no later than Thursday, March 28, 1991.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

Gordon Barnhart
Clerk of the Senate

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to study and report on childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of Wednesday, June 21, 1989, proceeded to that inquiry and now presents its final report entitled: "Children in Poverty: Toward a Better Future".

Respectfully submitted,

LORNA MARSDEN
Chairman

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Committee acknowledges with thanks the research work for this report by Ms. Sandra Harder and Dr. Joan Vance of the Library of Parliament, and Mr. Ken Battle, Dr. Richard Shillington and Dr. David P. Ross from outside Parliament. In addition, we thank our own researcher, Ms. Patricia MacDonald of the Parliamentary Centre and our Clerk, Mr. Serge Pelletier.

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CHILDREN IN POVERTY: TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE

CHAPTER ONE: TERMS OF REFERENCE

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has a long record of research into the problems facing Canadian children. In 1980, under the Chair of Senator Lorne Bonnell, the Committee published its report *Child at Risk*, which considered the relationship between early childhood experiences and criminal behaviour. Under the Chair of Senator Arthur Tremblay, the Committee published three reports: *Analysis of Child and Family Benefits in Canada: A Working Document* in 1985, *Child Benefits: Proposal for a Guaranteed Family Supplement* in 1987, and *Child Care* in 1988.

In a speech to the Senate on 17 May, 1988, Senator Robertson drew attention to the devastating human and economic costs of child poverty. She expressed her commitment to undertake a study which would move well beyond a mere enumeration of the negative outcomes of child poverty to real solutions. Realizing the magnitude of this undertaking, she stated:

... all governments in (Canadian) society have always been interested in the elimination of poverty. The tools that we have to deal with the problems have been inadequate. Without the proper research, without the proper information, our efforts will continue to be a catch-up effort that most often addresses the symptoms of poverty, and not the root causes.⁽¹⁾

On 7 June 1988, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology appointed a subcommittee, chaired by Senator Brenda Robertson to examine and report on the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly adult social problems, and on measures which might alleviate such problems. On 21 June 1989, the Committee obtained authorization from the Senate to continue the study of child poverty.

An *Interim Report*, entitled *Child Poverty and Adult Social Problems* (hereafter referred to as the *Interim Report*), was tabled on 19 December 1989. This report acknowledges child poverty as a very serious social problem commanding our immediate attention. The Committee continued the study in 1990 by:

- 1) further assessing the social and economic costs of child poverty; and
- 2) recommending solutions to the problem of child poverty in Canada.

This report recommends further changes to the delivery of child and family benefits and expands upon our earlier report on child benefits by advocating a two-tiered approach; one which recognizes that successfully addressing child poverty in Canada will require both income support and service provision.

⁽¹⁾ Debates of the Senate, 17 May 1988, p. 3408.

CHAPTER TWO: A DISTURBING REALITY: ONE IN SIX CANADIAN CHILDREN LIVE IN POVERTY

We are constantly bombarded through media reports with the visual proof of devastating child poverty and starvation in India, Africa and South America. Such pictures evoke in us feelings of pain, sorrow and guilt which are often translated into concrete humanitarian responses. But, while Canadians are quite aware of these devastating conditions in other areas of the world, we are less aware of the breadth and depth of child poverty in Canada.⁽²⁾ In part, this lack of awareness may have something to do with the visual images we associate with poverty; distended bellies, hollow faces, sunken eyes and bony frames. To the extent that child poverty presents a different face in Canada, we may be unconvinced of the gravity of the problem in our own country. A 1975 report of the National Council of Welfare describes what it is like to be a poor child in Canada:

"To be born poor is to face a greater likelihood of ill health — in infancy, in childhood and throughout your adult life. To be born poor is to face a lesser likelihood that you will finish high school; lesser still that you will attend university. To be born poor is to face a greater likelihood that you will be judged a delinquent in adolescence and, if so, a greater likelihood that you will be sent to a "correctional institution. "To be born poor is to have the deck stacked against you at birth, to find life an uphill struggle ever after. To be born poor is unfair to kids."⁽³⁾

A. Measuring Child Poverty in Canada

A great deal of imprecision surrounds the definition and the measurement of poverty in Canada and elsewhere. There are a number of measures for poverty including the Statistics Canada Low-Income Cutoffs (LICOs), the Canadian Council on Social Development Income Lines, the Senate Committee Poverty Lines (resulting from the 1971 Report chaired by Senator David Croll and updated annually), various provincial social assistance rates, and the Montreal Diet Dispensary Guidelines. The measure of poverty most frequently used in Canada, however, is the Statistics Canada LICOs. Statistics Canada does not refer to these figures as poverty lines, but indicates that people living below these lines can be said to be living in "straightened circumstances." Most social policy analysts refer to the LICOs as poverty lines.

The process for calculating the low-income cutoffs entails an estimation of the percentage of gross income⁽⁴⁾ spent by the average Canadian family on food, clothing and shelter. Statistics Canada then increases this amount by 20% and this figure corresponds to a given income level, which is identified as the low-income cutoff line.

⁽²⁾ For the purposes of this report, a child who lives in a family whose income is at or below the Statistics Canada low-income cutoffs is considered poor. Statistics Canada defines as low-income a family spending more than 58.5% of its income on food, shelter and clothing. The actual figures for low-income cutoffs vary according to the size of the family and the place of residence and are updated each year according to changes in the cost of living as measured by the Consumer Price Index. In 1988, the low-income cutoff was \$23,539 for a family of four in a large urban centre (500,000 and over) and \$17,316 for the same family living in a rural area.

⁽³⁾ *Poor Kids: A Report of the National Council of Welfare on Child Poverty*, Ottawa, March 1975.

⁽⁴⁾ In calculating gross income, Statistics Canada includes wages and salaries before deductions, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfers, training allowances, private pensions, scholarships and alimony payments.

The basis for the estimation of the percentage of gross income spent on life's necessities is the *Family Expenditure Survey*, an occasional survey conducted by Statistics Canada. During those years when a survey is not conducted, Statistics Canada updates its low-income cutoffs in relation to changes in the consumer price index.

In establishing the low-income cutoffs, further precision is sought by adjusting the figures in reference to family size and urban or rural location. The urban/rural distinction is further refined by the size of the community; the larger the community, the higher the cutoff lines and vice versa. Using these processes, Statistics Canada has come up with 35 separate low-income cutoffs. However, some problems remain.

The use of the *Family Expenditure Survey*, as the basis for calculating the LICOs, is problematic because it excludes certain populations: those living in the Territories, in institutions, on Indian reserves, and those who are members of the armed forces. Similarly, income data for comparing incomes to the LICOs, in order to estimate the numbers of people living at certain income levels, is based on the *Survey of Consumer Finances* (conducted annually), which excludes the same populations. Consequently, the usual published poverty figures will exclude those poor living in the Territories and on Indian reserves.

Measurement problems occur because LICOs are published using different *Family Expenditure Surveys*, referred to as the 1969, 1978 and 1986 based LICOs. Many social policy analysts use the 1986 base in calculating the number of poor children living in Canada. Statistics Canada and Health and Welfare Canada, however, continue to use the 1978 base. According to the *Fact Book on Poverty*, use of the fully revised 1986 base rather than the 1978 base adds 118,000 families and 121,000 unattached individuals to the low-income rolls. The numbers of poor children will also vary according to the age cut-off employed to define children and whether or not native children living on reserves are included in the total.

Using the 1978 base, in 1988, there were approximately 875,000 children living in poverty (excluding those populations identified above).⁽⁵⁾ Using the 1986 base, in 1988, there were approximately 913,000 children under the age of 16 years living in Canada, and when children of 16-17 years of age living with their parents are included, along with children living on reserves, it is estimated that the figure would exceed one million, hovering at around 1.1 million.⁽⁶⁾ For these reasons, when figures are quoted in this report, the LICO base being used to measure the number or the percentages is identified in brackets after each figure.

Despite the technical difficulties in precisely measuring the number of poor children in Canada, it is impossible to deny the fact that a significant number of Canadian children (one in six)⁽⁷⁾ live in circumstances which place them at a greater social, physical and emotional disadvantage over both the

⁽⁵⁾ Health and Welfare Canada, *Children of Canada, Children of the World: Canada's National Paper for the World Summit for Children*, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, 1990.

⁽⁶⁾ David P. Ross and Richard Shillington, *Canadian Fact Book on Poverty*, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa, 1989. See also Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, *Child Poverty and Adult Social Problems*, Interim Report, December 1989, p. 3.

⁽⁷⁾ Proceedings of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (Thereafter Proceedings), 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 22.

short term and long term. It is time for Canadians and their governments to rethink and confront this disturbing reality.

B. International Comparisons

While Canada's child poverty rate has remained relatively constant (at approximately 16%) over the past number of years, among industrialized nations, Canadians have very little of which to be proud when it comes to the measures we have taken for safeguarding the well-being of our children. International comparisons of any kind must be done with some caution. As the authors of the *Fact Book on Poverty* indicate, the scarcity of information and the non-compatibility of data and definitions exercise some constraints on our ability to make such comparisons.

Data taken from the Luxembourg Income Study uses a measure of relative poverty which estimates the number of households in a country that have disposable incomes (after taxes and including transfers) of less than one-half of the country's median disposable household income. This provides a more standardized measure which allows for comparisons among different countries. Using this data, Canadian child poverty rates of approximately 16 per cent have remained lower over the years than those of the United States which has a child poverty rate of approximately 20 per cent. However, when we compare our rates to those of other industrialized nations, particularly the Scandinavian countries, the picture is not as encouraging with Norway and Sweden exhibiting rates of 5.6 and 5.2 respectively.⁽⁸⁾

The United States and Australia⁽⁹⁾ recently released reports on child poverty. These reports draw remarkably similar pictures of the negative impacts of child poverty. In these countries, as well as in Canada, children who live and grow up in poverty have many unmet needs. Research and experience demonstrate a strong connection between the greater frequency of unmet needs and adult social problems such as unemployment, physical and mental illness and disability, illiteracy and criminal behaviour.

C. Poverty, Poor Education and Low Wage Jobs

All too frequently poor children grow up to be poor adults. At least part of this process is attributable to the rates of school dropout among poor children and adolescents. Using current Statistics Canada information, research undertaken for the committee projects that over the next 20 years, approximately 187,000 students will leave school due to poverty (see Appendix I, *Child Poverty and Poor Educational Attainment: the Economic Costs and Implications for Society*).

These high dropout rates will cost Canadians an estimated \$620 million in Unemployment Insurance costs and an additional \$710 million in social assistance payments. If these high dropout rates were eliminated, research estimates that federal and provincial income taxes would rise by \$7.2 billion

⁽⁸⁾ Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, *Interim Report*, p. 6; Ross and Shillington (1989), *Fact Book on Poverty*, p. 85.

⁽⁹⁾ National Center for Children in Poverty, *Five Million Children: A Statistical Profile of Our Poorest Young Citizens*, School of Public Health, Columbia University, New York, 1990; Don Edgar, David Keane and Peter McDonald (eds.), *Child Poverty*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, Australia, 1989.

and consumption taxes by \$1.15 billion. Finally, research indicates that incomes would be \$23 billion higher if poverty-induced dropouts had gone on to complete an average level of education.

Limited educational attainment leads to a disadvantaged employment future for poor children. Today we know that minimum wage jobs provide only a portion of what one needs to meet even the most rudimentary living conditions. In 1975, a full-time worker earning the minimum wage would make 81 per cent of the poverty line (using the 1969 Base). In 1990, this worker would earn only 42.4 per cent of the poverty line income (using the 1986 Base).⁽¹⁰⁾

As a recent American study suggests, a country whose child poverty problem is even greater than Canada's, it is "within our reach" to break this cycle of poverty.⁽¹¹⁾ This Committee heard from many witnesses about interventions that 1) work, 2) that are not stigmatizing, and 3) that can be delivered on terms over which families can exercise some control. Given our knowledge about interventions and the painfully destructive consequences of child poverty, both to individuals and society, it becomes unconscionable not to take action to deal with this problem. Social and economic commentators frequently warn that Canada cannot continue to compete and prosper in the global arena if approximately one-sixth of our children continue to grow up poor, and under circumstances that seriously jeopardize their chances of becoming happy and productive citizens.

Similarly, as recent developments in crime prevention suggest, if we wish to have safer, healthier communities, we must not ignore the problems faced by children at risk of becoming offenders or we will certainly suffer the consequences. Poor children face this risk more than others. Children are the future of any society. There is no sounder investment in Canada's future than an investment in our children. It is disturbing to this Committee, as it is the many witnesses who appeared before us, that the necessity of solving child poverty must be justified in monetary or "bottom line" terms. Nevertheless, if that is required, the figures speak for themselves — but poor children cannot. This report adds an additional voice to those who already speak on behalf of Canada's poorest and most vulnerable citizens.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief of the Committee, 2 March 1990, p. 8.

⁽¹¹⁾ Schorr, L. *Within our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage*, Doubleday, Toronto, 1988.

CHAPTER THREE: CHILD POVERTY: THE CANADIAN PICTURE

We have already seen that presenting a picture of Canadian child poverty is neither an easy nor a pleasant task. An accurate reflection of child poverty in Canada is complicated by regional differences and variations and it is also complicated by the particular conditions facing Canadian aboriginal children. With these facts in mind, the following section will underscore the conditions facing Canada's poor children. A separate section has been devoted to examining the circumstances of Canada's poor aboriginal children.

The conditions associated with child poverty are well documented and for one out of every six children in Canada, such conditions are their reality. Child poverty declined during the 1970s but increased again during the recession of the early 1980s peaking, in 1984, at 1,154,000 or 20.1 per cent of all children (using the 1978 Base). Fortunately, child poverty is again on the decline (913,000 or 16.1 per cent poor children in 1988 using the 1986 Base or 875,000 or 15.4 per cent using the 1978 Base). However, the rate and the numbers are still higher than they were prior to the recession in 1980 (14.8 per cent using the 1978 Base).⁽¹²⁾ As indicated, there are marked provincial variations in child poverty rates from a high of 22.6 per cent in Saskatchewan and 20.7 per cent in Newfoundland, to a low of 11.9 per cent in Ontario.⁽¹³⁾

Canada's record is least commendable where children in lone-parent families are concerned. The *Fact Book on Poverty* shows that in 1986 the largest number of poor children in Canada still live in two-parent families but poverty rates for children in lone-parent families, particularly those led by women, and two-parent families led by a person under the age of 24, are especially high.⁽¹⁴⁾ In 1986, 56.1 per cent (using the 1978 Base) of lone-parent families led by women were poor. Lone-parent mothers with low incomes were much younger and were much less likely to be employed.⁽¹⁵⁾

Twenty-two point eight per cent (using the 1978 Base) of lone-parent families led by men were poor in 1986. In the same year, 30.2 per cent (using the 1978 Base) of families led by someone 24 years of age and under were poor.⁽¹⁶⁾ The main differentiating characteristic of this latter type of family is education, according to the *Fact Book on Poverty*. The proportion of heads of these young families with some post-secondary education or better, is much lower than for non-poor families in the same age group.

There has been a decline in recent years in the number of children living in "working poor"⁽¹⁷⁾ families from 42.7 per cent in 1979 to 37.4 per cent in 1986 (using the 1978 Base). However, there has

⁽¹²⁾ Submission to the Committee by National Council of Welfare, p. 2. See also Health and Welfare, 1990, *Children of Canada*, p. 62.

⁽¹³⁾ Joan Vance, *Poverty in Canada*, Current Issue Review 88-14E, Research Branch.

⁽¹⁴⁾ David P. Ross and Richard Shillington, Canadian Council on Social Development, Ottawa, 1989, p. 47-49 (hereafter referred to as the *Fact Book on Poverty*). National Council of Welfare, *Women and Poverty Revisited*, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, Summer 1990.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Ross and Shillington (1989), *Fact Book on Poverty*, p. 44.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁽¹⁷⁾ The working poor are those households which have at least 49 weeks of either full-time or part-time work during the year and whose ages are under 65 years. In situations where there is one earner in the household, the criterion requires year-round participation in the labour force by that one person. In situations where there are two adult earners, some combination of weeks worked that adds up to 49 weeks would qualify. The definition excludes any income generated by any dependent children.

been an increase in those children living in families where adults are not in the labour force, referred to as "other poor" families. In 1979, 57.3 per cent of poor children lived in "other poor" families whereas in 1986 this percentage had increased to 62.6 (using the 1978 Base).

According to the *Fact Book on Poverty*, 86 per cent of children living in these "other poor" families were in lone-parent families led by women. Most "other poor" families are receiving social assistance under the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). Based on data provided to them by the provinces for the month of March 1989, Health and Welfare Canada estimates that approximately 680,000 children live in families receiving social assistance ('welfare'). An Ontario study of children suggests that children in families receiving social assistance under CAP are at significantly higher risk to conditions detrimental to their development and well-being than the children of the working poor.⁽¹⁸⁾

In what kinds of material conditions do poor children live? Undoubtedly, there are marked differences among poor families in Canada, but the conditions of child poverty are striking in their similarities. Poor children are more likely to live in inadequate housing or experience what is often referred to as "core housing need". Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation reports that, of the approximately three million Canadian households with children under sixteen years of age, about 11 per cent live in such conditions.⁽¹⁹⁾

What does "core housing need" mean in concrete terms? These are the households where the proportion of household income required to pay for shelter is considered too high. The Committee was told repeatedly of situations where households were paying up to 50 per cent, or even as high as 70 per cent of their income for housing. This situation is a particular problem in large urban locations such as Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton and Calgary. If the family is lucky enough to pay only 30 to 35 per cent of their income on housing costs, the accommodations may be inadequate. Inadequacy may translate into any number of problems including, sub-standard heating, not enough hot water, improper ventilation and unsafe living conditions including a lack of space for children to play.

Core housing need may also mean that the family is living in concentrated blocks of subsidized housing with their attendant problems of high crime rates and vandalism. Such housing conditions contribute to an environment which puts poor children at higher risk to health, developmental and other problems.

How and what do poor children eat? The Canadian Association of Food Banks, in their March 1989 survey entitled "Hunger Count", estimates that children are twice as likely to need food assistance as adults. Children under the age of 18 accounted for 40 per cent of the 378,000 people who used their food services monthly. (151,000 children).⁽²⁰⁾ These figures suggest that many poor children are inadequately fed and that some of them go hungry as they are forced to skip meals or survive on "fillers" such as rice, pasta and bread.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Dr. Dan Offord *et al.*, *The Ontario Child Health Study* conducted by McMaster University and Chedoke McMaster Hospital in cooperation with Statistics Canada, Hamilton, Ontario, 1985.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Research Division, "An Assessment of the Number of Children Living in Housing in Core Housing Need 1988," March 1989.

⁽²⁰⁾ Hungerwatch Program, Canadian Association of Food Banks, Canadian Hunger Count 1989, Toronto, November 1989. The HungerCount study was based on special surveys carried out by food bank organizations in 65 Canadian cities and towns covering 907 emergency grocery and meal programs. The surveys provided a direct count of people being assisted with food in areas representing over half the population of the country.

Multiple risk factors, which occur more frequently among poor children, especially among children in families that are persistently poor and live in areas of concentrated poverty, are frequently the precursors of adult social problems. Studies document⁽²¹⁾ the higher risk of low birth weight, poor nutrition, developmental disabilities, poor school performance, juvenile delinquency and child abuse among poor children. Research also demonstrates that the relatively higher exposure of poor children to multiple risk factors such as these, helps to account for the link between child poverty and adult social problems such as unemployment, physical and mental illness and disability, illiteracy and criminal behaviour.

The Committee was also reminded that poor children are the sons and daughters of poor adults and that therefore child poverty cannot be viewed in isolation. In part, such poverty is a result of the fact that families with children in Canada are facing declining economic conditions. Witnesses told the Committee that, contrary to common belief, the majority of poor children live with both parents and their parents are among the working poor, the unemployed, the underemployed, the sick and the disabled. They said that many Canadian families who live in poverty do so simply because of the presence of their children. Tax increases and cuts in social benefits in recent years as well as the lack of accessible and affordable child care alternatives, low educational attainment, lack of access to job training and re-training, and excessive housing costs, severely tax the capacities of many families.

Many witnesses spoke of growing numbers of low and middle-income families who are finding it increasingly difficult to "make ends meet". Authors of the *Fact Book on Poverty* similarly identify the "near poor" whose incomes are only 10 to 20 per cent above the Statistics Canada LICOs and whose standard of living is not much different from that of the poor. Research and testimony from various witnesses suggest that many of those hovering above the poverty line have been able to stay in the mainstream only because of two earners. For lone-parent families without a second income earner, this means of keeping poverty at bay is not available.

A. Aboriginal Child Poverty

No discussion of child poverty in Canada is complete without a discussion of the circumstances facing Canada's aboriginal children. As this report indicates, contemporary estimates of child poverty are not truly representative of the extent of child poverty in Canada because they do not include figures on child poverty among the aboriginal population. Since Confederation, Canada's record with respect to aboriginal people in general, and aboriginal children in particular, has been poor. This fact is borne out in research sponsored by the Laidlaw Foundation which suggests that 51% of all aboriginal children are living in poverty and that the figure is not significantly different between children living on-reserve and off-reserve.⁽²²⁾ The higher rates of child poverty among aboriginal children reflect the fact

⁽²¹⁾ S.K. Escalona, "Babies at Double Hazard: Early Development of Infants at Biological and Social Risk," *Pediatrics*, Vol. 70, No. 5, November 1982; A.W. Myres and D. Kroetsh, "The Influence of Family Income on Food Consumption Patterns and Nutrient Intake in Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 69, 1978; the Children's Services Branch, Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services (with the assistance of David P. Ross), *Low Income and Child Development: A Case for Prevention Strategies*, A Background Paper for the Ontario Social Assistance Review, June 1987; David Farrington, *Early Precursors of High Rate Offending*, Paper prepared for the Conference on Delinquency and the Family, Harvard University, 1985; M.A. Strauss and R.J. Gelles, "Societal Change in Family Violence from 1975 to 1985 as Revealed in Two National Surveys," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 48, 1986.

⁽²²⁾ E. Richard Shillington, *Estimates of the Extent of Native Child Poverty: Census 1986*, Research undertaken for the Laidlaw Foundation, 6 February 1990.

that, in general, poverty rates for aboriginal peoples are significantly higher than those of Canada's non-aboriginal population.⁽²³⁾ According to the 1986 census, approximately 85% of all Indian families have incomes below \$10,000, as reported to the Committee by witnesses from the Assembly of First Nations (AFN).⁽²⁴⁾

While such rates of poverty are telling, in and of themselves, they do not adequately describe current living conditions. The Committee was provided with facts that go some distance toward illuminating the scope of aboriginal poverty. Disadvantaged conditions begin at birth and follow throughout the life cycle.

At birth, an aboriginal person's life expectancy is eight years less than that of the non-aboriginal Canadian population. For infants, the incidence of death in the first year of life is four times the national average and the rate of infant mortality is twice the national average. As young children grow up, they are more likely to die as the result of an accident between the time they reach one year of age and their nineteenth birthday. Accidental death and injury account for approximately 73 per cent of the deaths of young native people as compared to a national average of 56 per cent. A native child who reaches his or her nineteenth birthday is six times more likely to have lost a friend of his or her own age cohort as a result of suicide than is a non-native youth in Canada.⁽²⁵⁾

Housing is also a major concern. According to the AFN, approximately 60 per cent of Indian homes lack running water, sewage disposal or indoor plumbing. There is also a much greater likelihood that native children will grow up in housing which is overcrowded. In 1986, the percentage of crowded Indian dwellings on reserves was eleven times that of communities near reserves. Thirty-eight per cent of native dwellings on reserves lack central heating. For Canada as a whole, the figure is approximately five per cent.⁽²⁶⁾

Aboriginal children are much more likely than other children to come in contact with the child welfare system in Canada. As outlined in *The National Inquiry into First Nations' Child Care* by the AFN, by the 1980s thousands of Indian children had been placed in foster homes and institutions or had been given up for adoption.⁽²⁷⁾ In 1987, the percentage of status Indian children "in care" was four times that of non-Indian Canadian children, 3.2 per cent as compared to 0.8 per cent for the total population.

The AFN *National Inquiry* emphasizes the multiple risk factors associated with aboriginal child poverty which predispose such children to adult social problems. Alcohol and drug abuse, and physical and sexual abuse are common in the environment of many poor aboriginal children and are often associated with poor outcomes in adulthood:

An investigation of the Coldwater Band of British Columbia turned up 497 cases of physical and sexual abuse and 49 cases of incest. We know that victims of such crimes grow to adulthood focusing all their energy on controlling or denying the pain they suffered. The victims of incest, in particular, suffer a crippling loss of self-esteem and are more likely to develop a self-destructive streak. Not all

⁽²³⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽²⁴⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 43.

⁽²⁵⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽²⁶⁾ *Ibid.*

⁽²⁷⁾ Assembly of First Nations, *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care*, Ottawa, Ontario, 1989.

victims of family violence become abusive parents. But many abusive parents suffered abuse as children from parents who were themselves abused in the institutions to which they had been sent. They have absorbed patterns of behaviour that they must unlearn.⁽²⁸⁾

Compared to Canadian families in general, larger numbers of Indian families are receiving social assistance. In fact, witnesses from the AFN stated that more Indian adults and children (290,000) receive social assistance under CAP than the four Atlantic provinces combined (201,000).⁽²⁹⁾ They told the Committee that social assistance monies they currently receive could be put to more meaningful use if aboriginal peoples were given more flexibility with respect to such funds:

...because we do not want to stay on welfare for the rest of time, it is important for the native people to have the ability to utilize what money they do receive in the form of social assistance for creative opportunities for their people...⁽³⁰⁾

The Committee agrees that attention needs to be paid to such concerns and urges the federal government to investigate, in collaboration with aboriginal people, the possibility of greater discretion in the use and application of social assistance funds.

The AFN drew the Committee's attention to the fact that there is a great need to direct attention to aboriginal child poverty and its effects on the lives and future of aboriginal children and requested the collaboration of the Committee in this endeavour:⁽³¹⁾

solutions to the social problems that exist in our communities can best be addressed by providing adequate resources to our people to provide for themselves and in ways that are appropriate and consistent with their own aspirations and their way of life ... the solution to (aboriginal) poverty is not more and more social assistance or welfare.⁽³²⁾

Rather, the solution lies in creating meaningful alternatives to social welfare as a way of life for aboriginal people. The Committee concurs with this position. While in the short term social welfare is a clear necessity, the goal must be to reduce its place in the lives of aboriginal peoples.

B. Can the Problem of Child Poverty Be Solved?

Assuredly, the answer to this question is yes. However, due to the complex network of interrelated factors contributing to child poverty, no one single or simple solution is available. We know that growing up poor places children at risk to a number of conditions. These include poor nutrition and poor physical and mental health, poor school performance and early school drop-out patterns, juvenile delinquency and a variety of conduct disorders such as withdrawal and aggression. Child development research indicates that both children and society can benefit from a preventive approach. The Canadian Council on Children and Youth says:

If we provide early support to children through primary prevention programs, such as prenatal and postnatal health care, high-quality child care and parenting support and education, we can contribute

⁽²⁸⁾ Assembly of First Nations, 1989, p. 17.

⁽²⁹⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 43.

⁽³⁰⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 49.

⁽³¹⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 42.

⁽³²⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, p. 44-45.

to their optimal development. We may be able to deal with problems before they become serious and expensive.⁽³³⁾

A preventive approach implies both adequate income for families with children and a philosophy of service delivery that will adequately address the diverse nature of their needs. A two-tiered approach combining income support and services is required. This Committee believes that it is possible to “break the back” of child poverty in the short term through the implementation of a revised income support system and appropriate services. Over the longer term, it is important to recognize that eliminating child poverty is a process which requires ongoing management, assessment and readjustment.

⁽³³⁾ *Safer Tomorrows Begin Today*, Ottawa, 1989, p. 1.

CHAPTER FOUR: INCOME AND SERVICES: A TWO-TIERED APPROACH

Witnesses have emphasized that poor families have insufficient financial resources to provide for, care, and nurture their children. Therefore, solutions which provide income are a first step in addressing child poverty. It is also clear that income alone is not enough. Dr. Dan Offord, head of the Ontario Child Health Study told the Committee:

It is clear that economic reforms are needed. It is equally clear that poor children need more than that, that there will still be children at the bottom no matter what you do about raising the level of income what is needed is a combination of economic reforms and non-economic reforms targeted to the deficits these children have.⁽³⁴⁾

In addition to programs which provide economic resources to poor families with children, programs providing services are indicated. These programs should have objectives which include affordable, adequate housing and integrated, appropriate child services which are available on a continuous basis throughout the life-cycle of the child, i.e., prenatal care, child care, nutrition, education, recreation and special needs programs.

Both income and service programs must be sensitive programs, that is, they must not stigmatize children and their families and create further problems for them. This is not always the case with existing programs. Critics of the CAP, for example, point out the negative impacts on poor children of receiving 'welfare.'⁽³⁵⁾ Witnesses involved in the Ontario Child Health Study suggest that the stigma and conditions associated with being "on welfare" translate into a higher incidence of childhood and adult social problems for children of families receiving social assistance. Similar negative outcomes, such as juvenile delinquency, among children living in families in subsidized housing, were reported in research cited in our *Interim Report*. Witnesses suggested that programs of family benefits directed to all families with children could avoid this outcome.

To successfully deal with child and family poverty will require both long and short-term strategies. Long-term strategies will require structural changes in Canadian society, the longitudinal effects of which will minimize and prevent poverty. These changes will involve a reallocation of responsibilities and benefits between the advantaged and the less advantaged, a labour force strategy and a consideration of the intergenerational obligations of adults without children for adults with children.

In the short term, there must be strategies to supplement the capacities of families to meet their needs until the impacts of long-term strategies can be felt. This plan requires that both long-term and short-term strategies be initiated swiftly and simultaneously. The strategic elimination of child poverty will occur in stages as programs of both income and services become more preventive than curative.

In addressing the problem of child poverty, we must be prepared to accept that solutions will entail social expenditures and require ongoing management. Income programs are the jurisdiction of the federal government while services are primarily the purview of the provinces and/or municipalities. These realities necessitate that intergovernmental communication and cooperation be given a high priority. There will be costs in the short run. However, evidence cited in this report and calculations

⁽³⁴⁾ Proceedings, 30 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 22-23.

⁽³⁵⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 35-36.

provided in Appendix I, (*o.p. cit.*) and Appendix II, *Child Benefits Reform*, suggest that short-term costs will be offset by the long-term human and economic benefits incurred by lower levels of child poverty.

The ongoing management of child poverty entails a recognition that as the structure of the economy changes over time, poverty rises and falls among different groups within society. Certain groups are particularly vulnerable to poverty, i.e., seniors, particularly elderly women, lone-parent mothers and children. Encouraging progress has been made with respect to poverty among seniors. The poverty rate for families headed by someone 65 years or older declined from 21.9 per cent in 1979 to 9.5 per cent in 1986 (using the 1978 Base).⁽³⁶⁾ The fact that poverty rates remain high among unattached seniors (38.8 per cent in 1988, using the 1978 Base)⁽³⁷⁾ demonstrates that despite improvements in the retirement income system, such as the Guaranteed Income Supplement for low-income seniors, and maturation of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, work still remains to be done. Despite the fact that poverty among seniors will require ongoing management, it is fair to say that there have been major accomplishments in reducing poverty among this group. We must now do the same for our children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **We recommend that the federal government fully support the objective of substantially reducing child poverty in Canada. Toward that objective, we recommend that the federal government show leadership by undertaking co-operative strategies, with other levels of government and the public at large, to address the needs of Canada's children living in poverty.**
2. **We recommend that a national conference, involving all levels of government and the general public, on the subject of shared solutions to the problem of child poverty in Canada be held within the next twelve months.**

While this report addresses the severity of child poverty across the country, it is also important to emphasize the variations in child poverty among groups in society, for example, aboriginal children.

As a Committee, we are heartened by the 1 October 1990 announcement that the Minister of National Health and Welfare will be given the responsibility to bring forward to Cabinet follow-up recommendations on the Declaration and Action Plan signed by Canada at the World Summit for Children held in New York. We are also encouraged that the Department of Health and Welfare will develop new mechanisms to ensure coordination and consistency in areas addressing children's issues. Given these new structures:

3. **We recommend that problems facing aboriginal children be given top priority by the Minister now responsible for children's issues. Toward that end, we recommend that the department allocate significant financial resources to this issue and undertake consultations with relevant aboriginal organizations in order to assess the needs of aboriginal children in Canada, and establish an action plan for meeting these needs.**

⁽³⁶⁾ Ross and Shillington (1989), *Fact Book on Poverty*, p. 44.

⁽³⁷⁾ Health and Welfare Canada, 1990, *Incidence of Low-Income and Numbers for Persons and Family Units*, Unpublished data.

CHAPTER FIVE: INCOME

The circumstances under which poor children live are characterized by a complex network of risk factors which contribute to undesirable outcomes in adulthood. However, the lack of financial resources dominates in virtually every case. The sources of income available to poor families are, mainly, employment and government transfers (income support). The latter are administered either as income programs, such as the Family Allowance or through the tax system, e.g., the Child Tax Credit.

A. Employment

Research and testimony indicate that the incidence of child poverty is clearly associated with the employment status of the parents.⁽³⁸⁾ Dr. Robert Glossup, of the Vanier Institute of the Family, pointed out the significant increases in rates of child poverty associated with the recession at the beginning of the 1980s when rates of unemployment were high.

1. *Seeking Higher Levels of Employment*

As several witnesses who appeared before the Committee indicated, a shift in philosophy regarding both the role and the priorities of the government, particularly with regard to employment, has occurred. A focus on deficit reduction, paring down the national debt and strengthening Canada's competitive position in the global marketplace have been built on a philosophy of limiting government intervention and expenditure in favour of a basic reliance on the marketplace. As summarized by one of the witnesses:

In short, business and government have been attempting to replace the postwar liberal consensus based on the economics of J.M. Keynes with an alternative and conservative view based on individualism, and the private market in which the primary role of government is to ensure the stability of markets, particularly the market for money. The result of this change in conception of the role of government has been the constant erosion of social programs for the past 15 years, with particularly dire consequences for children.⁽³⁹⁾

While the goal of "full employment" remains elusive, until the late 1970's and early 1980's when unemployment hit its highest levels, Canada's rate of unemployment did not exceed 7 per cent.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Despite the fact that there have been modest improvements in the rate of unemployment in recent years, Canada's level of unemployment has not compared favourably with other Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Canadian unemployment rates have remained "consistently higher, throughout the 1980's than both the OECD average and the average for the seven major industrialized countries."⁽⁴¹⁾

The Committee was told that the Finance Minister's most recent budget stated that unemployment may need to rise to 8.5 per cent or higher in order to fight inflation.⁽⁴²⁾ Witnesses indicated that given these trends in government policy it seems reasonable to expect that there will be an increase in both

⁽³⁸⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 29.

⁽³⁹⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 24.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 26.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Economic Council of Canada, *Legacies*, Twenty-Sixth Annual Review 1989, Minister of Supply and Services, p. 38.

⁽⁴²⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 37.

adult and child poverty in Canada. If poverty is to be avoided, employment policies which allow all Canadians to earn sufficient money for their needs are required.

2. *Canada's Labour Market: Working to Remain Poor*

Several witnesses indicated the importance of examining the nature of jobs that have been created in recent years in relation to child poverty. That is, many earners with dependent children are in low-wage jobs. While new jobs have been created, most of the growth has been concentrated in the following categories: managerial, administrative, and related occupations; occupations in medicine and health; and sales and service occupations. These four categories accounted for 97 per cent of the more than half a million new jobs created between 1981 and 1986.⁽⁴³⁾

Despite growth in job creation, the Economic Council of Canada (ECC) finds that income in 1987 was close to two per cent lower than it had been in 1977. Accompanying this trend, has been an absolute decline in industrial and certain resource sector jobs. Blue collar jobs are decreasing, lending weight to the concern that there is a greater polarization of jobs and wealth in Canada. This trend, identified by the ECC, and specified by several witnesses, is the tendency toward a "shrinking middle" in the Canadian labour market. Recent employment growth has been characterized by a decrease in the percentage of middle income earners (from 27.4 per cent of the work force in 1967 to 21.5 per cent in 1986) and a growth in the percentages of both upper and lower income earners.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Service and retail sales sector jobs, which accounted for 74 per cent of the total employment gains between 1977 and 1987, are generally characterized as unskilled, poorly paid, non-unionized, highly vulnerable to economic fluctuations and often seasonal or part-time in nature. It is frequently argued that such jobs do not offer the range of benefits, or the degree of job security necessary to provide basic income security for individuals and families. These facts echo the realization that, for many Canadians, employment does not necessarily guarantee either an escape from poverty or an absence of impoverished living conditions. Statistics such as those presented by the EEC support the fact that wages have not kept pace with expenses.

We have already observed that the most common mechanism that households have used to offset these conditions is the addition of another wage earner, often a woman. However, witnesses from the Canadian Teachers Federation indicate that poor households may also depend on the income of children:

One of my frustrations as a teacher has been to watch my students — and I am just out of a school — rush home because they have babysitting jobs or they are working at McDonald's, and I am talking about Grades VI and VII children. There have been children working in nightclubs until 3 o'clock in the morning, and they do not want anyone to know because that income would be lost to the family.⁽⁴⁵⁾

⁽⁴³⁾ Economic Council of Canada, 1989, p. 37.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Economic Council of Canada, 1989, p. 37.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 63.

While national statistics provide important clues as to the current changes in Canada's economy, the EEC says that they also mask a number of regional differences in Canada. Based on seasonally adjusted figures for September 1990, Atlantic Canada continues to exhibit unemployment rates in the double-digit range with a low of 11 per cent in Nova Scotia and a high of 16.9 per cent in Newfoundland. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have rates of unemployment of 12.3 per cent and 13.5 per cent respectively. Ontario, on the other hand, had an unemployment rate of 6.4 per cent in 1990.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Witnesses suggested that it is important to recognize that just as all jobs are not "created equal", so it is important to understand that those working in marginal jobs, those who are unemployed and those who belong to the working poor are not a homogeneous group. In fact, the Committee was told, it is important to differentiate among groups within this population and in so doing, to examine some of the issues which are particularly important for them, especially in the context of employment related solutions. Both women and aboriginal people are among those unemployed or working poor who require specific attention.

3. *Addressing Special Needs*

a. *Women*

As the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women states, women continue to earn salaries which fall far below those of men and they continue to be over-represented in those segments of the labour market that are poorly paid, highly vulnerable to economic fluctuations, non-unionized and characterized by part-time work arrangements. These conditions contribute to significantly higher rates of poverty among women. In 1986 the rate of poverty for adult women was much greater than that of men, with adult women at 16 per cent and adult men at 11.7 per cent.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Between the early 1970's and the mid 1980's, the proportion of the female population in poverty rose from 45.6 per cent (using the 1969 Base) to 58.7 per cent (using the 1978 Base).⁽⁴⁸⁾ Women's continued responsibility for child rearing, increases in divorce rates and the relatively recent growth of single motherhood underscore the fact that women have particular needs with respect to employment and employment related solutions aimed at alleviating child poverty.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The lack of affordable, quality child care in Canada was identified by many witnesses as a major barrier to parents, particularly women, in their attempts to raise themselves above poverty levels. The Canadian Council on Social Development said, in their brief to the Committee:

Perhaps the greatest impediment to employment outside the home is the lack of affordable, accessible, and flexible child care options for low income and moderate income families with children. Yet this is imperative if sole-support parents and two-parent families are to obtain and maintain employment. The *Transition* report* concluded that the lack of child care is the number one barrier to self-reliance for sole-support parents receiving social assistance.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Statistics Canada, Catalogue #71-001, 1990.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Morley Gunderson and Leon Muszynski, *Women and Labour Market Poverty*, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, 1990, p. 7.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 8.

* Report of the Social Assistance Review, George Thomson, Chairman, Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, Toronto, September 1988.

The brief goes on to say that:

The lack of child care forces many low-income parents to make informal child care arrangements which can be less than desirable, while others abandon outside employment entirely and remain at home caring for their children, which can have serious economic consequences.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Witnesses pointed out that the Child Care Expense Deduction, as it now exists, is regressive because it is worth more in income tax savings to higher-income families than to lower-income families. For example:

...a parent with taxable income over \$55,000 claiming \$2,000 deduction will save an average of \$1,209 in federal and provincial income taxes, whereas a parent with taxable income under \$27,500 will save \$527 in averaged combined federal and provincial income taxes for a \$2,000 Child Care Expense Deduction. Poor families with no taxable income receive no benefit from this program.⁽⁵¹⁾

Another problem associated with child care and identified by a number of witnesses, is that the wages of child care workers are usually below the poverty line. While the Committee recognizes that these salaries fall within provincial jurisdiction, we feel compelled to indicate the importance of ensuring a reassessment of these salaries at the provincial level. Wages for these workers need to be increased to reflect the value society attributes to this work and to attract and retain qualified staff, as well as to provide the workers themselves with adequate incomes.⁽⁵²⁾

RECOMMENDATION

4. **We recommend that the federal government, in collaboration with the provincial and territorial governments, set out a policy on national child care outlining a range of child care options, as quickly as possible.**

b. Aboriginal Peoples

According to the *Canadian Human Rights Commission Annual Report 1989*, the relationship of aboriginal people to the labour force is troubling. Their figures show that Canada's aboriginal people are drastically under-represented in the labour force. Despite the presence of the *Employment Equity Act* (proclaimed in August 1986), between 1987 and 1988, aboriginal people increased their representation in the labour force only from .66 per cent to .77 per cent. At this rate of improvement, the report predicts that aboriginal peoples will not represent their current level of availability in the work force (2.1 per cent) until 2010. Aboriginal women's representation in the labour force, as a proportion of all aboriginals, declined over the same period.⁽⁵³⁾

Not surprisingly, there is a strong relationship between aboriginal poverty and aboriginal unemployment rates. About 75 per cent of aboriginal families with less than 26 weeks of employment live at or below the poverty line as compared to figures of between 40 and 50 per cent for non-aboriginals.⁽⁵⁴⁾

⁽⁵⁰⁾ "A National Strategy to End Child Poverty in Canada," 2 March 1990, p. 6.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief to the Committee, 2 March 1990, p. 7.

⁽⁵²⁾ Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia, Brief to the Committee, 20 March 1990, p. 4.

⁽⁵³⁾ *Canadian Human Rights Commission Annual Report 1989*, Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, Ottawa, 1990, p. 16.

The poverty rates among aboriginal families varies across the country from 56 per cent in New Brunswick to 32 per cent in Quebec.⁽⁵⁵⁾

c. *Employment Equity*

The *Employment Equity Act* is one avenue which can be used to address the employment-related inequality faced by women, aboriginal people, the disabled and other minority groups. This *Act* is strategically important. Witnesses emphasized that solutions to child poverty must ultimately entail concrete solutions to poverty among these groups.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Committee was told that the efficient implementation of both employment equity and pay equity are crucial to improving the labour market position of women, aboriginal peoples, the disabled and other minority groups.

The *Act* requires all federally regulated companies and Crown Corporations, with 100 or more employees, to implement employment equity procedures and provide annual reports on these procedures. Witnesses indicated that both the scope and the reporting/monitoring procedures of the *Act* require strengthening.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The lack of sufficient resources to quickly and efficiently investigate complaints will ultimately undermine the strength of the *Act*.

The *Act* is scheduled for review in 1991. Based on the testimony of witnesses, the Committee urges the federal government to consider in its review the long-term benefits which could be realized in providing better jobs and incomes for target groups. Any provisions to strengthen and improve the *Act* would make a contribution to a reduction in child poverty.

Witnesses also indicated repeatedly the need to address the poor salaries of those working in minimum wage jobs, the "working poor." Current minimum wages do not produce incomes sufficient to prevent poverty even for those who are employed full-time. According to witnesses, in 1990, a minimum wage of about \$6.85 would be required to raise the working poor individual to the poverty line⁽⁵⁸⁾ and a minimum wage of about \$7.50 would bring its purchasing power to that of the minimum wage of the mid-1970s.⁽⁵⁹⁾

In 1975, a fully employed minimum wage worker who supported a spouse and a child in a large city could earn 81% of the Statistics Canada poverty line income. In 1990, this worker could earn only 42.4% of the poverty line income. In fact, even if both spouses were fully employed at the minimum, they could earn only 84.8% of a poverty line income.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Table 4 from Appendix I of this Report, reproduced below, identifies the formidable monetary gaps between the annual minimum wage income and the poverty line in each province. The closest that a full-time minimum wage worker can come to earning a poverty line income is in Prince Edward Island, where workers can earn 59.3 per cent of the poverty line. The largest gap exists at the federal minimum wage level where workers earn only 41.2 per cent of the poverty line. Given that the *Fact*

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 19.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ E. Richard Shillington, 1990, p. 5.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 8.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Submission to the Committee by the National Council of Welfare, p. 36.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief to the Committee, 2 March 1990, p. 8.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Social Planning Council and Research Council of British Columbia, Brief to the Committee, 20 March 1990, p. 3.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief of the Committee, 2 March 1990, p. 8.

Book on Poverty shows that 37.4 per cent of dependent poor children lived in working poor families in 1986,⁽⁶¹⁾ it is vital that the issue of minimum wage levels be addressed.

TABLE 4

**A Comparison of Minimum Wage Income to the Poverty Line Income
for One Parent With One Child, 1990**

Jurisdiction	Minimum wage	Annual minimum wage income	Poverty line	Income as % of poverty line
Federal	4.00	7,904	19,200	41.2
Newfoundland	4.25	8,398	16,900	49.7
P.E.I.	4.50	8,892	15,000	59.3
Nova Scotia	4.50	8,892	16,900	52.6
New Brunswick	4.50	8,892	16,900	52.6
Quebec	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5
Ontario	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5
Manitoba	4.70	9,287	19,200	48.4
Saskatchewan	4.75	9,386	16,900	55.5
Alberta	4.50	8,892	19,200	46.3
British Columbia	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5

Note: Minimum wages are those prevailing on April 1, 1990. Minimum wage income is based on a 38 hour work week, and 52 weeks of work. The poverty line is the estimated Statistics Canada low income cut-off for each province's largest city.

Professor Allan Moscovitch, in his brief to the Committee, said:

There must be employment for the parents of poor children, employment at rates of pay which permit the family to reach beyond the level of measured poverty. Minimum wage rates like social assistance rates are set by each province and territory without public debate and without reference to living standards or changes in the cost of living over time. Adequacy is not a question to be confined to assistance rates alone: it must be addressed directly in consideration of the minimum wage. While this is the responsibility of each province and territory, the federal government is in a position to take the lead through the minimum wage it sets for public employees and for the employees of companies that do business with the government.⁽⁶²⁾

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 5. We recommend that the federal minimum wage be increased to a level that will provide an annual income equal to the Statistics Canada poverty line for an individual living anywhere in**

⁽⁶¹⁾ Ross and Shillington, Ottawa, 1989, p. 50.

⁽⁶²⁾ Brief to the Committee, 6 March 1990, p. 67.

Canada. After this level has been achieved, the minimum wage should be fully indexed to the cost of living.

6. We recommend that the new level of the federal minimum wage be required for all federally funded and cost-shared programs and contracts.

An additional concern with respect to income is the incidence of part-time employment in Canada. Families whose heads work part-time are five times more likely to be poor than those whose heads are full-time workers.⁽⁶³⁾

Given these concerns regarding employment, it is clear that the thrust of existing income support programs such as unemployment insurance and social assistance should be geared toward assisting those persons who are able, through adequate training, to re-enter the full-time, full-year paid labour force as quickly as possible.

7. We recommend that existing income support programs provide greater flexibility so that recipients who wish to undertake job retraining and/or further education to enhance their employability, not be subject to penalties with respect to the level of social assistance they receive, including their access to relevant services such as medical prescription coverage, etc.

The Committee feels that addressing the declining value of the minimum wage, and the issue of job training in combination with long-term job creation, are key to the erosion of conditions which perpetuate child poverty.

B. Current Government Transfers (Income Support)

Witnesses appeared to agree that government income support programs will still be required to eliminate child poverty even if higher levels of employment, employment equity, increased minimum wages, and accessible child care are achieved. The Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia, in their brief to the Committee elaborated on some of the reasons why this is the case.

The vagaries of the market economy, as well as individual circumstances, will not provide for adequate incomes to all families. For example, someone who is working full-time may have their hours reduced during a firm's economic restructuring. Another example would be a change in family circumstances such as an unexpected illness, pregnancy or family separation. It is clear from all the reports on poverty that families with a single earner have a greater incidence of poverty.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The federal government has three major income transfer programs which benefit poor families with children; the Family Allowance, the Refundable Child Tax Credit and the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP). The Family Allowance is paid to all families with children. The Child Tax Credit, administered through the income tax system, gives additional income support to low and middle-income families with children and CAP is targetted to "needy" families.

⁽⁶³⁾ Joan Vance, *Poverty in Canada*, Current Issue Review 88-14E, Research Branch, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, 12 December 1989, p. 5.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Brief to the Committee, 20 March 1990, p. 4.

1. Family Allowance

The Family Allowance Program was initiated in 1944 and the first benefits were actually received by parents in 1945. As Appendix II indicates, the rationale behind the introduction of a family allowance scheme was a combination of political and economic motives. However, in large part, the program was implemented with a view toward recognizing the fact that wages and salaries are not sensitive to family size and the costs associated with raising children. This Committee's report, *Child Benefits: Proposal for a Guaranteed Family Supplement Scheme* (1987), stated:

Since Family Allowance is treated as taxable income, this program is redistributive in nature, delivering greater benefits per child to poorer families. This effect is relatively mild, however, and the program continues to be broadly based. Its main feature is to grant a financial benefit only to those families with children. It thus imparts a measure of horizontal equity into the fiscal system. The Family Allowance has also come to be regarded as a symbolic gesture towards assisting all families, regardless of their financial situation, with childraising expenses.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Provinces may vary the amount the federal government pays to their residents according to the age and/or number of children in a family. The provinces of Alberta and Quebec have taken this option. The value of the Family Allowance in 1990 is \$33.33 a month per child for dependent children under the age of 18 years. From 1974 to 1982, the Family Allowance generally increased with the Consumer Price Index. However, in January 1976, Family Allowance payments were frozen at 1975 levels for one year and indexed again in 1977. In 1978, payments were restructured and the benefits were reduced by approximately \$6 per child, per month. In 1979, the payments were again restructured with the introduction of the Child Tax Credit. Between 1983 and 1984, the indexation rate was subject to the six and five per cent policy of fiscal restraint. In 1986, Family Allowance payments were partially de-indexed. As a result of this change, the Family Allowance is indexed to the rate of inflation over 3 per cent per year. Under a fully indexed system, since 1986, the current Family Allowance would amount to approximately \$38.58 per child per month, as compared to the current rate of \$33.33. By 1995, it is estimated that ten years of inflation will have reduced the Family Allowance to \$35.65 compared to the rate of \$47.75 had full indexation been maintained.⁽⁶⁶⁾

According to the National Council of Welfare, the tax-back on the Family Allowance will have serious long-term implications for its value.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The Family Allowance will be taxed-back at a rate of 15 per cent for every dollar of income over a \$50,000 threshold. Once the higher-income parent's income reaches \$55,240, a family with two children will lose all of their Family Allowance. Due to the partial de-indexation policy, the threshold will fall steadily over time and will thereby affect increasing numbers of families. By 1995, the threshold for tax-back will have fallen to an estimated \$41,886 in constant 1990 dollars.⁽⁶⁸⁾

⁽⁶⁵⁾ Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, June 1987, p. 8.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Ken Battle, *Child Benefits Reform*, A report prepared for the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, July 1990, p. 5. Note these figures are quoted in current, not constant, dollars.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ National Council of Welfare, *The 1989 Budget and Social Policy*, Minister of Supply and Services, 1989.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Ken Battle, "Child Benefits Reform," 1990, p. 5.

2. *Refundable Child Tax Credit*

The Refundable Child Tax Credit, first implemented in 1979, was designed to provide additional assistance in meeting the costs of raising children for low to middle-income families. Any parent or guardian who receives the Family Allowance is eligible to apply for the Refundable Child Tax Credit when filing an income tax return. Eligibility is based on annual net family income, and benefits vary according to family income and number of eligible children. For families with taxable incomes, the refundable credit reduces the tax which must be paid. Families whose taxes are less than the credit, or who owe no tax at all, receive a non-taxable lump sum payment from the federal government. The Refundable Child Tax Credit is the only component of the federal child benefits package which is uniform across Canada.

The Refundable Child Tax Credit for 1989 was \$565 for each eligible child and was payable in full to families with net annual incomes of less than \$24,769. There was also a \$200 supplementary credit for children under seven years. Like the partial de-indexation which has affected the Family Allowance provisions, the Refundable Child Tax Credit has also been subject to partial de-indexation. In this context, the assistance to low and middle-income families is deteriorating over time. Over the long term, the value of the credit will fall and the threshold level will also decline, meaning that fewer and fewer low and middle-income families will qualify for the benefit. A number of these realities call into serious question the anti-poverty/income supplementation objectives of this benefit. As is outlined in Appendix II, a family with two children (one under and one over seven years of age) earning \$24,769 receives the maximum benefit of \$1,353. By 1995, it is estimated that the maximum benefit will have declined to \$1,102 and families who make more than \$20,184 will not be eligible for the maximum benefit.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Witnesses expressed concern about the effects of partial de-indexation and the tax-back on the Family Allowance. The Canadian Council on Social Development stated:

Since 1984, the federal government has made some improvements to the child benefits system. They replaced the children's tax exemption with a nonrefundable credit and increased the refundable child tax credit. However, other changes have added to the systems problems. The federal government doubled the regressive Child Care Expense Deduction (from a maximum of \$2,000 to \$4,000 for children six years and under), introduced the clawback on Family Allowances for parents with net incomes over \$50,000, and partially de-indexed child benefits which is eroding their value over time.⁽⁷⁰⁾

It is clear that employment-related income, together with Family Allowance and the Refundable Child Tax Credit do not provide an adequate income for many families with children. More and more families are turning to the benefits provided under CAP, traditionally viewed as the program of "last resort." As we observed earlier, approximately 680,000 children live in families receiving social assistance. The *Fact Book on Poverty* reports that the percentage of "other poor" families (those where adults are outside the labour force) is increasing and that 62.6 per cent of poor dependent children live in such families. Furthermore, 86 per cent of the children in "other poor" families are in lone-parent families headed by women.⁽⁷¹⁾

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Ken Battle, *Child Benefits Reform*, 1990, p. 8.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Brief to the Committee, 2 March 1990, p. 12.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Ross and Shillington, Ottawa, 1989, p. 50.

3. *Canada Assistance Plan (CAP)*

CAP constitutes the legislative basis for what we know as the 'welfare system'. Introduced in 1966, it was an attempt to consolidate a variety of existing schemes for individual categories of need, e.g. unemployment, age and disability, into a more comprehensive arrangement of social assistance. CAP provides a minimum income for Canadians in need of financial assistance regardless of the particular situation or condition that gives rise to that need. The welfare system has been characterized by the National Council of Welfare as a 'safety net':

It (the safety net) comes into play when other sources of funds such as personal savings are nearly exhausted; when individuals are ineligible for support from other programs; when supplementary income is required to meet emergency or special needs.⁽⁷²⁾

Federal and provincial governments share equally under CAP in the cost of basic items such as food, shelter, clothing, utilities, household supplies, health care, transportation and personal requirements (personal care, grooming and recreation). Individual provinces decide how much to allow for each category of expense and, therefore, the overall level of assistance.

There is a great deal of regional variation in social assistance programs under CAP. Most provinces, however, have a social assistance program which provides benefits to individuals who require aid on a long-term basis (those classified as unemployable, e.g. due to disability) and to persons who are unemployed but considered to be capable of working.

The principal eligibility criterion for all welfare programs is 'need'. Need is determined on the basis of a means test which takes into account budgetary requirements as well as resources available to meet those needs. In the calculation of resources, certain exemptions with respect to personal assets and income are allowed.

Witnesses identified a number of reasons why CAP has not been successful in creating an adequate social safety net for Canadians. A primary concern is the less than adequate level of income provided to recipients everywhere in Canada under the Plan.

Professor Moscovitch stated that, while the preamble to CAP suggests benefits should be adequate, there is no definition of adequacy in either federal or provincial legislation or administration:

There are rate structures in each province with varying relationships to rates of poverty in each region but nowhere is the nature of the relationship spelled out publicly. Neither is there anything even approximating uniformity of rates across the country. Most importantly for child poverty, no family with children dependent on social assistance is able to achieve a level of gross income before taxation above the Statistics Canada Poverty line.⁽⁷³⁾

The only study currently available on the complex network of provincial plans which make up the Canadian "welfare system", reports:

It is impossible to describe in words alone the devastating impact of abysmally low rates of social assistance. No written account can even come close to portraying the damage to physical health and

⁽⁷²⁾ *Welfare in Canada: The Tangled Safety Net*, National Council of Welfare, Ottawa, November 1987, p. 1.

⁽⁷³⁾ Brief to the Committee, 6 March 1990, p. 5.

the scars to psychological well-being that can come from living at standards below those deemed absolutely minimal for basic subsistence.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Witnesses were also concerned about the tendency for some social assistance recipients to fall into the “welfare trap” where some people live for multiple generations in poverty. This is at least partly due to eligibility rules and limits on assets for recipients of income assistance under CAP. It can be argued, in this regard, that the low level of assets a recipient is allowed and still remain eligible, ensures that only the “poorest of the poor” receive assistance and then only when all other avenues have been exhausted.⁽⁷⁵⁾ According to this argument, the chances that people will eventually be able to pull themselves out of poverty are greatly reduced in the process.

Another concern involved the ability of people to become more independent of income assistance through the retention of earned income. Some witnesses argue that the steep rate at which the earned income of a recipient of social assistance is taxed back, effectively discourages recipients from supplementing their income and from earning their way out of poverty. According to the national coalition on child poverty:

The protracted longterm reliance on the social assistance system can be as debilitating as it is helpful. Many of the disincentives for “breaking free” from the welfare system are built into the system itself (e.g., reduction from monthly welfare cheques amounts equivalent to earned income, calculation of monthly assistance amounts after Family Allowance payments are deducted). Programs which enable and support self-reliance initiatives (e.g., child care, training incentive programs, assistance supplementation, etc.) are all key to enabling parents receiving assistance to take advantage of programs which would reduce their dependency.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Recently, the negative effects on children in families receiving social assistance under CAP have been documented. A survey on children’s health in Ontario, for example, compared illness among “welfare” and “non-welfare” children aged 4-16 years. The findings indicated that relative to other children, welfare children had over twice the rate of psychiatric disorder, poor school performance and incidence of smoking. In addition, they have greater than 1.5 times the frequency of chronic health problems and low participation in extra-curricular activity.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Precisely why being on welfare, as a distinct form of low-income status, has a negative influence on poor children has not been determined. Possible explanations include the stigma associated with receiving social assistance tied to social attitudes toward recipients, the needs-testing and the investigative methods of delivering social assistance. While being poor is strongly associated with psychiatric disorder and poor school performance, there is an independent association (aside from low income) between being on welfare and these conditions.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee stated:

⁽⁷⁴⁾ National Council of Welfare, November 1987, p. 82.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia, Brief to the Committee, 20 March 1990, p. 5.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Brief to the Committee, 3 April, p. 10.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Dr. Dan Offord and Michael H. Boyle, *Morbidity Among Welfare Children in Ontario*, A Brief to the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee, 12 December 1987.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ The Children’s Services Branch, Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services (with the Assistance of David P. Ross), *Low Income and Child Development: A Case for Prevention Strategies*, A Background Paper for the Ontario Social Assistance Review, June 1987 (hereafter referred to as the OMCSS Report).

We consider it is reasonable to assume that part of the explanation may lie in the continuing stigma of “being on welfare”, which attaches also to children. Public attitudes toward people who are poor but in the labour force tend to be more favourable than the public perception of social assistance recipients. Such attitudes, of course, do not differentiate between adults and children.⁽⁷⁹⁾

In light of these findings, the Ontario Social Assistance Review recommended removing children entirely from the social assistance system and using another program to meet their income needs.

Witnesses were unanimous in the view that the present system of delivering income support to poor families with children is inadequate and in some cases even harmful (see Recommendation 7, page 21). This Committee’s Report, *Child Benefits: Proposal for a Guaranteed Family Supplement Scheme* (1987) said that there was an injustice in the taxation and social security systems in this country because the benefits we provide for our children and the benefits available to other sectors of our society are not comparable. In 1990, this injustice continues.⁽⁸⁰⁾

It seems clear that in order to abolish child poverty, we must find a more efficient, less intrusive and less stigmatizing method of delivering support. As earlier portions of this Report described, the long-term solution to child poverty will entail a combination of income and service support, implemented simultaneously and monitored for its effectiveness on an ongoing basis. The Committee emphasizes that the income support schemes, outlined below, are necessary but not sufficient for the task at hand. We urge readers to consider the following discussion of income programs as one tier of the two-tiered approach we, along with the witnesses, envisage for addressing child poverty. The second tier, “service solutions,” is addressed in a subsequent section of the Report.

C. Income Support Options: Assessing the Impact of Recent Changes

Contemporary income support programs (Family Allowance, Refundable Child Tax Credit and the Canada Assistance Plan) are losing their effectiveness as “anti-poverty” instruments. Indeed, Appendix II outlines in detail the impact of various changes to the system which have taken place since 1984, on different family types at various income levels, by comparing the “old” system of child benefits as they existed in 1984 (the Family Allowance, Children’s Tax Exemption, Refundable Child Tax Credit and Child Care Expense Deduction) with the “new” system as it will look in 1994 (the Family Allowance with the tax-back, Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit, Refundable Child Tax Credit and the Child Care Expense Deduction, taking into account partial de-indexation). The year 1994 was chosen in order to take into account the effect of four years of inflation on the partially de-indexed system. The estimates are based on a “model family” with one child under seven years and one child over seven years. Estimates are outlined for one-earner, two-earner and single-parent families.

1. One-Earner Families

Among one-earner couples, all but the poorest families will experience a decrease in their child benefits over the next few years. Even the welfare poor family (with no earnings but receiving the Family Allowance and the Refundable Child Tax Credit), the only family with an increase in child

⁽⁷⁹⁾ *Transitions*, Report of the Social Assistance Review, Prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services, Toronto, Queen’s Printer for Ontario, September 1988, p. 115.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Senate of Canada, Ottawa, p. 39.

benefits, notices only a very slight increase (\$41) when compared with the 1984 levels. A working poor family (earning \$20,000 in 1990 and receiving the Family Allowance, the Refundable and the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credits) will lose \$241 over the 10-year period with a reduction in their benefits from a level of 10.4 per cent in 1984, of their earnings to a level of 7.8 per cent in 1994. Under the same conditions, a middle-income family (earning \$40,000 and receiving the Family Allowance and the Refundable and Non-Refundable Child Tax Credits) will also incur substantial reductions in their benefits; from \$2,066 or 5.2 per cent of their earnings in 1984 to \$806 or 1.7 per cent of their earnings by 1994. The upper-income family (earning \$100,000 and receiving the Family Allowance and the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit) will notice a drop in their benefits from \$1,408 in 1984 or 1.4 per cent of their earnings to \$180 or .2 per cent of their earnings in 1994.

2. *Two-Income Families*

Further research indicates the impact of these changes on two-income families and single-parent families. The results are very similar. The largest loser in two-income families are the middle-income families (earning \$55,000). Benefits fall by 45 per cent from \$2,312 or 4.2 per cent of their earnings in 1984 to \$1,272 or 2.4 per cent of their earnings in 1994.

3. *Single-Parent Families*

The working poor family (earning \$15,000 and receiving the Equivalent-to-Married Credit, the Child Care Expense Deduction for the younger child, Family Allowance and the Refundable Child Tax Credit) experiences a decline in benefits over the 10-year period. Benefits decline from \$3,046 or 20.3 per cent of their earnings in 1984 to \$2,862 or 19.7 per cent of their earnings in 1994. Middle-income single-parent families (earning \$25,000 with the same benefits as the working poor single-parent) see a decline in benefits from \$3,184 or 12.7 per cent of their earnings in 1984 to \$2,413 or 10.0 per cent of their earnings in 1994.

These declines illustrate the extent to which contemporary changes in child benefits have implications over the long term. The tax-back and the move from full to partial de-indexation are particularly important. These changes have severely undermined the traditional objectives of child benefits and the impending changes show the potential for greater erosion over time.

D. *Providing Income Alternatives*

Taking into account the factors which have been examined above, and bearing in mind the importance of an alternative income scheme which would help to supplement the capacities of families with children, this Committee has examined two alternative income proposals: a targeted option and a mixed approach. Either of these proposals would alter the situation of families with children, while simplifying a system which has become more complex and ineffective. However, the two proposals differ in the extent to which they target monies to certain families (i.e., those most needy) as opposed to adopting a more universal approach. The latter proposal will entail the expenditure of new money (approximately \$500 million), while the first proposal is a revenue-neutral approach.

1. *A Targeted Approach*

Based on current spending on child benefits and child-related social assistance expenditures, Appendix II indicates that a total of approximately \$5.7 billion was available in 1990. However, the research also indicates that by 1991, the federal child benefits system will pay out about \$1.7 billion less than it would have under the old (pre-1985) system. It is important to recall that the sum is a composition of all existing child benefits plus monies spent on children under the current Canada Assistance Plan.

Under the targeted option, current child benefits would be replaced with a single, Refundable Child Tax Credit. This Credit would pay \$3,075 per child for families with incomes under \$16,500, beyond which benefits are reduced by 25 per cent of other income. This design is modelled upon the consolidated child benefits scheme recommended by the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee in 1988. As Appendix II, Figure J indicates, a family of two parents with two children will receive no benefit beyond an income level of \$41,100.

The lack of any universal component (i.e., no Family Allowance) in this proposal means that families beyond the \$41,100 level would receive no compensation for the costs of raising children. A consequence of this option is the abandonment of the long-established principle of providing some income equity between households with and without children, at all income levels. Also important in this context is recognition of the fact that the estimated median income for a Canadian family in 1990 is approximately \$45,000. The cutoff for all benefits in this option is well below this median income.

2. *A Mixed Approach — Targeted with a Universal Component*

While the previous option is a “revenue neutral” approach, the Committee has also reviewed an option which entails the expenditure of new money. In considering the expenditure of new money, it is instructive to recall that research undertaken for the Committee indicates that an estimated \$3.5 billion will be removed from the child benefits system between 1986 and 1991. As the Child Poverty Action Group indicated:

The withdrawal of public benefits to middle and modest income families has not led to more substantial support for the poor in this country... From 1984 to 1988...real wealth in constant dollars grew by 15 per cent, but child benefits for poor families grew by only 6.6 per cent. So as we were withdrawing benefits from middle and modest income families, we were not taking the vast wealth of this country and redirecting it to families in need, which was the justification for doing it in the first place.⁽⁸¹⁾

The mixed option we explore entails the expenditure of a fraction of the amount removed from child benefits — approximately \$500 million.

This option adopts the same principle as the targeted option in that it is based on combining existing benefits and “rolling” them into one Refundable Child Tax Credit. Under the mixed option, the Credit would be \$2,775, the threshold for tax-back and the tax-back rate (\$16,600 and 25 per cent, respectively) would remain the same as in the targeted option outlined above.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 46.

The major difference in this second option is the maintenance of the Family Allowance for families with children at all income levels. The additional expenditure of \$500 million would sustain the Family Allowance program at current rates of approximately \$400 per child per year. This option does not include the “tax-back” on Family Allowance, but does tax Family Allowance as regular income.

3. Assessing the Options

Clearly, both options simplify the existing system of child benefits and are based on a recognition of the need to increase the amount of support available to families with children. Similarly, both options, by including an estimation of the amount of money spent on children under CAP and redirecting that money to a Refundable Child Tax Credit, remove children from the social assistance rolls. As emphasized in the Social Assistance Review Committee of Ontario’s Final Report, such a move signals a major advance in social welfare reform. In the contemporary system, social assistance recipients experience a very sharp reduction in their benefits (due to the loss of child benefits) once they begin to work. Providing working-poor families with benefits similar to those received by social assistance recipients, will serve to eliminate the “disincentive to work” and will facilitate a smoother transition from “welfare” to work.

Under both the targeted option and the mixed option, welfare poor families’ benefits would stay roughly the same, although under the mixed option they would receive an additional \$100 (\$2,775 from the Refundable Child Tax Credit and \$400 from the Family Allowance). In addition, social assistance families would be no worse off than they are under the current system. Appendix II, Figure J compares both options with the current system. Both the targeted and the mixed option mark a considerable increase in child benefits for working-poor and lower middle-income families. The mixed option would pay, for example, \$5,064 to a two-earner family making \$20,000. Under the current system, that family receives \$2,153.

The changes entailed in either option translate into quite substantial increases for families in Canada. The key difference between options is the maintenance of universal benefits paid to families with children at all income levels. A number of arguments are identifiable from those who support and those who reject the maintenance of a universal Family Allowance program.

Those who oppose an income support scheme which includes a universal component argue that current economic conditions can no longer support the ideal of universality and that its maintenance is more utopic than realistic. They argue that the money which is spent on maintaining a universal family allowance program would be better spent if it were directed to families in need, in a more targeted benefit scheme. Others assert that monies spent on Family Allowance payments could also be redirected and thereby provide the basis for full indexation of a Refundable Child Tax Credit component. It is impossible to assess the extent to which all of these arguments are likely to become facts, in the event a completely targeted option is selected.

Those who support a universal Family Allowance call upon a number of compelling arguments. For instance, they insist that universal social programs have always been the cornerstone of Canadian social policy and that they provide a foundation upon which more selective social programs are based. In support of the universal Family Allowance, the National Council of Welfare says:

All Canadians, no matter where they live and what their income, benefit from universal programs at some point in their lives. Abandoning the principle of universality in so prominent a benefit as Family Allowances would weaken the foundation of Canada's social security system. Over time, taxpayers' support for social spending would decline and people who have to turn to selective programs for financial assistance would suffer as a result.⁽⁸²⁾

Further, it is argued that universal social programs foster a sense of unity and community among all Canadians, and that a move away from this policy position will institute conditions that are fundamentally divisive and disruptive. As the Committee was told:

One of the consequences of eroding benefits to middle- and modest-income families, which is what the agenda is, is that it divides people in this country and creates conditions which are not generous for the poor- or modest- or middle-income people...when a government begins to erode benefits for middle- and modest-income families, it introduces class warfare into the social policy system and prevents either group from benefitting. If targeting really worked, then social assistance would be the most generous form of payment in the country. Historically, it is not, because there is no political foundation to social assistance.⁽⁸³⁾

Supporters of the Family Allowance also single out this program because it provides money which goes directly into the hands of women. Although the amount may not be substantial, supporters of the Family Allowance argue that the definition of substantial is relative. For poor and working-poor women, the ability to depend upon a monthly cheque has afforded them some degree, however small, of independence. Some argue that even among middle- and upper-income families, women may not have access to, or control over, any money, apart from the monthly Family Allowance cheque.⁽⁸⁴⁾

It is also important to recall that even though the Family Allowance is allocated equally, its treatment in the tax system means that poor families receive greater benefits than do middle-income families and those with the largest income get the least. Family Allowances are treated as income and taxed accordingly. As is indicated in Appendix II, a welfare poor family paying no income tax receives the full benefit, while a working-poor, one-income family with a \$20,000 income retained 74 per cent of their benefits keeping only \$295 of the \$400 per child payment. A middle-income family with an income of \$50,000 retained only 60 per cent of their benefit or \$239 per child, while an affluent family retained only 55 per cent of their benefit or \$220 per child. In light of these figures, it is apparent that although the benefit is labelled as universal, it is not purely universal in its application.

It seems clear that either income support option will need to be fully indexed in order to be effective over the long term. As previous discussions in this Report have emphasized, the move to partial de-indexation has severely undermined the effectiveness of current child benefit programs. In order to be fully effective as an anti-poverty instrument, full indexation of income programs must be ensured. In the absence of this measure, the benefits will continue to decline and will eventually reach a point where their effectiveness is nullified.

⁽⁸²⁾ National Council of Welfare, *Family Allowances For All?*, Minister of Supply and Services, 1983.

⁽⁸³⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 50.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ National Council of Welfare, 1983, *Family Allowances*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

8. We recommend that the federal government carefully review the following income support options prepared on the basis of statistical models used by consultants to the Committee (see Appendix II), and that they adopt either:

a) a national child benefit consisting of the Family Allowance (at current rates but fully indexed and without the taxback) plus an enhanced Refundable Child Tax Credit (fully indexed) at a rate which would meet the basic costs of raising a child. This scheme would be financed with monies saved from the elimination of the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit, monies redirected from spending on children under CAP, monies from the existing Refundable Child Tax Credit and \$500 million in new funds.

OR

b) an enhanced Refundable Child Tax Credit (fully indexed) targetted at poor families with children. This scheme would be financed with monies saved from the elimination of the Family Allowance and the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit plus monies from the existing Refundable Child Tax Credit and monies redirected from spending on children under CAP (see Appendix II).

The Committee recognizes that the implementation of either one of these income support options will entail the full support of the provinces, and their agreement to maintain current rates of fiscal participation in the Canada Assistance Plan, including the maintenance of services currently provided under CAP.

9. We recommend that the provincial and federal governments undertake an agreement to ensure that current levels of income support now provided by the provinces under CAP be maintained and subject to a rate of indexation comparable to that applied to other areas of assistance funded under CAP.

CHAPTER SIX: SERVICE OPTIONS

In this report and in the *Interim Report*, we have repeatedly emphasized that addressing the issue of child poverty in Canada requires a two-tiered approach if we are to alleviate the consequences of child poverty in the short term, and adequately manage it over the long term. By themselves, income and employment measures will not go far enough in addressing the effects of child poverty and neither will they support the long-term changes that are necessary. As one witness stated, it is important that Canadians be cognizant of the scope and depth of reforms that are necessary:

It is misleading to tell the people of this country that there are one or two things that will significantly address the problem (of child poverty). We have to learn from that experience. The Americans were told that if you put in programs like Headstart and if you target needing communities for extra benefits, you would deal with poverty. The American experience failed on a number of grounds. It could not work. It was not politically sustainable and it collapsed after six years.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Many witnesses who spoke from first-hand knowledge of dealing with poverty in general, and child poverty in particular, spoke of the need for services. They indicated that it is necessary for such services to be delivered in tandem with more macro-level reforms in the area of employment and income. However, witnesses indicated that there is every reason to believe that the best delivery of services will be conceived and developed on the basis of sound principles of child development,⁽⁸⁶⁾ a recognition of the need for federal, provincial and municipal cooperation⁽⁸⁷⁾ as well as cross-ministry cooperation.⁽⁸⁸⁾ This type of approach would avoid problems such as the fragmentation and duplication associated with the “patchwork” of services which presently exists.

One way of approaching the issue of service delivery is through a perspective referred to by one witness as the “life chances perspective”. Such a perspective ensures children a “pathway to a positive adult status from gestation through to young adulthood.”⁽⁸⁹⁾ This entails a recognition that children require an expansive range of services. Moreover, it recognizes that the specific nature of the services required varies among children, shifts throughout their development from prebirth to adulthood, and varies according to gender, cultural background and the community in which they live. Emphasizing the need for integrated services one witness said:

... that schools are important but they cannot do the job themselves; professional services are important but they cannot do the job themselves and schools and professional services are important but together they cannot do the job...we have to make provision for that continuum of income services, support and community development...⁽⁹⁰⁾

This general principle of a continuum of integrated services must be kept in mind when designing and delivering services described below.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 24.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 13.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 20.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 18.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 17.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 22.

A. Health and Nutrition

Poor children run a higher risk of being in poor health than do the children of higher income people. The rate of infant mortality among the poor is almost double the rate among the rich.⁽⁹¹⁾ The Canadian Medical Association reports that among the poor, infant mortality from infectious diseases is 2.5 times more common and accidental deaths twice as common as the national average.⁽⁹²⁾

The incidence of low birth weight, the single most important cause of infant mortality and a common predecessor of poor health in childhood and later life, is also higher among poor mothers. The Ontario Medical Association finds that a number of factors such as the poor nutritional status and smoking behaviour of poor single and adolescent women contribute to this situation.⁽⁹³⁾ Witnesses stated that the significance of good nutrition for pregnant and breast-feeding mothers cannot be over-emphasized. For example, children born to poor parents generally weigh 200-300 grams less than infants born to their better-off counterparts.⁽⁹⁴⁾

Low birth weight places children at a much higher risk for a host of problems in both the early and later stages of their lives. Perinatal mortality is much greater among low birth weight babies. Infants born below 2.5 kilograms run a risk of death within the first month that is forty times greater than those babies who reach full term and attain a higher birth weight.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Over the longer term these same infants run greater risks of mental deficiencies, physical handicaps, slow or retarded growth and neuromotor problems.⁽⁹⁶⁾ The costs to the health care system, of caring for low birthweight babies, are significantly greater than for normal babies.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Hospital costs, for example, can range from \$9,500 to \$60,000 for low birth weight babies compared to around \$5,500 for a normal weight baby.⁽⁹⁸⁾

Efforts to reduce the incidence of low birth weight must be seen as part of the solution to child poverty. Programs which provide nutritional supplements to pregnant women (vitamins, milk, eggs and orange juice) have been among those services effective in reducing the incidence of low birth weight.⁽⁹⁹⁾

⁽⁹¹⁾ Russell Wilkins, Owen Adams and Anna Brancker, *Changes in Mortality by Income in Urban Canada from 1941 to 1986: Diminishing Absolute Differences, Persistence of Relative Inequality*, Health Policy Division, Health and Welfare Canada and the Health Division, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, June 1989 (Information presented to the Federal-Provincial-Territorial Conference of Deputy Ministers of Health).

⁽⁹²⁾ Leslie Fruman, "Growing Up Poor: Disadvantaged in Every Way," *Toronto Star*, 29 September 1987.

⁽⁹³⁾ Submission to the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee, 9 January 1987.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 27.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 8.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 27.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 11.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Proceedings, 27 March 1990, Issue 19, p. 32.

RECOMMENDATION

- 10. We recommend the gradual implementation, over the next five years, of a national prenatal campaign focusing on pre-natal education with specific attention paid to high-risk pregnancies, especially among the adolescent population.**

One mechanism for ensuring early access to health care and to money which may provide nutritional supplements for pregnant women, is to make the current family allowance payments available to women *during* their pregnancy. In France, women receive a monthly allowance starting in the fifth month of pregnancy and continuing up until the child is four months of age, regardless of income. Once the baby has reached four months of age, the family's income is assessed and the allowance may be extended or adjusted. A similar program helped to reduce the infant mortality rates in Finland during the 1930s. Today, the Finnish maternity benefit is withheld from women who do not visit a clinic before the fifth month of pregnancy.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

RECOMMENDATION

- 11. We recommend that family allowance payments be available to pregnant women subject to a medical confirmation of their pregnancy *and* the maintenance of regular pre-natal health care, either through public health visits or attendance at community-based pre-natal classes.**

The Committee was told that programs which supplement the nutritional requirements of some mothers, particularly teenage and young mothers, should not preclude the implementation and continued support for programs aimed at preventing unwanted pregnancies. In fact, one witness suggested that in attempting to focus on specific issues with respect to the prevention of low birth weight infants:

...a wanted baby has a better chance in other words, a pregnancy that is truly wanted, rather than one that simply happens. That might be one effective way of trying to address the problem of low birth weight.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

The evidence suggests that continued efforts to support non-governmental organizations and agencies which provide accurate and accessible birth planning and birth control information will contribute to a decline in the rate of child poverty. The Committee sees these services as requiring adequate financial support in order to ensure their long term survival and effectiveness.

In addition to the issue of low birth weight, other nutritional concerns were made apparent. Nutrition is often seen as a health rather than a social issue. Isolating discussions of nutrition in this way obscures the fact that "factors such as education, literacy, housing, transportation, social support and economics greatly influence the nutritional behaviour of an individual or family."⁽¹⁰²⁾

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Based on information received from the French and Finnish Embassies.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 19.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 23.

The links between income and nutritional health are significant. Based on anecdotal evidence, the Committee learned that for families living on marginal means, the food budget is very often the “catch-all” budget. In other words, non-food expenses which cannot be met are often subsidized by the food dollar. This means that nutritional requirements are often sacrificed out of necessity.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Several witnesses indicated that these shortfalls in the food budget are particularly significant for social assistance recipients. Food and clothing allotments are far from adequate. In Nova Scotia, for example, social assistance recipients were receiving approximately 60 per cent of what it costs to buy food supplies based on the requirements of Agriculture Canada’s Nutritious Food Basket.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

For many years both secondary and post-secondary educational institutions have offered food services to their students. Very often these services offer nutritious and reasonably priced meals. The Committee was told that if similar services were made available in elementary schools across the country, these programs could supplement and begin to compensate for often meagre food allowances.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The Committee is aware of several school-based food programs that are currently in place across the country. For the most part, such food programs have been successful both as educational and as anti-poverty measures. The dual-faceted nature of these types of programs lies in their philosophy of linking the provision of food (breakfast and lunch programs as well as nutritious snacks) to the teaching of health and nutrition among students. Such a model involves students, teachers, parents and the community in a joint project aimed at both preventing and alleviating the problems associated with poverty and poor nutrition. The Committee supports the extension of similar programs so that children will have access to subsidized meals and milk in the public educational system.

In recent years hunger has become more visible in Canada, in part because of the presence and proliferation of food banks, soup kitchens and similar food related services for poor people. Concern was expressed by some witnesses that these services would become institutionalized in our society.

RECOMMENDATION

12. We recommend that the federal government allocate resources to study and make recommendations on the appropriate role of food banks and similar organizations in Canada, including such considerations as the possibility that food banks be converted into Consumer Cooperatives owned and run by low-income people and/or into collection and distribution centres for nutritious meals for school children.

B. Education

The relationship between child poverty and education merits special attention. The *Ontario Child Health Study* demonstrates that the odds of a poor child (defined as a child coming from a family with

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 23-24.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Proceedings, 10 April 1990, Issue 21, p. 25.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ *Children, Schools and Poverty*, Canadian Teachers Federation, June 1989.

an income of less than \$10,000.) having poor school performance (failing a grade or attending on a full-time or part-time basis, special education classes) are three times those of non-poor children.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Evidence from this same study also emphasizes that the rate of poor school performance varies markedly by gender. For young girls between the ages of six and eleven years living in families on social assistance, the rate of poor school performance is 28 per cent compared to 6 per cent for those in families not on social assistance. Rates of poor school performance are also much higher for girls than for boys.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The findings of a background study for this Committee (Appendix I) underscore the need for services which are sensitive to the problems of poor children in the area of education.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Despite the fact that education falls within provincial jurisdiction, the Committee feels compelled to emphasize the importance of educational services in assessing and addressing some of the conditions associated with child poverty. In this regard, The Canadian Teachers Federation have been successful in laying some important groundwork in their report, *Children, Schools and Poverty* (1990).

RECOMMENDATION

13. We recommend that the study by the Canadian Teachers Federation (*Children, Schools and Poverty*) be circulated among members of parliament at both the federal and provincial level and that it be used as a basis for consultation and discussion in preparation for the proposed national conference on child poverty.

Early childhood intervention programs help to ensure that poor children begin the road to adulthood from a position which begins to approximate equality with their non-poor counterparts. In speaking about this path one witness indicated that:

...growing up in Canada is a race. Everyone understands that it is a race. There are two things about this race that are important. First, one has to ensure that the race is fair. That means that things like prenatal care, day care, etcetera, should be the same for all kids so that everyone has an equal opportunity.... Also there has to be another area of investigation which focuses on the penalties for losing in growing up in Canada. So the two things are to ensure that the race is fair and to reduce the penalties for losing.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

In addition to the advantages that poor children receive from earlier access to the educational system, they also benefit from superior pre-school and extra-curricular programs which are both school and community based. Involvement in such programs appears to provide a "protective factor" which tends to shield poor children from the outcomes of marginal home environments, according to the *Ontario Child Health Study*.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 11.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 14.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Ross, David P. and Richard Shillington, *Child Poverty and Poor Educational Attainment: The Economic Costs and Implications for Society*, Ottawa, May 1990 (Appendix I).

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 20.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Dr. Dan Offord *et al.*, *Ontario Child Health Study: Children at Risk*, Queen's Printer, Toronto. The Study indicates that further research is needed to determine the extent of causality between protective factors and improved school performance and a reduction in psychiatric disorders among poor children.

To quote Dr. Dan Offord:

To sum it up, if you had to take an area in Canada where poor children lose out, there would be none more severe than the area of recreation and skill development...among the things that poor children need are the best outside-the-home programs that the country can provide, and they tend to get the worst.⁽¹¹¹⁾

This testimony suggests that cross-ministry cooperation will be essential in the establishment of such services. Ontario's Ministry of Community and Social Services is currently committed to a long-range demonstration project aimed at providing early intervention that will be located in approximately four to six economically-disadvantaged locations throughout Ontario. Each location will be representative of a different type of poverty. The project includes provisions for long-range follow-up to "track" the children who have had access to these early intervention programs until they reach 20 years of age. This study can be seen as a model which incorporates many of the principles discussed in the opening remarks to this chapter. The Committee sees this as a workable model and encourages other provinces to investigate the implementation of similar approaches to service delivery for poor children.

C. Conduct Disorders and Juvenile Delinquency

Conduct disorders (chronic aggressiveness and rule breaking) are more often reported among poor children. The prevalence of parental reporting of conduct disorders among poor children are four per cent compared to the 1.8 per cent for non-economically disadvantaged children. These differences are more startling when the incidence of teacher reporting of conduct disorders is examined, the *Ontario Child Health Study* shows. The odds of teachers identifying a conduct disorder among poor children are approximately seven times what they would be for children who are not poor.⁽¹¹²⁾ Conduct disorders are at the centre of the debate concerning the relationship between child poverty, juvenile delinquency and adult criminal behaviour. Recent longitudinal studies in Britain and the United States indicate that antisocial behaviour in adults can often be traced back to difficulties they encountered in early childhood (e.g. 1-5 years) including inconsistent and uncaring parenting, problems at school and poverty. These studies also found that early childhood programs show much promise in dealing with these difficulties.⁽¹¹³⁾ The Canadian Council on Children and Youth urges us to invest more energy and resources in studying and developing effective primary prevention strategies and that:

If we ignore the problems faced by children at risk of becoming offenders, we will certainly suffer the consequences. If we abandon these children to lives of unfulfilled promise and limited opportunities, we will pay for it in the future through the costs of an alienated population and lost productivity and creativity.

Witnesses emphasized the importance of integrating child and parental support programs as an approach to dealing with conduct disorders. Impoverished living conditions stretch parent's ability to deal effectively with the lives of their children and themselves. Feelings of powerlessness and helplessness undermine parents capabilities and their self-esteem and have long-term consequences for all household members.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 12.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Proceedings, 20 March 1990, Issue 18, p. 10.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Canadian Council on Children and Youth, *Safer Tomorrows Begin Today*, Ottawa, 1989, p. 1.

RECOMMENDATION

14. We recommend that Health and Welfare Canada provide financial resources to establish a fund to support a range of “self-help” projects. Provinces should be encouraged to avail themselves of these funds and should undertake to coordinate and assess requests for the money with local organizations (see also Recommendation 3). The federal government would screen for duplication, evaluate these projects, and disseminate information on their findings.

Serious consideration should also be given to more fully integrated social support services for families within the educational system. Local schools could provide information and, where possible, serve as the location for a variety of support programs.

D. Housing

Housing is an issue which received a considerable amount of attention from many witnesses. The issues of affordability, availability and access and the quality of housing conditions were all recurring themes.

On any given day in Canada, according to a 1987 study done by the Canadian Council on Social Development, there are at least 10,000 people living in emergency shelters. Throughout the year, between 130,000 and 250,000 people make use of shelter accommodation and about 20 per cent of these people are in families that include children.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Families who are forced to depend on emergency shelter accommodations may find themselves in this position for a variety of reasons. The Committee was told that the broader economic conditions faced by the parents of poor children are among the most important factors influencing their children's quality of life. Families who are living at slightly above or below the poverty line find it difficult to sustain contemporary housing costs and may be forced to live in conditions which severely compromise their children's life styles. The problem of affordability is exacerbated for families, particularly single-parent (predominantly female-led) families, who are dependent on social assistance income.

Affordability plays a major role in determining housing choices. The cost of various forms of housing has increased dramatically in recent years and neither minimum wages, nor income support levels, have kept pace with these changes. Such a situation means that housing costs often consume a major portion of household budgets, particularly among poor, working-poor and social assistance recipient families.

The Committee learned that for social assistance recipients and for poor and working-poor families, housing costs may account for between 40 and 60 per cent of their budgets. This problem is particularly acute for those who live in large urban centres like Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief to the Committee, p. 10.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Proceedings, 3 April 1990, Issue 20, p. 26.

One of the problems associated with housing for social assistance recipients is the fact that there is a large discrepancy between the amounts allocated for housing costs in the calculation of social assistance rates, and the actual cost of housing. A former administrator for the Regional Government of Ottawa-Carleton commented with respect to housing that:

...most social assistance recipients live in private housing...approximately 89 per cent of the residents of Ottawa-Carleton live in private housing. With increased costs and increased rents, a large number of social assistance recipients are paying in excess of 50 per cent of their income on housing. The consequence of that, of course, is that they have only 50 per cent of a very limited income to cover other essentials...the consequences are what you see in the street...the line-ups (at foodbanks) that begin toward the end of the month every month when people run out of money.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

These trends are not linked solely to social assistance recipients. According to a study using 1985 data, there is a strong relationship between income and housing affordability problems. Nine out of ten households with very low incomes spent at least 30 per cent of their income on shelter costs. Among households with incomes less than \$20,000, in 1985, renters were more likely than owners to spend 30 per cent or more of their income on shelter.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Within this group, there are certain people who are more likely to experience affordability problems. Lone-parent families, young families and one-person households, for example, experience more severe housing affordability problems than other groups and these problems are enhanced for urban dwellers. In 1986, 56 per cent of female-headed lone-parent families residing in urban locations paid more than 30 per cent of their income for shelter, as compared to 51 per cent in 1981. The situation is more severe for young families. In 1986, 72 per cent of households with a household maintainer aged 15-19 years experienced affordability problems, as compared to 62 per cent in 1981. Among those households with a maintainer 20-24 years of age, the percentage experiencing housing pressures was 46 in 1986 as compared to 37 per cent just five years earlier.

In addition to issues of affordability, concerns with respect to the quality of housing conditions and their potential impact on children were also noted. The Committee was told that there are links between inadequate housing, health and child poverty and that this situation requires immediate attention. Children who live in housing which is not well heated, insulated and ventilated are more susceptible to colds, infections and other health problems which, although minor, are potentially dangerous. The lack of safe and pleasant places for children to play means that they may run a higher risk of accidents and injuries.

The *Ontario Child Health Study* also found that there is a relationship between housing and more serious health problems such as psychiatric disorders, including conduct disorders and hyperactivity among children. The study found that children living in subsidized or social housing, particularly those which live in large complexes, have higher rates of such psychiatric problems. These disorders affect almost one-third of children, particularly those who are between six and eleven years of age.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

In addition to psychiatric disorders, the study found that there is a greater risk of poor school performance among children living in subsidized housing. Such risks increase greatly as the children

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 31.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Tom Bird, "Shelter Costs," *Canadian Social Trends*, No. 16, 1990, p. 9.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Dr. Dan Offord *et al.*, *Ontario Child Health Study: Children at Risk*, Queen's Printer, Toronto, 1990, p. 12.

reach high school, where they generally receive less individualized attention, and where they are expected to attend to their educational program requirements with more self-discipline. The percentage of children with poor school performance among those between 12 and 16 years of age was 42.2 per cent as compared to 13.6 per cent for those aged six to eleven years.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

These facts speak to the impact of inadequate and non-affordable housing on the lives of poor children and their families in Canada. The need for a renewed and strengthened commitment to housing was expressed by a number of witnesses. Concern was expressed that short-term interim policies in the field of housing must be combined with a long-term commitment to provide increased numbers of affordable housing units for those in need. The fact that current figures do not indicate a trend in this direction is a cause for concern.

For example, the availability of housing stock in Canada is approximately 9.5 million units, yet social housing accounts for a mere 5 per cent of the total stock and represents only 3.8 per cent of all new housing starts.⁽¹²⁰⁾

The Committee was also told that Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) recently experienced a 15 per cent reduction in the overall funds designated for new social housing in 1989-90 and 1990-91. This means that the number of new households which CMHC will be able to assist will be reduced by 6,000, from 42,000 in 1988-89 to approximately 36,000 for the current year.⁽¹²¹⁾ The Committee urges that greater financial commitments to housing programs already in place be vigorously pursued.

While the Committee heard from any number of witnesses who support the notion of affordable housing, there was also concern that new approaches to affordable housing need to be developed. A reliance on large-scale social housing complexes would appear to be misplaced, given the abundance of research which demonstrates that such living situations often foster a number of social problems for children and adults alike.

Canada Mortgage and Housing currently operates a Rent Supplement Program which is administered through an agreement between the government and a landlord. Under this program, a landlord agrees to set aside a designated number of their housing units which will be available on a rent supplement basis. This agreement spells out the rent that the owner will be paid for each unit, based on comparable accommodation and market rents in that community. The difference between the agreed upon rent and the tenant's payment is then subsidized jointly by CMHC and the province (according to a rent-to-income scale).

The problems with this manner of system were outlined by a number of witnesses who indicated the limited supply of rent-supplemented units in most communities. There is a need for greater flexibility in the administration of rent supplements.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Canadian Council on Social Development, Brief to the Committee, p. 10.

⁽¹²¹⁾ Proceedings, 6 March 1990, Issue 16, p. 19.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 15. We recommend that the federal government consider an alternative to the present Rent Supplement Program administered through CMHC, including a system of cost-shared rent supplements to be made directly available to households who pay more than 30 per cent of their income on shelter costs, up to a specified limit which reflects local costs of adequate housing.**
- 16. We recommend that the federal government increase their financial support to programs aimed at facilitating home ownership for low and middle income Canadians.**

In previous attempts to alleviate impoverished living conditions, housing was given a high priority. The Committee was told that similar will must now be focused on the provision of affordable housing to Canada's poor and middle income families with children.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

In preparing both the Interim and the final reports, we have heard from many of Canada's top experts and workers in the field of poverty in general and child poverty in particular. The paradox we currently face in Canada — that despite our wealth we continue to have unacceptably high rates of child poverty — deeply concerns us. We need to focus our priorities on substantially reducing the number of children who live in poverty. As this report has emphasized, the historical precedent for undertaking specific and successful measures to alleviate poverty among Canada's senior population is a powerful reminder that solutions to the problem are indeed "within our reach."

The fact that solutions are accessible does not mean that we are ignoring the complexity of the problems and the solutions. Witnesses continually emphasized the various dimensions and consequences of child poverty, many of which manifest themselves in a variety of adult social problems. The Committee is convinced that, simultaneously, solutions must address both income support programs and service provisions.

We recognize that innovative and resourceful federal-provincial/territorial negotiations will be essential to the success of the approach we recommend. While this report provides a set of recommendations which focus their attention on the role of the federal government, it is also necessary to underscore the importance of the recommendation calling for a national conference on shared solutions to the problem of child poverty. We see this conference as an opportunity for all levels of government, and the general public, to communicate and share in the development of a long-term strategy.

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the federal government fully support the objective of substantially reducing child poverty in Canada. Toward that objective, we recommend that the federal government show leadership by undertaking co-operative strategies, with other levels of government and the public at large, to address the needs of Canada's children living in poverty. (page 14)
2. We recommend that a national conference, involving all levels of government and the general public, on the subject of shared solutions to the problem of child poverty in Canada be held within the next twelve months. (page 14)
3. We recommend that problems facing aboriginal children be given top priority by the Minister now responsible for children's issues. Toward that end, we recommend that the department allocate significant financial resources to this issue and undertake consultations with relevant aboriginal organizations in order to assess the needs of aboriginal children in Canada, and establish an action plan for meeting these needs. (page 14)
4. We recommend that the federal government, in collaboration with the provincial and territorial governments, set out a policy on national child care outlining a range of child care options, as quickly as possible. (page 18)
5. We recommend that the federal minimum wage be increased to a level that will provide an annual income equal to the Statistics Canada poverty line for an individual living anywhere in Canada. After this level has been achieved, the minimum wage should be fully indexed to the cost of living. (page 20)
6. We recommend that the new level of the federal minimum wage be required for all federally funded and cost-shared programs and contracts. (page 21)
7. We recommend that existing income support programs provide greater flexibility so that recipients who wish to undertake job retraining and/or further education to enhance their employability, not be subject to penalties with respect to the level of social assistance they receive, including their access to relevant services such as medical prescription coverage, etc. (page 21)
8. We recommend that the federal government carefully review the following income support options prepared on the basis of statistical models used by consultants to the Committee (see Appendix II), and that they adopt either:
 - a) a national child benefit consisting of the Family Allowance (at current rates but fully indexed and without the taxback) plus an enhanced Refundable Child Tax Credit (fully indexed) at a rate which would meet the basic costs of raising a child. This scheme would be financed with monies saved from the elimination of the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit, monies redirected from spending on children under CAP, monies from the existing Refundable Child Tax Credit and \$500 million in new funds

OR

- b) an enhanced Refundable Child Tax Credit (fully indexed) targetted at poor families with children. This scheme would be financed with monies saved from the elimination of the Family Allowance and the Non-Refundable Child Tax Credit plus monies from the existing Refundable Child Tax Credit and monies redirected from spending on children under CAP (see Appendix II). (page 31)
9. We recommend that the provincial and federal governments undertake an agreement to ensure that current levels of income support now provided by the provinces under CAP be maintained and subject to a rate of indexation comparable to that applied to other areas of assistance funded under CAP. (page 31)
 10. We recommend the gradual implementation, over the next five years, of a national prenatal campaign focusing on prenatal education with specific attention paid to high-risk pregnancies, especially among the adolescent population. (page 35)
 11. We recommend that family allowance payments be available to pregnant women subject to a medical confirmation of their pregnancy *and* the maintenance of regular pre-natal health care, either through public health visits or attendance at community-based pre-natal classes. (page 35)
 12. We recommend that the federal government allocate resources to study and make recommendations on the appropriate role of food banks and similar organizations in Canada, including such considerations as the possibility that food banks be converted into Consumer Cooperatives owned and run by low-income people and/or into collection and distribution centres for nutritious meals for school children. (page 36)
 13. We recommend that the study by the Canadian Teachers Federation (*Children, Schools and Poverty*) be circulated among members of parliament at both the federal and provincial level and that it be used as a basis for consultation and discussion in preparation for the proposed national conference on child poverty. (page 37)
 14. We recommend that Health and Welfare Canada provide financial resources to establish a fund to support a range of "self-help" projects. Provinces should be encouraged to avail themselves of these funds and should undertake to coordinate and assess requests for the money with local organizations (see also Recommendation 3). The federal government would screen for duplication, evaluate these projects, and disseminate information on their findings. (page 39)
 15. We recommend that the federal government consider an alternative to the present Rent Supplement Program administered through CMHC, including a system of cost-shared rent supplements to be made directly available to households who pay more than 30 per cent of their income on shelter costs, up to a specified limit which reflects local costs of adequate housing. (page 42)
 16. We recommend that the federal government increase their financial support to programs aimed at facilitating home ownership for low and middle income Canadians. (page 42)

LIST OF WITNESSES

Honourable Alan Redway
Minister of State (Housing)

Tuesday, March 6, 1990
Issue 16

Dr. Alan Moscovitch
School of Social Work
Carleton University

Tuesday, March 6, 1990
Issue 16

Mr. Ovide William Mercredi
Regional Chief, Manitoba
Ms. Karen Isaacs
Policy Analyst
Assembly of First Nations

Tuesday, March 6 1990
Issue 16

Claudette Bradshaw
Executive Director
Moncton Headstart Program

Tuesday, March 6, 1990
Issue 16

Ms. Noreen Bell
Project Coordinator, Women Against Poverty Campaign
Alberta Status of Women Action Committee

Tuesday, March 6, 1990
Issue 16

Dr. Robin Walker, President
Ms. Marion Dewar, Executive Director
Ms. Michelle Clarke, Research Officer
Canadian Council on Children and Youth

Wednesday, March 7, 1990
Issue 17

Dr. Carol Russell
Project Design Coordinator
Primary Prevention/Early Intervention

Initiatives Children's Services Branch
Ministry of Community and Social Services (Ontario)

Wednesday, March 7, 1990
Issue 17

Mr. Terrence Hunsley, Executive Director
Ms. Melanie Hess, Researcher
Mr. Jean Bernard Robichaud, Senior Policy Associate
Canadian Council on Social Development

Wednesday, March 7, 1990
Issue 17

Mr. Dan Brown, President and Chief Executive Officer
Dr. Denise Avard, Vice-President,
Research and Information Services
Canadian Institute of Child Health

Wednesday, March 7, 1990
Issue 17

Professor Irving Waller
Department of Criminology
University of Ottawa

Wednesday, March 7, 1990
Issue 17

Dr. Dan Offord
Department of Psychiatry
McMaster University

Tuesday, March 20, 1990
Issue 18

Mr. Michael Goldberg
Director of Research
British Columbia Social Planning and Research Council

Tuesday, March 20, 1990
Issue 18

Ms. Kitty O'Callaghan, President
Ms. Heather Jane Robertson, Director, Professional Development Services
Dr. Stirling McDowell, Secretary General
Canadian Teachers Federation

Tuesday, March 20, 1990
Issue 18

Mr. Nathan Gilbert, Executive Director
Mr. Bryan Hayday, Chairman, Ontario Social Assistance Reform Network
Dr. Richard Volpe, Institute of Child Study, University of Toronto
Professor Marvyn Novick, Department of Community Services, Ryerson
Institute
Laidlaw Foundation

Tuesday, March 27, 1990
Issue 19

Ms. Marie-Paule Duquette
Dietician
Montreal Diet Dispensary

Tuesday, March 27, 1990
Issue 19

Dr. Denise Avard, Vice-President,
Research
Dr. Graham Chance, President
Ms. Rebecca Last, Executive Director, Canadian Cerebral Palsy Association
Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities

Tuesday, April 3, 1990
Issue 20

Mr. Trevor Williams, President and Chief Executive Officer, Family Service Canada
Mr. Gerry Gaughan, Board of Directors, Family Service Canada
Dr. Robert Glossop, Coordinator of Programs and Research, Vanier Institute of the Family
Family Service Canada
Vanier Institute of the Family

Tuesday, April 3, 1990
Issue 20

Dr. Glenda Simms, President
Ms. Norma Logan, Chair, Economic Development Committee
Dr. Elly Silverman, Director of Research
Ms. Joan Scott, Research Analyst
Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Tuesday, April 10, 1990
Issue 21

Ms. Sandy Dyer, Community Nutritionist, Halifax Social Planning Department
Professor Elizabeth Shears, Department of Home Economics, Mount St. Vincent University
Nova Scotia Nutrition Council

Tuesday, April 10, 1990
Issue 21

Ms. Susan Piggot, Chair
Professor Brigitta Kitchen, Social Policy Coordinator
Professor Marvyn Novick, Social Policy Coordinator
Child Poverty Action Group

Tuesday, April 10, 1990
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Ken Battle
National Council of Welfare

Tuesday, May 1, 1990
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David Ross and Richard Shillington
Advisors to the Committee

Tuesday, May 1, 1990
Issue 22

LIST OF BRIEFS

Honourable Alan Redway

Dr. Alan Moscovitch

Assembly of First Nations

Canadian Council on Children and Youth

Ministry of Community and Social Services

Canadian Council on Social Development

Canadian Institute of Child Health

Dr. Irving Waller

Dr. Dan Offord

British Columbia Social Planning and Research Council

Canadian Teachers Federation

Laidlaw Foundation

Montreal Diet Dispensary

Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities

Family Service Canada, Canadian Child Welfare Association,
Vanier Institute of the Family

Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women

Nova Scotia Nutrition Council

Child Poverty Action Group

National Anti-poverty Association (letter)

Edmonton Working Women

CHILD POVERTY AND POOR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: THE ECONOMIC COSTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY

Prepared for the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs,
Science and Technology by:

David P. Ross and
Richard Shillington

Ottawa, May 1990.

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INTRODUCTION

This study will not be to the liking of everyone interested in alleviating child poverty. By appealing to the economic self-interest of Canadians it has a restricted focus. It gives the appearance that the economic consequences of child poverty for the nation are the only important concern. However, this is not the intention of the authors or of the Senate committee. Many of the social and human consequences and miseries of child poverty will be dealt with in the Senate committee final report, of which this study is only a background document.

In developing this special study it was felt that more attention should be paid to the “bottom line” concern of what child poverty, and its association with school failure, can mean to the Canadian economy, especially as the population ages. If some Canadians can see their future economic interests and retirements being threatened by continuing child poverty, perhaps this may stimulate action. For those many Canadians who are sufficiently motivated by feelings of equity and social justice, this study (aside from, perhaps, Parts I and II) will likely be neither helpful nor harmful.

A major, and life-long cost to society of raising children in poverty is that they perform poorly at school; drop out of school in greater numbers before completing high school; and end up more frequently as low-productivity and intermittently employed workers. Part I of this report describes why this is so. There are two main reasons: a deprived material environment leads to many unmet needs and alienation, which is detrimental to providing a proper learning environment; and poor physical and mental health resulting from being raised in poverty makes learning difficult.

Part II of the report provides a picture of the number and composition of dropouts coming from low-income families, with a particular focus on the background and circumstances of their families (a “dropout” is someone who has not graduated from high school). Part III explores the economic implications to society of poor educational achievement — lower lifetime incomes and productivity, greater use of public income security programs, and smaller tax and premium contributions. Part IV provides an estimate of the economic costs society will have put in place by the year 2010 unless child poverty conditions significantly improve. Part V explores the added pressures that will be placed on the labour force due to the aging of the Canadian population.

I. WHY CHILDREN FROM POOR FAMILIES FAIL AT SCHOOL

a) *CHILD POVERTY IN CANADA*

At the outset it is important to define what is meant by “poverty” in Canada in the 1990’s. Poverty in industrialized societies is defined most often in relation to the prevailing standard of living. As such, poverty is deprivation — being deprived of a defined minimum bundle of goods and services routinely available to the average family. Absolute deprivation — facing life-threatening living conditions — is uncommon in Canada, although the growing presence of food banks and shelters and the need for school lunch programs attests to the life-threatening situations some people face. And absolute poverty can be found on some native reserves.

The measure of poverty

The poverty measure most commonly accepted as representing the official national poverty line in Canada, is based on the set of low-income lines used by Statistics Canada to estimate the numbers living in poverty each year.¹ Although Statistics Canada is careful not to use the word poverty, their low-income lines are designed to estimate the level of income where people have so much less income than an average Canadian family that they would be, by comparison, living in “straitened circumstances”. The estimated 1990 values for the low-income lines for people living in large cities are:

one person	\$14,000
two	19,200
three	24,200
four.....	27,900

and they continue on in steps up to a family of size seven or more.

The extent of child poverty

The precise number of poor children varies according to the poverty line used, the age cut-off employed to define children, and whether native children living on reserves are counted. Statistics Canada, employing its most recently revised (1986) low income cut-offs, has estimated that in 1988 there were 913,000 dependent children under the age of 16 years living in poverty.² This number, however, does not include native children living on reserves. Using 1986 census data, it is estimated that about 40,000 native children on reserves are living in poverty.

Consequently, the total number of children under the age of 16 years living in poverty in 1990 is around 953,000. If 16 and 17 year old poor children living with their families are added, the total would exceed one million. In looking at trends, the rate of child poverty for the years 1973, 1980 and 1988 has been relatively stable at around 16 percent, but the absolute numbers are up slightly.

Table 1 shows the type of family in which poor children live and the employment status of their parents (or guardian adults).

TABLE 1
DEPENDENT POOR CHILDREN, AGES 0-17
FAMILY TYPE AND FAMILY EMPLOYMENT, 1986

Characteristic	Number (’000)	Percentage distribution %
Total	1,121	100.0
Family type		
couple with children	641	57.2
lone-parent/female	402	35.9
lone-parent/male	24	2.1
other	53	4.8
Employment		
full-year	419	37.4
none, or part-year	702	62.6

Source: David P. Ross and Richard Shillington, *Canadian Fact Book On Poverty*. 1989, Ottawa, CCSD, 1989, page 50.

The majority of poor children live in two parent (or two adult) families. However, children cared for by lone-parent mothers are over-represented among the poor. Lone-parent mothers comprise less than 10 percent of all Canadian families, but care for 35.9 percent of all poor children. The majority of poor children also live in families where the adults do not put in a full-year of employment and rely mainly on government transfer payments, such as social assistance, unemployment insurance, and disability pensions. However, over one-third (37.4 percent) live in families where one or both parents or adults have a combined full-year of employment income. These types of families are commonly referred to as the “working poor”.

b) THE DEPRIVED MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT

As low as the low income cut-offs are, they are not representative of the amount of income most poor families struggle to live on. Most of Canada’s poor people do not live at the low-income cut-offs, but well below them.

The poverty gap

Detailed estimates of “poverty gaps” (the amount of money required to bring a household’s income to the poverty line) for various household types, and for different provinces are shown in Table 2. They reveal considerable shortfalls from the low income cut-offs.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD POVERTY GAP, 1986

Characteristic	Amount of gap
Canada	\$4,469
Province	
Newfoundland	4,151
Prince Edward Island	2,945
Nova Scotia	3,732
New Brunswick	4,077
Quebec	4,310
Ontario	4,532
Manitoba	5,076
Saskatchewan	5,132
Alberta	4,839
British Columbia	4,405
Family type (non-elderly)	
couple with children	6,162
couple with no children	4,349
lone-parent/female	6,365
lone-parent/male	5,698
Income source (non-elderly)	
mainly wages and salaries	4,605
mainly transfers	5,452

Source: Same as Table 1, page 53.

The data show that where a poor child lives in Canada helps determine how poor its family will be. On average in Canada, poor families have incomes \$4,469 below the poverty line; that is, they receive about \$375 less per month than the poverty line income. But this amount varies considerably according to which province the family lives in: the poverty gap in Saskatchewan is 1.7 times as much as it is in Prince Edward Island.

The type of family in which a poor child lives also helps determine the poverty-level income shortfall. A child living with a lone-parent mother lives in a home with a poverty gap \$203 larger than a child living with two adults, and \$667 larger than a child living with a lone-parent father. The lone-parent mother receives a family income of about \$530 less per month than that stipulated by the poverty line.

Children living in non-elderly families without steady employment, and whose main source of income is government transfers (social assistance, unemployment insurance, disability pensions, etc) are well below the poverty line — \$454 per month below. And children in non-elderly families where one or both parents have a full year of earnings are not immune to poverty either. In fact, the families of these children are only slightly better off (by \$70 a month) than children in families without steady employment income. Table 2 shows that working-poor families (income source is mainly wages and salaries) on average have incomes \$4,605 below the poverty line.

Incomes on social assistance

Social assistance benefits vary widely by province, but the national average social assistance benefit in 1990 is \$11,881 (\$990 monthly) for a lone parent mother with two children, and \$13,649 (\$1,137 monthly) for a two adult family with two children. The data in Table 3 provide a comparison between social assistance benefits and poverty lines.

TABLE 3
ANNUAL SOCIAL ASSISTANCE INCOMES AS A PERCENTAGE
OF POVERTY LINE, 1990

Province	One adult, two children	Two adults, two children
	%	%
Newfoundland	47.7	45.5
P.E.I.	68.0	66.9
Nova Scotia	57.4	57.8
New Brunswick	42.5	38.5
Quebec	42.2	44.1
Ontario	71.3	69.8
Manitoba	45.4	48.6
Saskatchewan	58.3	60.5
Alberta	48.2	49.0
British Columbia	48.1	46.8
National average	52.9	52.8

Note: Since Statistics Canada adjusts the value of its low income cut-offs for size of community, the cut-off for each province's largest city has been used as the poverty line.

Poverty and the minimum wage

Table 4 lists the prevailing minimum wages, and compares the annual income which could be derived from full-time, full-year work at the minimum to the Statistics Canada cut-off. The results show that a lone parent with the care of one child working full-time year round at the minimum wage earns only about one-half of a poverty level income.

TABLE 4

**A COMPARISON OF MINIMUM WAGE INCOME TO THE POVERTY LINE INCOME
FOR ONE PARENT WITH ONE CHILD, 1990**

Jurisdiction	Minimum wage	Annual minimum wage income	Poverty line	Income as % of poverty line
Federal	4.00	7,904	19,200	41.2
Newfoundland	4.25	8,398	16,900	49.7
P.E.I.	4.50	8,892	15,000	59.3
Nova Scotia	4.50	8,892	16,900	52.6
New Brunswick	4.50	8,892	16,900	52.6
Quebec	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5
Ontario	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5
Manitoba	4.70	9,287	19,200	48.4
Saskatchewan	4.75	9,386	16,900	55.5
Alberta	4.50	8,892	19,200	46.3
British Columbia	5.00	9,880	19,200	51.5

Note: Minimum wages are those prevailing on April 1, 1990. Minimum wage income is based on a 38 hour work week, and 52 weeks of work. The poverty line is the estimated Statistics Canada low income cut-off for each province's largest city.

It has often been countered that the level of minimum wages is not closely linked to poverty because minimum wage workers are either young dependents (school students) or secondary family earners (spouses) who can count on the support of others in the household. Exactly how many poor families depend almost exclusively on the minimum wage for their employment income is not known. However, the information in Table 1 showed that 37.4 percent of all poor children came from families where either one or both parents worked the full year but still had a poverty income. It can only be assumed that most of these adult workers would be working at or near the minimum wage.

In addition, a recent study by Statistics Canada has shown that in 1986, one million, or 9 percent of all Canadian workers earned \$4.00 an hour or less. And these workers were five times more likely than above-minimum wage workers to have collected welfare during the year (61 percent were women workers).³ And since welfare can only be received by those in poverty (measured by family income), minimum wage workers who are secondary family earners would not qualify. Consequently, among all poor workers there is a disproportionate number who are poor, minimum wage workers without income support from family members.

c) THE LINK BETWEEN A POOR MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT AND SCHOOL FAILURE

The above poverty gap, social assistance and minimum wage data are presented to provide insight into the material deprivation suffered by the children of poor families. These data are summarized in Table 5 to show the amount of daily income each person has available in the average poor family, the family on social assistance and the family relying on a minimum wage worker. The amounts in Table 5 take into account the federal benefits a family receives through the refundable child tax credit, family allowances and the refundable sales tax credit.

TABLE 5

**DAILY AMOUNTS OF INCOME AVAILABLE PER PERSON IN POOR FAMILIES,
BEFORE AND AFTER SHELTER COSTS, ACCORDING TO TYPE
OF FAMILY, 1990**

Type	One adult, two children		Two adults two children	
	total*	after shelter**	total*	after shelter**
	\$	\$	\$	\$
average poor***	14.80	10.40	11.35	8.10
social assistance	13.10	8.70	11.15	7.85
minimum wage	10.65	6.30	8.10	4.80

* Total amount of income should be adjusted upwards slightly in a few provinces due to provincial child benefits, but adjusted downwards for the average poor and minimum wage families due to the payment of income taxes. These adjustments will not substantially alter the daily amounts shown.

** An amount of \$400 per month is estimated for average shelter cost.

*** This represents the family with the average poverty gap income based on Table 2. This family's income is a mix of employment income and government transfers (including social assistance).

As Table 5 shows, depending on the type of poor family, a family of four will be left with between \$4.80 and \$8.10 daily per person of "discretionary" income after shelter costs have been paid (the average and minimum wage families will also be required to pay some income tax). Agriculture Canada estimates the weekly cost of a "thrifty" (no frills) nutritious food basket in 1990 to be \$109.88 for a family of four and \$78.39 for a family of three headed by a female adult.⁴ These weekly amounts require a daily food expenditure of \$3.92 and \$3.73 per person for a four and three member family respectively. This means that the four member families listed in Table 5 are now left with between \$0.88 and \$4.18 per person per day depending on the income source of the family.

But there are other essential expenditures that families must make. For purposes of keeping the discussion short, we will focus on the more representative two adult family since the two adult family cares for 57 percent of all poor children in Canada.

TABLE 6

**MINIMUM DAILY INCOMES AND ESSENTIAL EXPENDITURES
PER PERSON IN POOR FAMILIES, FOUR PERSON FAMILY, 1990**

Type	DAILY INCOME	DAILY EXPENDITURES				DAILY BALANCE
		Rent and Utilities	Food	Clothing	Household and personal	
average poor	\$1.35	4.61	3.92	0.85	0.64	+1.33
social assistance	11.15	4.61	3.92	0.85	0.64	+1.13
minimum wage	8.10	4.61	3.92	0.85	0.64	-1.92

Daily expenditures are those recommended by the City of Winnipeg's Social Services Department for families on social assistance.

The expenditures in Table 6 represent minimum essential expenditures required simply to maintain physical functioning. There are no frills in this budget. Personal care, for example, includes only items like shaving equipment and toothbrushes. Household care does not include furnishings, but only household maintenance items such as soap and cleaning supplies. No provision is made for a telephone, radio, transportation, newspapers, prescription drugs, dental care, public education costs or fire insurance all of which most Canadians would consider basic essentials.

It is apparent from Table 6 that with a daily balance of \$1.33 per person left after paying for the basics of physical survival, the average poor child's lifestyle is rigidly limited. There is no discretion in spending allowed. How far will \$1.33 go considering that: return public transport in Canadian cities is over \$1.00, a movie runs \$4.00, public swimming costs \$1.25 (which helps explain why the rate of drowning among poor boys is three times the rate for non-poor boys)⁵, music lessons are \$10.00 a session, a museum visit \$1.50, a rock concert \$15.00, and a hobby magazine is priced at \$2.00.

It is easy to see that \$1.33 a day will not go far in providing any type of diversion or stimulation for a growing child. At a minimum, gym shoes cost \$25.00, skates \$50.00, a birthday present for a family member \$5.00, a school dance \$5.00, a used bicycle \$55.00, a school trip to the environmental farm \$5.00, an extra sweater \$10.00, prescription glasses \$75.00 and a tooth filled at the dentist \$60.00.

It is also unlikely that poor children even have the maximum of \$1.33 per day available to them as we have calculated. In all likelihood the parents have already cut into this allowance to pay for other essentials such as food, home furnishings, drugs, apartment insurance, telephone, back to school supplies, christmas presents, and transportation.

Also, some working-poor families as Table 6 indicates already begin each day with a \$1.92 per person deficit. Obviously, not even the essentials are provided for in these families. The most likely expenditure to suffer is food: children simply are not eating a good diet. In Nova Scotia, the Nova Scotia Nutrition Council estimated in 1988 that a family of four required \$423.76 a month for food alone, but in Truro such a family on social assistance received a total of \$270 for food *and* clothing.⁶

Lack of income drives many families to food banks. A 1989 survey of food banks in Winnipeg revealed that of the 4,800 people relying on food banks in a one week period, 40 percent were children

under the age of 12 years.⁷ And a provincial parliamentary committee studying food banks in Ontario revealed there were 50 food banks in the province feeding 200,000 people a month of which 45 percent were children.⁸ In these low-income environments it is no wonder that children are less healthy, as a later section shows.

Standing in line at food banks is not the only way poor children stand out. The lack of money means there is no choice or options in any area of their lives. The absence of money for hobbies, travel, sports, clothing, grooming and reading make it difficult for poor children to develop good feelings of self-esteem, and to feel competent, confident, proud and equal around their peers. There is little opportunity for recreation or hobbies which contribute to sound personal development. In the bleakness of this lifestyle, poor children grow up feeling defensive, and all but the exceptional feel insecure. And insecure children become insecure adults.

In the face of material deprivation, it is not surprising that the school dropout rate is almost twice as high for poor children as for non-poor children. Poor families can scarcely afford what is becoming expensive “free” public education, and poor children are constantly humiliated and rejected because they cannot participate in the events that now take up so much of the public education curriculum. They are constantly reminded of their family’s poverty. They feel helpless and many become angry because of a situation over which they have no control.

At first, poor children may try to fit in with the other students, but over time they become frustrated with explaining why they cannot participate in the same events that the others routinely do. Slowly they drop by the wayside and either become isolated or choose their friends from among other disadvantaged children with whom they feel more at ease and less defensive. However, this disadvantaged group leads a different lifestyle, has less enriched experiences to share, develops a narrower outlook on life and establishes a more limited, and what seems to them, a more realistic set of expectations. Among this group of poor children, despair is reinforced and contagious. Poor children no longer aspire to the same ends as non-poor children because they realize their disadvantages and limits in a society so heavily governed by material well being.

d) POVERTY, POOR HEALTH AND SCHOOL FAILURE

Children from poor families are more likely to suffer physical and mental health problems attributable to the poorer diet of the mother before and during pregnancy, and after birth due to the less nutritional diet available to the child. The extra stress imposed on families struggling daily to make ends meet is also a factor conditioning a poor child’s physical and mental development — an economically depleted family is an emotionally depleted family. Children suffering from poor health will not be able to perform as well as healthy children at school.

The link between poverty and poor child health is well documented.⁹ In 1986, the mortality rate from all causes for children under 20 years of age in Canada was 56 percent higher among children from poor families than it was among higher income families. Infant mortality (first year of life), in the same year, was twice as high for poor as for higher income families.

From a national study on disability covering children (0-14 years) living at home, it was revealed that poor children had twice the rate of mental and physical disability as children from high income families.¹⁰ For severe disabilities only, the rate was 2.7 times higher for poor families. Statistics Canada

researchers concluded that the number of disabled children in Canada (living at home) would be cut by about 89,000 if low income was not a factor.¹¹

Health experts agree that a major cause of child disability is low birth weight (less than 2,500 grams or 5.5 pounds) which can lead to a number of health problems, chiefly: neurodevelopment disabilities, birth defects, and respiratory tract problems. In a national study using 1986 births and income data, Statistics Canada concluded that while low birth weight babies accounted for about 6 percent of all births, this percentage varied from 5 percent among babies from the highest income families to 7 percent for babies from the poorest families.¹² It was estimated that low income alone contributed to about 2,900 "excess" low birth weight babies in 1986.

There are also local studies providing evidence of a link between low income and low birth weight. In Montreal, a comparative study of the low birth weight babies of mothers drawn from a cross section of deprived and higher income neighbourhoods revealed rates of low birth weight twice as high in the deprived communities as in the higher income neighbourhoods.¹³ Also in Quebec, a strong link between low educational attainment of the mother and low birth weight has been established. And there is considerable statistical evidence linking low education and low incomes. In 1985, among mothers with less than nine years of schooling there was twice the rate of low birth weight babies as there was among the babies of mothers with a university level education.¹⁴

Among low birth weight babies there is 40 times the risk of neonatal (28 days after birth) mortality, and 5 times the risk of infant (during first year) mortality.¹⁵ Congenital anomalies are twice as prevalent among low birth weight babies and neurodevelopmental handicaps are three times as likely.¹⁶ Low birth weight is more likely to lead to lower IQ's, learning disabilities, developmental delays and cerebral palsy.¹⁷

The link between poverty, poor nutrition and low birth weight has also been documented by a Montreal analysis. In a controlled study of low-income mothers attending health and dietary counselling at a Montreal clinic, it was shown that an enhanced diet available to the second born (but not the first born) of the same 500 mothers led to a reduction in low birth weight babies by 50 percent.¹⁸

Although we are unaware of studies directly linking low birth weight with dropping out of school, the above evidence is strongly suggestive that students having physical and mental health problems such as developmental delay, lower IQ's and learning disabilities are going to find their school experience more difficult and frustrating and less rewarding than healthier children. In addition, less healthy children are going to be more frequently absent from school and placed at greater risk for falling behind. And a continuing lack of good nourishment and inadequate meals will create less attentive behaviour in class. Consequently, the inclination to leave this uncomfortable environment may be strong, especially when reinforced by the embarrassing restraints to participation in school activities due to lack of income.

The results of a large-scale Ontario government survey in 1983 of 3,000 school age children casts considerable light on the relationship between low income and various health and behaviour problems.¹⁹ Some of these problems have a direct link with school performance. A summary of the main results is provided by Table 7.

As evidence from the study shows, children from poor families have more health and behaviour problems (and smoke more, which is known to lead to health problems). Almost one third (29.7 per cent) of poor children were suffering from poor school performance or had chronic health problems (30.1 percent). These findings tend to corroborate earlier evidence and beliefs that children from poor families are less likely to succeed and feel comfortable at school and, therefore, be more tempted to drop out.

TABLE 7
RESULTS OF THE ONTARIO CHILD HEALTH STUDY, 1983:
PERCENTAGE OF POOR AND NON-POOR CHILDREN 6-16 YEARS,
WITH VARIOUS HEALTH AND RELATED PROBLEMS

Characteristic	Family income status	
	Poor	Not poor
	%	%
emotional disorder	11.2	5.2
hyperactivity	13.2	5.3
conduct disorder	16.9	4.8
regular smoker	25.6	11.6
poor school performance	29.7	13.3
chronic health problems	30.1	17.6

Source: Dan Offord, Mike Boyle and Yvonne Racine, *Ontario Child Health Study: Children at Risk*, July 1989; as well as Dr. Offord's testimony given to the Senate Committee, March 20, 1990.

e) SOME CHILDHOOD COSTS OF POVERTY

There are at least three obvious areas where child poverty imposes a societal cost during the childhood period.

i) **Direct health costs** — The medical and hospital costs of low birth weight babies alone is considerable. In Quebec (1984-85) it has been estimated that the typical hospital stay varies between 2 to 8 times longer for low weight babies.²⁰ The estimated hospital costs of these stays depends on the birth weight, but are in the range of \$9,500 to \$60,000, compared to around \$5,500 for a normal weight baby.²¹

ii) **Remedial and special education** — Although no cost estimates are provided here, child poverty imposes costs associated with the education of children who, according to the evidence, will have greater developmental delays, learning disabilities, cerebral palsy, and conduct and emotional disorders. These extra costs will be in the nature of special schools in some areas; specially equipped classrooms; transportation; specially trained teachers, counsellors and psychologists; and reduced class sizes and higher teacher-to-student ratios.

iii) **Alternate child care** — There are also some considerable costs not directly related to health or education. In 1986, there were 49,000 children in the care of the child welfare system across the country. A series of local surveys has shown that, depending on the locality, between 54 and 75 percent of these children come from poor families.²² The situation is even worse for native children since 20

percent of all children in alternate care in Canada are native children, although they account for only 2 percent of the Canadian child population.

The existence of child poverty greatly increases the likelihood that more children will require expensive alternate care arrangements. In fiscal year 1988/89, the amount of funds spent under the Canada Assistance Plan for special child care was \$800 million, or approximately \$16,000 per child per year.²³ These figures include the direct costs of foster care, group homes and residential treatment centres, but they exclude the cost of administering alternate care arrangements.

f) CONCLUSION

Although some of the costs associated with childhood poverty have been outlined, they do not end here. The biggest, most persistent and hardest to reverse economic costs to society are not recorded in childhood, but when poor children reach adulthood. One of the biggest costs is related to low educational attainment attributable to the elevated school dropout rate of children from poor families.

II. CHILDHOOD POVERTY AND DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

This section provides an estimate of the extent of dropping out of school, its connection with poverty, and a picture of the composition of the families of poor dropouts.

a) THE EXTENT OF DROPPING OUT IN CANADA

No national source on dropout statistics was found, however, it is possible to estimate the number by using education and age data from the 1986 census. The procedure followed was to look at the 20-24 year old age group in Canada and calculate the proportion that had not completed high school. This proportion amounts to 27.1 percent. Accordingly we have used this figure for the unadjusted national dropout rate. This proportion is also very close to that estimated by special surveys undertaken for a study of dropouts in Ontario.²⁴

However, a certain percentage of dropouts go on to complete their high school education at a later date. From two Ontario surveys this percentage has been estimated at between 14 and 18 percent.²⁵ Consequently, in calculations of the cost of poverty and dropouts, a 15 percent adjustment for later "catching up" is made. In effect, the adjusted national dropout rate becomes 23 percent.

Unfortunately, the census data do not link family income to dropping out. Therefore, of the total of school dropouts, it is not known directly what proportion come from poor families. However, by resorting to another data source it becomes possible to estimate the likelihood of poor and non-poor dropouts based on the population of Canadians 16 and 17 years old living at home with their families. The resulting estimate is that about 45 percent of the children from poor families are likely to drop out of high school.

b) THE NUMBER AND COMPOSITION OF DROPOUTS FROM POOR FAMILIES

As mentioned, national dropout data that identify the characteristics of the dropout's family background is limited. The best source appears to be the annual Statistics Canada Survey of Consumer Finances.²⁶ Although this survey does not directly ask questions concerning school attendance of all

school age children, the findings allow a determination of how many 16 and 17 year olds living with their families are not attending school. The survey does not reveal how many 16 and 17 year olds not living with their families have dropped out, nor does it contain information on the educational achievements of 18 and 19 year olds.

While the survey results do not provide an accurate estimate of the absolute number of dropouts in Canada, they do allow a fairly reliable comparison between the dropout rates in poor and non-poor families. Pooling the results of the annual surveys for four years (1982, 84, 86 and 87), makes it possible to provide certain details on the characteristics of the poor families of the 16 and 17 year old school dropouts.

TABLE 8

THE SCHOOL DROPOUT RATE OF 16 AND 17 YEAR OLDS IN POOR AND NON-POOR FAMILIES, POOLED RESULTS FOR 1982, 1984, 1986 AND 1987.

Characteristic	Poor		Non-poor	
	Rate	Distribution	Rate	Distribution
	%	%	%	%
Canada	16.0	100.0	8.5	100.0
Community size				
100,000 or more	15.2	50.9	7.5	48.6
other urban	18.1	33.2	9.5	32.8
rural	15.5	15.8	9.7	18.6
Weeks worked*				
0 - 48 weeks	17.6	67.2	14.3	16.7
49 or more	13.5	32.8	7.8	83.3
Family type				
couple/children	14.9	46.2	7.6	74.0
female/lone-parent	14.8	34.3	11.5	10.3
other	23.2	19.4	12.9	15.7
Head's schooling				
0 - 8 years	21.5	50.7	15.0	42.8
over 8 years	12.8	49.3	6.4	57.2
Spouse's schooling				
0 - 8 years	23.9	64.7	15.4	37.8
over 8 years	9.3	35.3	6.1	62.2
Social assistance**				
yes	21.3	44.8	19.5	4.1
no	13.3	55.2	8.3	95.9

* Total of weeks worked by either or both adults in family.

** Whether a family received more than half of its income that year from social assistance.

Poor families account for only 13 percent of all Canadian families with children, but they account for 23 percent of all dropouts in the 16-17 year age group. Table 8 shows some of the characteristics of the families of the dropouts. The dropout *rate* for children from poor families (16.0 percent) is almost twice that of non-poor families (8.5 percent). Two characteristics are associated with especially high dropout rates among poor families: low level of schooling of the family head (21.5 percent) or spouse (23.9 percent); and the family receiving social assistance (21.3 percent). These characteristics are also associated with higher dropout rates for non-poor families.

In terms of the *distribution* of all poor dropouts in the 16-17 age group, the profile is somewhat different. For example, even though the dropout rate among poor children is lowest in large cities, still slightly more than one half (50.9 percent) of all dropouts come from large cities. Also, the dropout rate for families with less than 49 weeks of employment is not much above the rate for families recording a full year of employment, but over two-thirds (67.2 percent) of dropouts come from families with less than 49 weeks of employment. The dropout rate for poor children from families where the head of family has only a primary education greatly exceeds that of families where the head has more years of schooling, but these better educated families account for almost one-half of the dropouts.

In terms of numbers, poor dropouts tend overwhelmingly to come from urban areas; live in families who hold less than 49 weeks of employment each year; and when residing with an adult couple (of which at least one is a parent), the spouse's schooling is primary level only. In fact, the education of the spouse in poor families (which by tradition in these surveys will most frequently be recorded as the wife) appears to have an even stronger association with dropping out. This association prevails (but less strongly) in non-poor families as well.

The findings for female headed lone-parent families requires some elaboration. The dropout rate (14.8 percent) for these poor families is below the average for all poor families. Moreover, female lone-parent families account for only 8.3 percent of all Canadian families, yet they account for over one-third (34.3 percent) of all poor dropouts. The reason this relatively small dropout rate and population proportion produces high dropout numbers is because during the '80s approximately 30 percent of all poor families have been headed by lone-parent mothers. Therefore, while they do not make up a large proportion of total Canadian families, they are vastly over-represented among poor families, and poor families of all types have higher dropout rates.

It should be stressed that these results concerning the extent and composition of school dropouts applies only to 16 and 17 year olds still living at home. From the census data discussed in an earlier section, it has been estimated that the dropout rate for all school-age children is about 27 percent. Therefore, the dropout rate of 18, 19 and 20 year olds must be considerably higher than it is for 16 and 17 year olds; but it is not possible to know with certainty what the composition of these older dropouts would look like. In the absence of further information, or evidence and insights to the contrary, it may be assumed that the profile for all dropouts would more or less resemble that of the 16 and 17 year olds.

III. SOME ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF DROPPING OUT

This section looks at some of the direct costs of dropping out of school: lower lifetime incomes and productivity; reduced tax and premium contributions; and increased benefits paid out through certain income security programs.

a) LOWER LIFETIME INCOMES AND REDUCED PRODUCTIVITY

The information in Table 9 reveals a strong positive relationship between education level, employment and income. These relationships are stronger for women than men. Lifetime income for females with a university degree compared to that of dropouts with less than nine years of education is 3.5 times as great. For men the income differential is 2.4 times. In most provinces and for most students, 12 years of education will constitute high school graduation, and the lifetime income of these people is also considerably superior to that of dropouts. It is 1.8 times as great for females, and 1.4 times for males.

TABLE 9

**ESTIMATES OF INDIVIDUAL LIFETIME INCOME, AND YEARS SPENT IN
VARIOUS LABOUR FORCE STATES, BETWEEN THE AGES OF 25 AND 65 YEARS,
BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX, 1990 DOLLARS**

	Education		
	0-8 years	12 years	Degree
Male			
income	\$1,100,000	\$1,500,000	\$2,600,000
years of employment	27.6	33.6	35.0
years of unemployment	5.8	2.7	1.3
years not in labour force	6.6	3.6	3.7
Female			
income	\$400,000	\$700,000	\$1,400,000
years of employment	14.0	24.0	29.6
years of unemployment	2.8	2.3	1.9
years not in labour force	23.2	13.8	8.4

Source: Tabulations based on Statistics Canada's Social Policy Simulation Database/Model, SPSPD/M. However, responsibility for the analysis lies with the authors. SPSPD/M is based on the Survey of Consumer Finances micro-data tape for 1986, the Family Expenditure Survey for 1986 and Revenue Canada Taxation Statistics for 1986. Survey values have been adjusted for under-reporting and are presented in 1990 dollars. Tax burdens are estimated based on the income tax and consumption tax systems in place in 1990.

The lifetime income data also reflect the economic value of worker productivity (output) in a market economy. Conventional economic wisdom holds that workers' earned incomes are closely related to their contributions to the economy's output.²⁷ Consequently, the figures in Table 9 can be loosely interpreted as dollar contributions to a nation's economic output, as well as reflecting the differential values of productivity resulting from different education levels.²⁸

Another perspective on economic contribution and productivity can be gained by looking at the connection between education level and labour force status. Generally, the higher the level of education, the more years a person will spend employed and the fewer years unemployed or not in the labour force. As with lifetime income data, education level produces greater differences among women than men. This occurs principally because women dropouts are much more likely to be completely outside the labour force than are men. An average female dropout spends 23.2 (58.0 percent) of her 40 working years not in the labour force (a typical male dropout spends only 6.6 years — 16.5 percent — out of the labour force). Between the ages of 25 and 65, women with a university degree will be employed 2.1 times as many years as will women dropouts. For males the difference is only 1.3 times. Both men and women with less than nine years of education will spend considerably more time either unemployed or not in the labour force than those with 12 years of education or a university degree.

It should be emphasized that being out of the labour force does not imply people are not productive in other ways, for example by raising children and performing volunteer community work. It only means their direct dollar contribution to an economy's output, as measured by gross domestic product (GDP), is zero.

b) REDUCED PUBLIC REVENUES

Table 10 shows that the public purse receives smaller dollar contributions from dropouts than those with higher levels of education, and the difference is much greater for women. The average male with less than nine years of education will contribute less than one-third the amount of federal and provincial taxes as will the average male university graduate. For females, the difference is much greater because the average woman with less than nine years of education spends more time out of employment than males. These women contribute to federal and provincial taxes only slightly more than ten percent the amount that their female counterparts do with university degrees.

The picture is somewhat different for the more regressive consumption taxes (sales and excise taxes that proportionally affect the poor more than the rich). The average male dropout will contribute about 60 percent of the amount a university graduate will, while a female dropout contributes about 40 percent as much.

TABLE 10

**ESTIMATES OF INDIVIDUAL LIFETIME TAX AND PREMIUM CONTRIBUTIONS
MADE BETWEEN THE AGES OF 25 AND 65 YEARS, BY EDUCATION
LEVEL AND SEX, 1990 DOLLARS**

	Education		
	0-8 years	12 years	Degree
Male	\$	\$	\$
federal income tax	133,000	220,000	447,000
federal consumption taxes	56,000	66,000	93,000
provincial income tax	92,000	134,000	281,000
provincial consumption taxes	56,000	64,000	91,000
U.I. contributions	14,000	19,000	22,000
Female	\$	\$	\$
federal income tax	26,000	72,000	195,000
federal consumption taxes	20,000	28,000	48,000
provincial income tax	18,000	45,000	134,000
provincial consumption taxes	19,000	28,000	48,000
U.I. contributions	4,000	10,000	17,000

Source: See Table 9.

The average male with less than nine years of education will contribute an estimated \$14,000 to the UI scheme over a 40 year working lifetime, compared to \$22,000 for a university graduate. For a woman dropout, her lifetime UI contribution will be \$4,000, compared to over four times the amount contributed by a university graduate (\$17,000).

c) INCREASED PUBLIC INCOME SECURITY BENEFITS

People with less than nine years of education draw greater amounts of social assistance and unemployment insurance benefits during a forty year working lifetime. Table 11 shows that among both males and females, dropouts will receive well over three times the level of social assistance benefits as will those with a university degree. In fact, even having 12 years of education cuts down the reliance on social assistance considerably.

TABLE 11

**ESTIMATES OF INDIVIDUAL LIFETIME INCOME SECURITY
BENEFITS RECEIVED BETWEEN THE AGES OF 25 AND 65 YEARS,
BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX, 1990 DOLLARS**

	Education		
	0-8 years	12 years	Degree
Male	\$	\$	\$
social assistance	47,000	19,000	15,000
U.I. benefits	60,000	30,000	14,000
Female	\$	\$	\$
social assistance	41,000	13,000	12,000
U.I. benefits	21,000	21,000	20,000

Source: See Table 9.

Among male workers, the educational impact on UI benefits is even greater. Male dropouts draw over four times the level of benefits that university graduates draw. Completing 12 years of education helps reduce the reliance on UI, but not as much as it does for social assistance benefits. For women, education has little impact on the lifetime level of UI benefits received. This is mainly explained by the fact that women with lower education levels are almost four times as likely (Table 9) as men to be out of the labour force and, therefore, to have not contributed to UI.

IV. THE ECONOMIC COST TO SOCIETY OF DROPPING OUT DUE TO CHILDHOOD POVERTY

The preceding section provided estimates of the lifetime effect that different levels of education are likely to have on income, employment, contributions to various government revenues, and receipt of selected income security benefits. These were estimates of the impact on individuals with no reference to poverty. We have been asked to go a step further and estimate the proportion of lost incomes and revenue and increased program costs attributable to dropping out induced by poverty only. Then calculate the total costs for all such dropouts and estimate the costs that will be put in place by the year 2010. The purpose of extending it over time is that the costs of a poor education are cumulative and lifelong. Once people drop out, their lifetime labour force patterns and future incomes are pretty well set.

We are well aware of the problems of extrapolating data twenty years into the future. Many changes will occur that are now unforeseen which will throw off the estimates. In interpreting the estimates that follow, less confidence should be attached to the absolute value of the numbers and more to the relative values associated with the different education levels. This means, for example, that the estimate for lifetime earnings resulting from an average level of education will be less reliable than the *difference* between average income, and the income of a dropout. Thus, in interpreting what follows, the greatest emphasis should be placed on the relative, not absolute size of the estimates.

The first step in this estimation and projection exercise is to estimate the proportion of lifetime economic effects attributable to dropping out of school only due to poverty. The second step is to estimate the number of poor children expected to drop out of school between now and the year 2010. Combining the information in these two steps permits the development of a cost estimate representing some of the economic consequences to society of poor children dropping out of school.

In order to do this kind of estimation, a set of assumptions was required. Due to a lack of guiding data, some of these assumptions are judgmental. Where this has been the case, we have tried to err on the side of downplaying the costs of dropping out to society in order to produce the most conservative cost estimate.

The estimating procedure is fairly simple. Dropout rates of 27 percent overall and 45 percent for poor children have been assumed, based on the available evidence. These rates are then reduced by 15 percent, which is the proportion that will later achieve high school graduation. It is not assumed that all poor dropouts do so solely because of their state of poverty since non-poor students also drop out. Using the known differential dropout rates for poor and non-poor children, the number of dropouts in the absence of poor children has been estimated. The difference between this figure and the actual number of dropouts among all children represents the number of dropouts attributable to poverty only. It turns out that although 23 percent of all dropouts are poor, only 11 percent of all dropouts can fairly be attributed to poverty. The rest probably would have dropped out under any income circumstances. The final assumption, based on evidence, is that males and females drop out in roughly equal proportions.

Statistics Canada population projections have been used to arrive at the number of children predicted to be in the age group 15-19 years between 1990 and the year 2010. The actual numbers for this high-school age cohort vary between 362,000 and 380,000 per year over the next twenty years. Using the dropout assumptions listed in the above paragraph, we estimate there will be about 11,000 dropouts each year due to poverty alone. Over the twenty year period, this amounts to 220,000 dropouts, although it is estimated that 15 percent will go on later to complete their high school education — leaving 187,000 net dropouts.

In order to estimate the economic costs attributable to 187,000 dropouts, it is necessary to predict the level of education that might reasonably have been expected of them had they not been raised in poor families. That is, if they had not dropped out, what would their lifetime earnings have been, their employment record, level of taxes paid, amount of income security benefits received and so on?

For this purpose, it is assumed they would have achieved the average level of education completed by non-poor Canadians in the reference group aged 25-34 years (to include the education level of older Canadians in the reference group during a time of rising educational standards would be to accept too low a level of educational achievement applying to the future). The average educational achievement is slightly in excess of 13 years of schooling. This is the education benchmark used to compare the economic performance of the estimated 187,000 dropouts against what they likely would have achieved had they not dropped out.²⁹ The results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12 shows the likely outcomes in dollar terms had poverty induced dropouts achieved an average education level instead. It should be noted that the first two columns relating to individuals are in terms of hundreds and thousands of dollars, while the last three columns relating to total effects are in terms

of hundreds of millions and billions of dollars. In the “lifetime individual” columns it can be seen, for example, that male dropouts would have increased their lifetime incomes by \$149,000, and reduced their reliance on UI benefits by \$6,600. Multiplying these individual amounts by the 93,500 estimated male dropouts over the 1990-2010 period produces totals of \$14 billion of income that could have been gained, and \$620 million less paid out in UI benefits.

TABLE 12

**ESTIMATED INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL SELECTED ECONOMIC GAINS
RESULTING FROM THE ELIMINATION OF POVERTY INDUCED DROPPING OUT,
COVERING THE PERIOD 1990-2010, BY SEX, 1990 DOLLARS**

	Lifetime Individual		Lifetime Total		Lifetime Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Combined
			(‘000,000)	(‘000,000)	(‘000,000)
Income	\$149,000	\$97,000	\$14,000	\$9,000	\$23,000
Income taxes:					
federal	33,000	17,000	3,100	1,500	4,600
provincial	17,000	10,000	1,600	1,000	2,600
Consumption taxes:					
federal	3,300	2,800	310	260	570
provincial	3,300	2,800	310	270	580
U.I.:					
contributions	900	1,500	80	140	220
benefits	-6,600	-420	-620	-40	-660
Social assistance	-3,800	-3,800	-360	-360	-710

Source: See Table 9.

The final column combines the hypothetical total benefits an average education would have bestowed on men and women dropouts over the next twenty years. Incomes (used as a rough measure of the contribution to Canada’s total output) would be \$23 billion higher if poverty induced dropouts had gone on to complete an average level of education. Federal and provincial income taxes would rise by \$7.2 billion, and consumption taxes by \$1.15 billion. UI contributions would increase by \$220 million and benefits fall by \$660 million. Social assistance payments would be down by \$710 million.

The lost benefits to society are large. Just in terms of a partial public sector balance sheet the costs are considerable. If the public revenues that could be gained by eliminating poverty induced dropouts were added to the savings on the UI and social assistance programs it would amount to \$9.9 billion. And the \$23 billion of foregone contributions to the nation’s output, measured by lost incomes, has to be somehow added to this. A rough estimate would suggest, therefore, a cost to society in the neighbourhood of \$33 billion (by comparison, a sum similar to the federal government’s annual budget deficit).

Table 13 shows the likely effects that eliminating poverty induced dropping out would have on labour force status. The achievement of an average level of education by dropouts would increase the number

of years of employment for women by almost two years, and reduce the number of years spent outside the labour force by almost the same amount. For both sexes combined, the gain in employment over the next twenty years would be in excess of one-quarter million years (260,000), which for comparative purposes is equivalent to the number of employed people in New Brunswick.

TABLE 13

**ESTIMATES OF INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL CHANGE IN LABOUR FORCE
BEHAVIOUR, RESULTING FROM THE ELIMINATION OF POVERTY INDUCED
DROPPING OUT, COVERING THE PERIOD 1990-2010, BY SEX**

	Lifetime Individual		Lifetime Total		Lifetime Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Combined
Years of:					
employment	0.9	1.8	88,000	172,000	260,000
unemployment	-0.6	-0.2	-56,000	-17,000	-73,000
out of labour force	-0.3	-1.6	-32,000	-155,000	-187,000

Source: See Table 9.

The total number of unemployed years would fall by 73,000. We have estimated that all dropouts contribute about an extra 1.4 percentage points to the national unemployment rate when it is in the 7%-8% range. Poverty induced dropouts contribute about 0.2 percentage points to the rate. The elimination of dropping out due to poverty would permanently reduce the national unemployment rate by something in the order of 0.2 percentage points.

In conclusion, it should be noted that we have restricted our study to an examination of the educational effects of poverty on dropping out behaviour only. We have not examined the possibility that, due to poverty, fewer poor children are likely to receive a post-secondary education.

V. THE NEED FOR A HIGHLY TRAINED LABOUR FORCE AND THE ADDED PRESSURE DUE TO THE AGING OF THE POPULATION

Around the turn of the century, it is not difficult to predict that the continued neglect of child poverty combined with a top-heavy age structure will exacerbate potential structural problems in Canada's economy. Some of these problems will be a relatively small and incompletely trained workforce; a lower standard of living; and grave concerns for the integrity of Canada's income retirement and health programs. These events will inevitably take place if current demographic trends and levels of child poverty are combined with the growing interdependency and competitiveness of world economies.

In a recent *Financial Post* editorial, the noted Harvard economist Robert Reich was quoted as saying:

"Every factor of production other than workforce skills can be duplicated anywhere around the world. Capital now sloshes freely across international boundaries, so much so that the cost of capital in

different countries is rapidly converging. State-of-the art factories can be erected anywhere. The latest technologies flow from computers in one nation...to computers in another nation. It is all interchangeable ...all except for one thing, the most critical part, the one element that is unique about a nation: its workforce".³⁰

And how will Canada fare in this internationally competitive environment as the population ages? Population and labour force forecasts performed for the government show that the share of 0-19 year olds (our future workers), represented as a percentage of the labour force, will fall from 57.3 percent in 1986 to 43.6 percent by the year 2011, while the proportion of seniors will rise from 21.2 percent to 29.7 percent (see Table 14). And this imbalance will worsen in later years. Around the year 2025, the number of seniors in Canada will overtake those of young people, and thereafter outstrip it rapidly. In the year 2031, there will be one elderly person for only a fraction of a future worker (0.84), compared to 2.7 young people for every senior just a few years ago (1986).

From the standpoint of actual labour force participants, each elderly person was supported by almost five labour force members in 1986, but by the year 2011 this number will fall to four, and by 2031 to two. These dramatic shifts will occur in the relatively short time span of 40 years. The structural impact on Canada's future economy cannot be overstated.

TABLE 14
CHILDREN AND ELDERLY AS A PROPORTION OF
CANADA'S PROJECTED POPULATION AND LABOUR FORCE, 1986-2031

Year	0-19 YEARS			65 YEARS AND OVER		
	No.	Percent of population	Expressed as percent of labour force	No.	Percent of population	Expressed as percent of labour force
	('000)	%	%	('000)	%	%
1986	7,392	28.9	57.3	2,738	10.6	21.2
1991	7,389	27.6	53.7	3,154	11.8	22.9
2001	7,273	25.5	48.2	3,837	13.4	25.4
2011	6,717	22.7	43.6	4,578	15.4	29.7
2021	6,506	21.4	44.0	6,018	19.9	40.7
2031	6,262	20.7	44.5	7,383	24.5	52.4

Source: Adapted from Frank Denton and Byron Spencer, "Population Change and the Future Labour Force", January 1987. Background paper for the study recently completed under Health and Welfare Canada's Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy. Note that numbers under the "percent of labour force" columns are not the projected shares these age groups will constitute of the labour force, but rather are simply the numbers represented as a percentage of the labour force.

What these shifts mean, combined with greater international competitiveness and the increasing inability to shield our society from international forces, is that a premium will be placed on achieving the very best education and human resource development for our children. Canada, and especially our retirement income and health systems, will simply not be able to afford around 16 percent of its children growing up poor with the consequences this has for low levels of education and an unskilled labour force.

Table 15 shows the expected costs per labour force member of three sets of programs strongly affected by an aging population: one set consists of tax financed elderly benefits provided by Old Age Security (OAS), the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS), and Spouse's Allowance (SPA); a second set consists of the employer/employee contributory Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (CPP/QPP); and the final set is our publicly funded health care programs.

The dollar figures in Table 15 have been constructed in such a manner as to show the expected costs for each labour force member in constant 1990 dollars. The total cost borne by each labour force member for the three sets of programs rises from \$4,500 in 1991 to \$8,300 in 2031. Consequently, if today's workers paid the same price that will be borne by their children, the cost today would be \$3,800 more per worker. In today's dollars the total cost of these three sets of programs will grow from about \$59 billion to around \$109 billion. This increased burden places an emphasis on making sure that all future labour force members are as productive as possible.

TABLE 15

**COST OF SELECTED SOCIAL BENEFITS, CALCULATED FOR EACH LABOUR
FORCE MEMBER, 1990 DOLLARS, FOR THE PERIOD 1991-2031**

Year	OAS/GIS/SPA	CPP/QPP	Health Care	Total
	\$	\$	\$	\$
1991	1,100	700	2,700	4,500
2001	1,300	900	2,900	5,100
2011	1,500	1,100	3,200	5,800
2021	2,000	1,300	3,700	7,000
2031	2,600	1,500	4,200	8,300

Source: Calculations by authors based on population and labour force projections from Denton and Spencer, *op. cit.*; CPP/QPP contribution rates are those legislated up to the year 2011, and thereafter increased to 11 percent in line with the figure recommended by pension experts; and total health costs projected by H. Messenger and B. Powell, "The Implications of Canada's Aging Society on Social Expenditures", in *Aging in Canada*, ed. V. Marshall, Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1987.

CONCLUSION

During the 1960's and 70's a concentrated effort was put in place to reduce the very high rates of poverty found among elderly Canadians. Much of this stimulus was provided by the Economic Council of Canada's annual report in 1968 highlighting the extent of poverty among the elderly.³¹ In response to this report, the Senate established a special committee on poverty under Senator David Croll.³² The widely publicized findings of this committee corroborated in greater detail what the Economic Council had discovered. Among many proposed improvements, the Senate committee recommended a form of guaranteed annual income to help overcome Canada's poverty problems.

A guaranteed income for all age groups has not come about in Canada, but the improvement of elderly benefits has allowed the rate of poverty among elderly households to decline from 37.8 percent in 1973 to 29.4 percent in 1988. By contrast, during this same period, the rate of poverty among all Canadian households barely improved, falling from 20.6 percent to 20.0 percent. Consequently, the elderly have considerably improved their economic lot relative to other Canadians.

Canada should now extend to its children the same kind of sustained support it has offered its elderly. If a sense of equity and justice is not sufficient to motivate most Canadians to support efforts to eliminate child poverty, then perhaps an appeal to economic self-interest will work. This self-interest is based on the recognition that continuing levels of child poverty will make it extremely difficult to sustain the requisite degree of economic competitiveness come the turn of the century. This will in turn make it impossible to maintain our retirement benefits and health care systems. Canada will no longer be able to waste its most important economic resource — its children. If by the year 2010, it is still failing to squeeze the maximum potential from its shrinking human resource base, it could be a country unable to compete on the world stage. It will also fail to provide those in retirement with the standard of living they have come to enjoy and expect.

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2. Some confusion in the numbers has been created by people using the out-dated 1978 version of the Statistics Canada lines. The 1978 lines have been superseded by the 1986 revisions. Nonetheless, even using the 1978 based lines, the number of children under 16 years living in poverty is 875,000, and with the inclusion of native children on reserves would be around 915,000. The further addition of 16 and 17 year old dependent children would bring the total to over one million today.
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4. Agriculture Canada, *Retail Food Price Report*, February 16, 1990.
5. Denise Avard and Louise Hanvey, *The Health of Canada's Children*, Ottawa, Canadian Institute of Child Health, 1989.
6. Noya Scotia Nutrition Council. Information contained in a brief to the Senate Committee on Child Poverty, April 10, 1990.
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8. Report on food banks compiled by the Ontario Parliament's Standing Committee on Social Development, released April 23, 1990.
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10. The data for these results are from the *Health and Activity Limitations Survey, 1986*, conducted by Statistics Canada. The results referred to are taken from the presentation to the House of Commons Committee on Poverty, by Statistics Canada researcher Russell Wilkins, February 21, 1990.
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12. Wilkins, *op. cit.*
13. C. Colin and H. Desrosiers, *Naître égaux et en santé*, Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, Québec, 1989.
14. C. Colin and H. Desrosiers, *Naître égaux et en santé*, Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, Québec, 1989.

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16. M. McCormick, *op. cit.*
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21. Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities, "Low Birth Weight and Poverty", a brief to the Senate Committee studying child poverty, April 3, 1990.
22. *A Choice of Futures: Canada's Commitment to its Children*, prepared by the Child Welfare Group, 1988.
23. Updated figures provided by Health and Welfare Canada officials.
24. G. Radwanski, *Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education and the Issue of Dropouts*, Ontario, Ministry of Education, 1987. The two estimates for this study, confined to the Ontario experience, were 30 and 33 percent.
25. G. Radwanski, *op. cit.*
26. The Survey of Consumer Finances is a major household survey conducted annually by Statistics Canada. The survey covers about 37,000 households. The major findings of this survey are published annually in *Income Distributions by Size in Canada*, but the more detailed analysis that follows is the result of calculations made using the micro-data tapes.
27. Technically, earned income is the variable to best monitor productivity with, and not total income. However, earned income comprises almost 90 percent of total income in Canada. Therefore, total income is a reasonable proxy for earned income and productivity.
28. One important note concerning our estimation procedure: the estimates for employment, income, public revenue contributions and income security benefits received are based on the employment behaviour experienced in 1986. The unemployment rate in 1986 was 9.5 percent, which compares with an average of 9.3 percent for the decade of the '80s. It is difficult to predict unemployment rates over the next twenty years. Knowing that dropouts will likely find employment more difficult to obtain when unemployment is high, if unemployment runs below the assumed 9.5 percent for the next twenty years, our estimates for income, employment and public revenue contributions for dropouts will be relatively low. On the other hand, if unemployment typically exceeds 9.5 percent over the next twenty years, the

estimates of these variables relating to dropouts will be overstated relative to more highly educated workers.

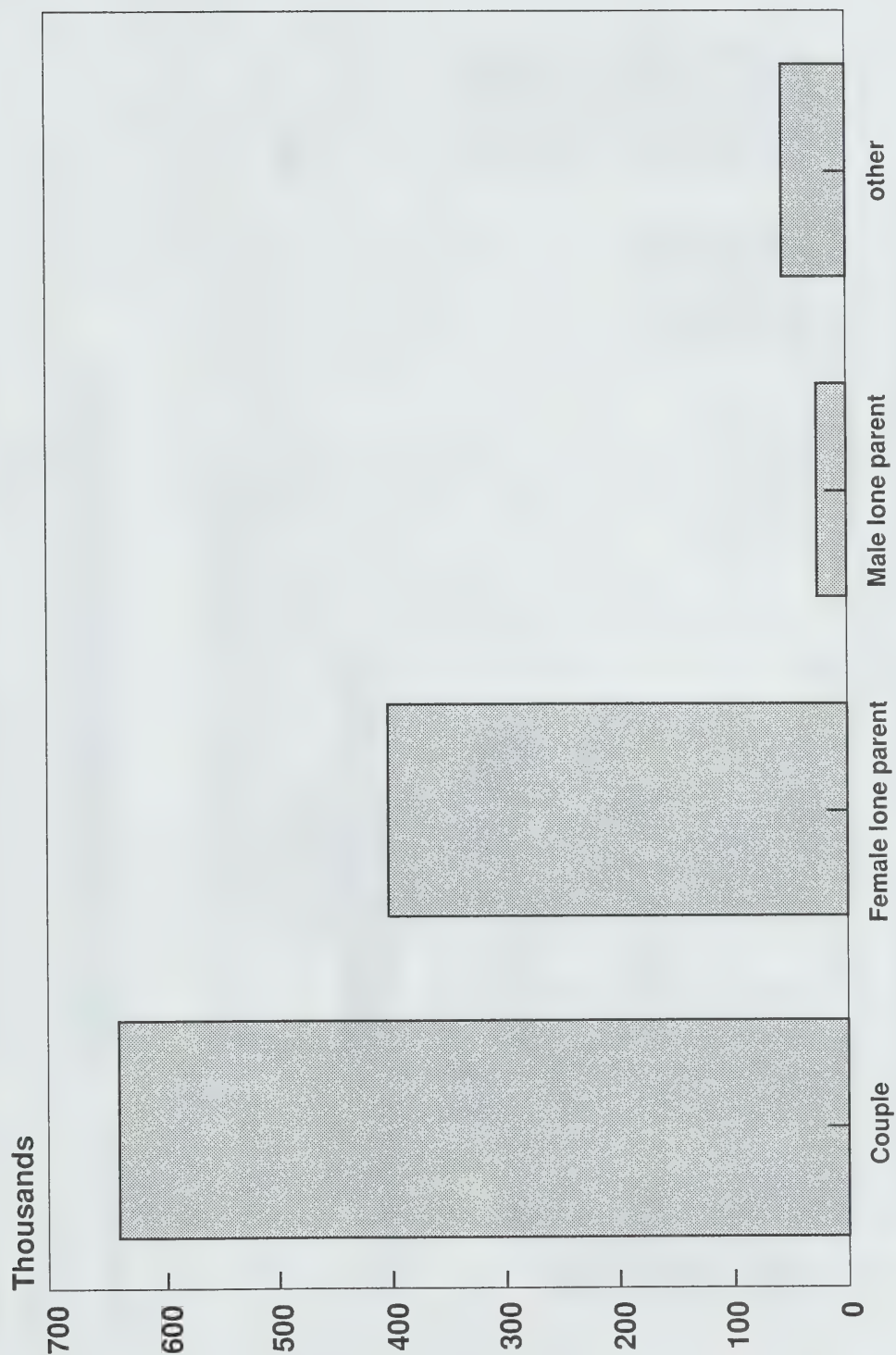
29. By limiting “lifetime” to the period 25-65 years, it may be thought that we are biasing the income and public revenue contributions against those with less education since they will devote slightly more years to the labour force than those with higher education. But, in fact, the reverse is true since the greater income of those with higher education overcome the longer years at lower incomes experienced by those with less formal education. For example, most high school graduates will be in the labour force between the ages of 18 and 23, compared to a high school dropout who enters the labour market between the ages of 16 and 18. However, the extra years of potential income for the dropout (marked also by more periods of unemployment) before the age of 25 do not offset the higher incomes of high school graduates during the years they are employed before age 25.

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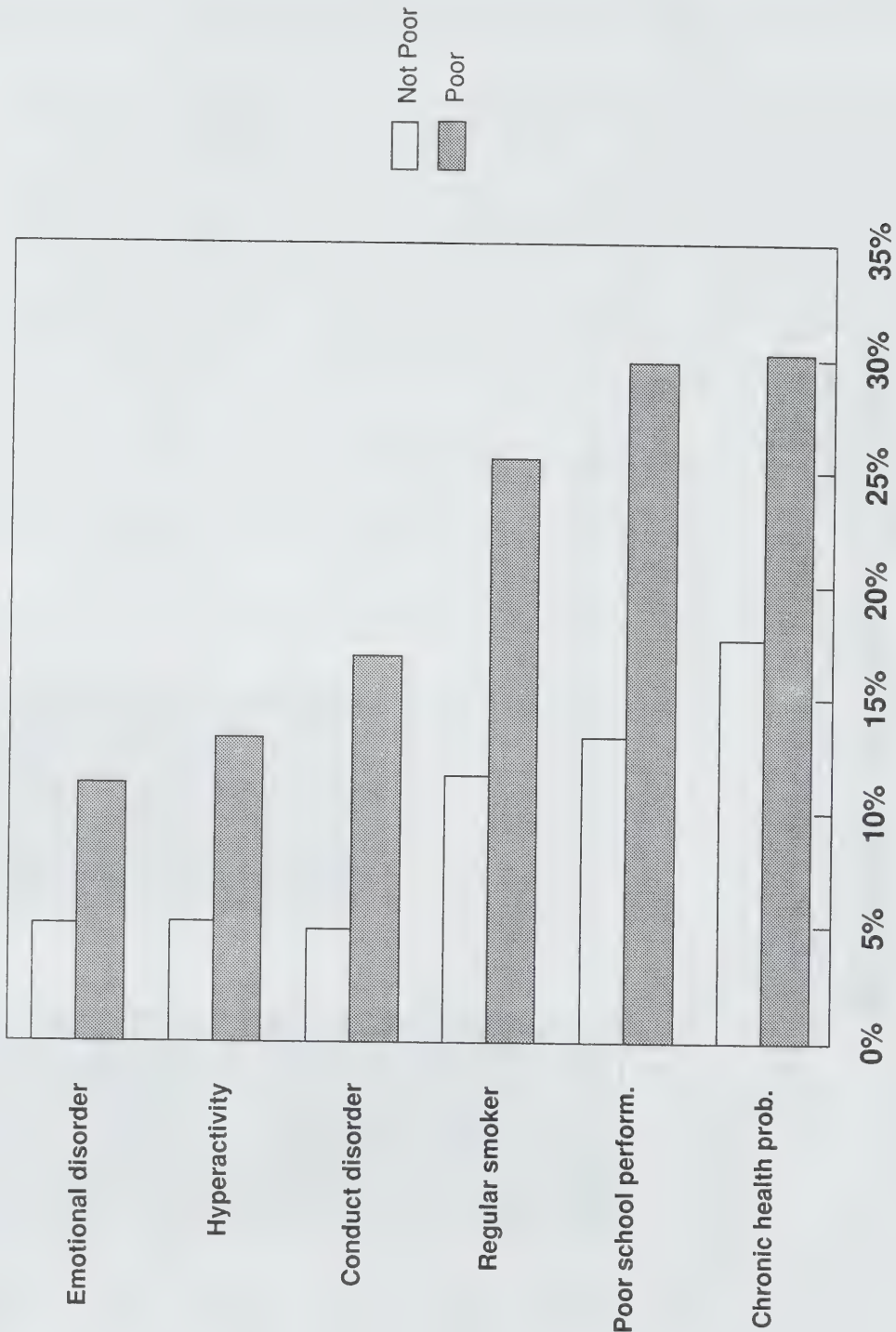
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Number of Poor Children by Family Type, 1986

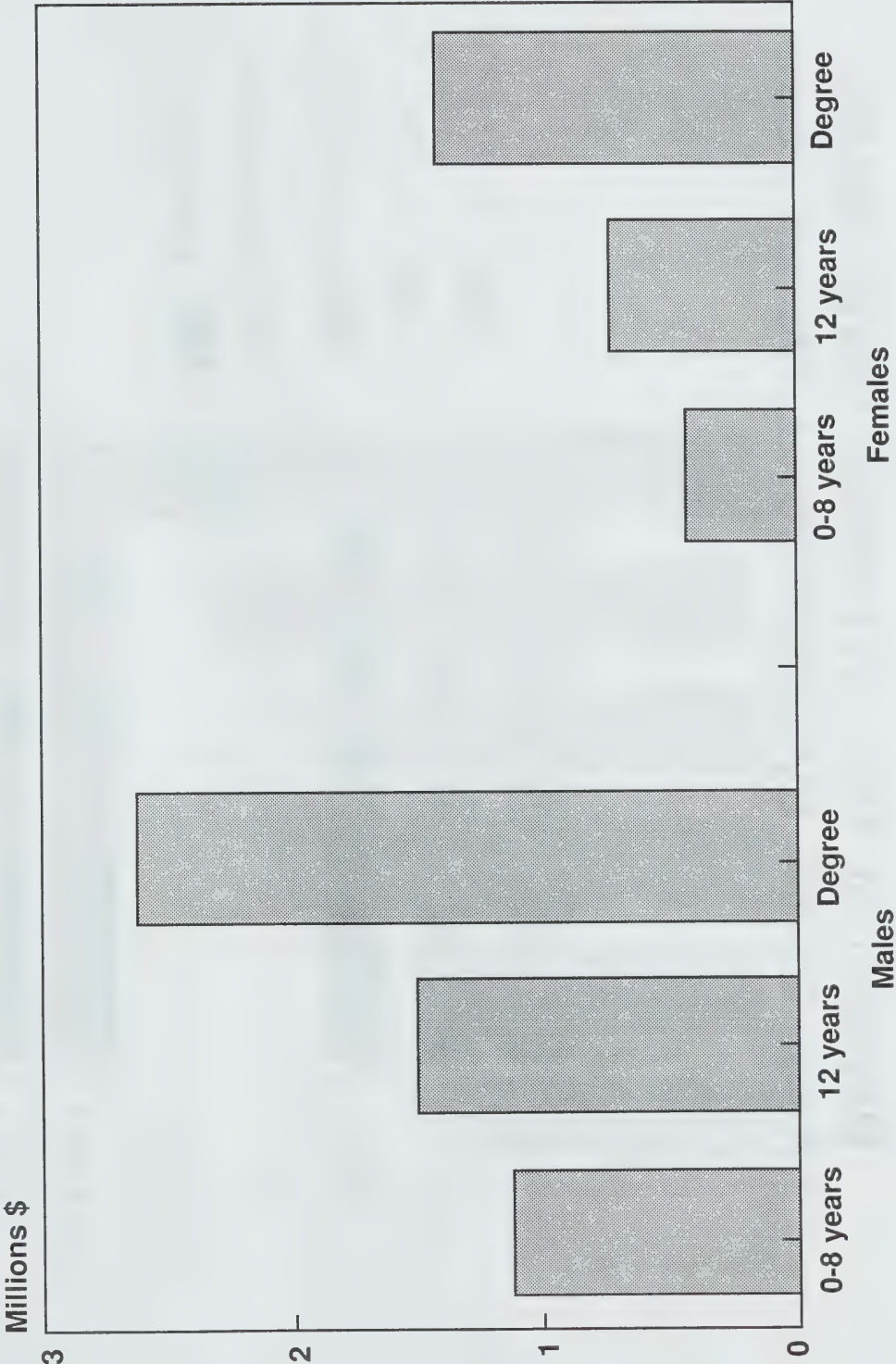


Prevalence of Certain Characteristics in Poor and Non-Poor Children, 1983

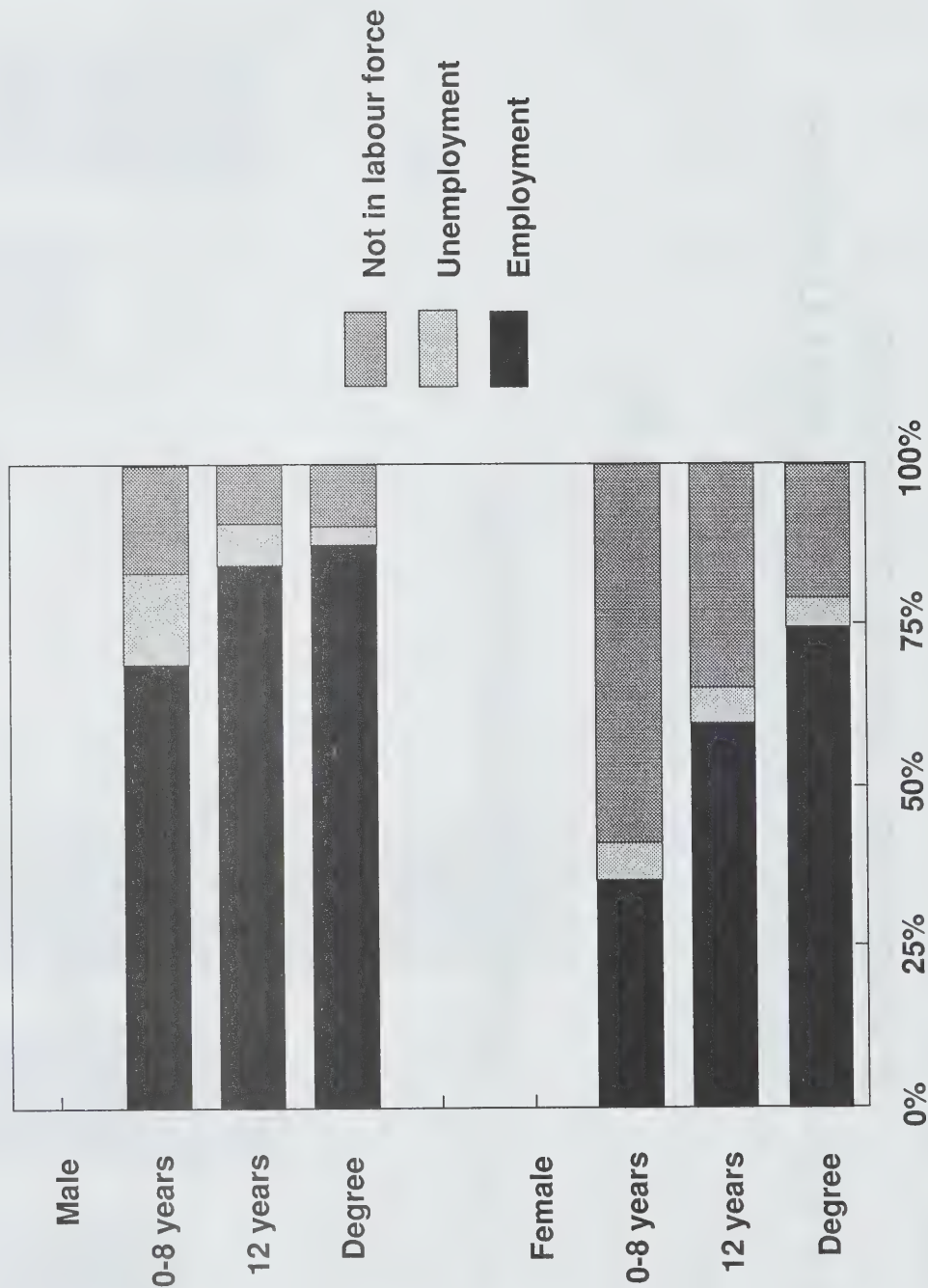


Source: Ontario Child Health Study

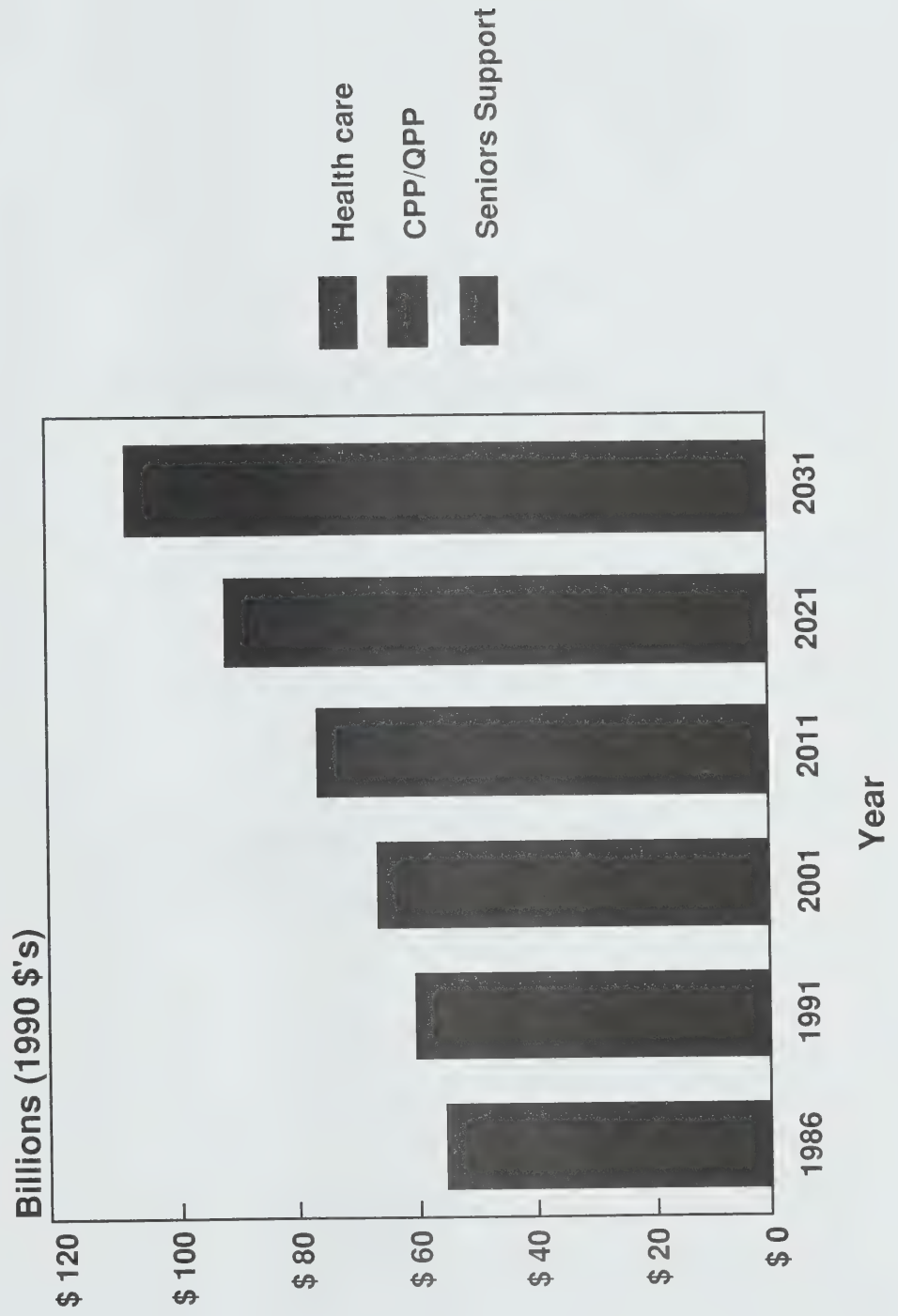
Estimated Lifetime Income by Education Level and Sex, 1990 Dollars



Percent of Time in Labour Force States Ages 25-64, by Education Level and Sex



Cost of Certain Social Programs per Labour Force Member, 1986 - 2031



CHILD BENEFITS REFORM

A REPPORT PREPARED FOR THE STANDING
SENATE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS,
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Ken Battle
July 1990

This paper was prepared at the request of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology to assist in the preparation of its report on child poverty. The paper's purposes are to review the objectives of the federal child benefits system, to analyze recent changes in federal child benefit programs, and to explore some options for reform.

The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not represent those of the National Council of Welfare, except where the paper cites the Council's reports or policy positions. The options examined are illustrative only, and are not intended as recommendations of either the author or the National Council of Welfare. Further technical work is required should the Senate Committee wish to propose detailed alternatives to the present child benefits system.

Richard Shillington of Tristat Resources undertook the modelling of the child benefit options and, with David Ross, helped me design the options.

Introduction

Canada's federal child benefits system has undergone significant changes in recent years. Unfortunately, these measures are complex and not well understood. Few Canadians have an accurate idea of how the various child benefit programs operate and who gets what from them. Nor is there a clear sense of the original purposes of child benefits and whether these objectives are still valid as we move into the last decade of the twentieth century.

It is essential that we understand the current child benefits system before we contemplate reforming it. The first part of this paper reviews the purposes of federal child benefit programs; charts the changes that the federal government has made to them over the past five years; and assesses these changes in view of the various objectives of the system. The remainder of the paper presents some options for reform and discusses their implications for the different objectives of the child benefits system.

Purposes of Child Benefits

While there are various reasons — political, social and economic — why Canada established its child benefit programs over the years, the system can be viewed as having four main objectives:

- a. **parental recognition** — to acknowledge the contribution that all parents make to society in raising future citizens, workers and taxpayers.
- b. **horizontal equity** — to help recognize the fact that parents have heavier financial demands than childless couples and single persons with the same (pre-transfer) incomes, since the labour market does not vary wages according to family size.
- c. **anti-poverty** — to supplement the incomes of lower-income families with children.
- d. **economic stimulus** — to put cash into the hands of parents and thus stimulate consumer demand and the economic benefits that follow.

The first three of these objectives are not sharply distinct one from the other and in fact are to some extent interrelated. The horizontal equity objective is in a sense a subcategory of the more general parental recognition aim, in that the former realizes the latter in cash terms. The anti-poverty and horizontal equity objectives are essentially the same thing for lower-income families.

While it is easy to make lists of objectives, it is quite another matter to secure them firmly to programs. Social programs are not as neatly logical in reality as they may appear to be in theory. They rarely have only one purpose, instead pursuing more than one end, often in concert with other programs. Sometimes they have unwritten objectives which are just as important as their stated ends. Some social programs pursue ends which work at cross-purposes to those of other programs, or have multiple aims which do not mesh well.

Social programs often change over time, reflecting changing notions of their rightful purposes and shifting demands and resources. Such changes may alter or even subvert their original aims, sometimes without the knowledge or consent of the public or the program's recipients. Some social programs

soldier on long after people remember why they were legislated in the first place, or pursue ends that a sizable group of the population does not support.

Federal child benefit programs fit the above characterization all too well. Nonetheless, we will attempt to relate the impact of recent changes in each program to its objective(s), as well as to examine the effects of such changes on the child benefits system overall.

Family Allowances

Family allowances were legislated in 1944 and paid their first benefits in the spring of 1945. Family allowances were the first universal social program in Canada and the largest social expenditure at the time, costing more than all other social programs delivered by governments of the day.

The federal government was in part motivated by immediate political considerations, viewing family allowances as a potential vote-getter among parents and a way of staving off demands to lift its wartime wage controls. However, the program's stated aims were to recognize the contribution that all parents make to society, to supplement the incomes of families with children, and to help guard against a post-war recession by putting cash into the hands of Canadian mothers every month in the expectation they would spend it and thus stimulate the economy.

Family allowances' economic stimulus rationale is rarely mentioned these days. Their original anti-poverty purpose also tends to get lost in the tired old debate over whether all families — the affluent included — should benefit from them. But family allowances' proponents envisaged an important anti-poverty role for the program in supplementing the wages of the average family and meeting the minimal material needs of children. At the time, incomes were much lower than they are today: more than half of Canadian workers did not earn enough to meet their families' minimal nutritional requirements. Family allowances were to help fill the gap between wages and income needs for the average family.

Perhaps the most contentious rationale for family allowances is the one most often cited in defence of their universal nature — recognizing the contribution that all parents, regardless of income, make to society in raising children. One could support this purpose and still decide that society's recognition of well-off families does not have to take the form of a cash transfer, which might be better spent on poor families. At the risk of sounding facetious, family allowances' designers could have decided to restrict the program to low and middle-income families and mail affluent parents a Parental Recognition Certificate on the birth of each child.

Indeed, many Canadians do not support universal child benefits and believe instead that the money that would be saved by cutting off the affluent should go to deficit reduction or improving child benefits to lower-income families. It is evident from this debate that two of family allowances' objectives — supplementing the incomes of lower-income families and recognizing the contribution of all parents regardless of income — co-exist uneasily.

Defenders of universal family allowances marshal other arguments in their favour, which were summarized as follows in the National Council of Welfare's 1983 report *Family Allowances For All?* :

They regard universal programs such as family allowances, Old Age Security, the Canada Pension Plan ...as the indispensable and hard-won foundation upon which rest selective social programs geared to families and individuals in financial need. All Canadians, no matter where they live and what their income, benefit from universal programs at some point in their lives. Abandoning the principle of universality in so prominent a benefit as family allowances would weaken the foundation of Canada's social security system. Over time, taxpayers' support for social spending would decline and people who have to turn to selective programs for financial assistance would suffer as a result.

Universal programs serve all Canadians who share a commonplace characteristic which is not related to financial need. The family allowance goes to all families with children under the age of 18, Old Age Security to all men and women 65 and older, and unemployment insurance to all the unemployed. Canadians from different income levels share alike in these universal benefits. Therefore universal social programs unite Canadians and foster a sense of community...

Universal family allowances also have been defended on the grounds that they 'belong to women'. According to this popular argument, family allowances are the only source of income to which all Canadians mothers are entitled as a right. There are cases, even in affluent families, where husbands refuse to provide adequately for their wives and children. As long as matrimonial property laws deny married women an equitable share of their families' financial resources, it would be unreasonable to take away from them a long-standing right like family allowances on the assumption that their husbands' income is also their own.

The universality debate has now taken on an historical and theoretical air. The 1989 federal budget effectively did away with universal family allowances and old age pensions in proposing a clawback, which will tax back all of the benefits from higher-income parents and pensioners.

In order to comprehend the clawback, we first must understand how the old family allowance operated. Critics of universal family allowances often ignore the fact that, while families at all income levels receive the same amount for each child, poor families end up with larger benefits than do middle-income families and affluent families get the least. Since 1973, family allowances have been taxable in the hands of the father (changed a few years ago to the higher-income spouse, which still usually means the same thing).

For instance, a welfare poor family which pays no income tax kept the full family allowance payment (\$400 per child in 1990); a working poor one-earner family with income of \$20,000 paid back on average 26 percent of its family allowances through the income tax system, leaving it with a net (after-tax) benefit of \$295 per child or 74 percent of the gross payment; a middle-income (\$50,000) family ended up with \$239 per child or 60 percent of the gross payment; and an upper-income (e.g., \$75,000) family got \$220 or 55 percent of its family allowances.

Lower-income and (at first) most middle-income families with children will continue to receive the same after-tax family allowances. However, higher-income families now have their family allowances further reduced by an additional tax in the form of the clawback.

The clawback affects families in which the higher-income parent's net income is \$50,000 or more, taxing back family allowances at a rate of 15 percent for every dollar of income over that \$50,000 threshold. For example, families with two children will lose all of their family allowances once the higher-income parent's income exceeds \$55,240. (The clawback is being phased in by one-third in

1989, two-thirds in 1990 and fully in 1991; for the sake of illustration, we assume here that the mechanism was fully in place in 1989). Because the \$50,000 threshold will be only partially indexed (to the amount of inflation over three percent), it will fall steadily in real terms over time and will hit increasing numbers of families at lower and lower income levels. By 1995, the clawback will have fallen to an estimated \$41,886 in constant 1990 dollars. (The National Council of Welfare's 1989 report *The 1989 Budget and Social Policy* examined the clawback on family allowances and old age pensions in detail.)

The clawback affects the objectives of family allowances in two ways. First, it alters their traditional parental recognition rationale, in the sense that higher-income families no longer will get cash from the state for their children. Technically speaking, they will continue to receive benefits, but only for the year in which they are paid, since the next spring they must pay their family allowances back through the clawback. However, the clawback is not just a get-the-rich device: the partial indexation of the threshold means that in future more and more middle-income families will pay the clawback and so no longer will receive an income transfer in recognition of their parental contribution.

The clawback also significantly weakens the horizontal equity purpose of child benefits since it will cut family allowances for some higher-income families and eliminate them for others. As we will discuss in the next section, the move from the children's exemption to a non-refundable credit in 1988 already reduced the horizontal equity function of child benefits.

The other major change to family allowances came in 1986 when benefits were shifted from full indexation — which had been in effect since 1973 — to partial indexation (to the amount of inflation over three percent a year.) Perhaps a more accurate term is partial de-indexation, to emphasize the negative. This change means that the value of family allowance benefits is being steadily eroded by inflation. Family allowances are \$400 per child in 1990; under the old, fully indexed system in place from 1973 to 1984, they would have paid \$463 per child in 1990. By 1995, ten years of inflation will have reduced family allowances to \$428 compared to the \$573 they would have been under the old system. (These figures are in current, not constant, dollars).

Children's Tax Exemption/Non-Refundable Credit

The children's tax exemption is Canada's oldest child benefit, dating back to 1918 and the birth of the income tax system. The children tax exemption's purpose was to use the tax system to ensure a measure of horizontal equity by recognizing that parents with children to support have heavier financial demands than their income counterparts without children.

Social policy groups criticized the children's tax exemption because it delivered its largest benefit (in the form of federal and provincial income tax savings) to parents in the highest tax bracket. Partly in response to these criticisms and partly to save money, the federal government froze the children's tax exemption at \$710 in 1984. The 1985 budget announced a phased reduction in the benefit to \$560 in 1987, \$470 in 1988 and an amount equal to the family allowance for 1989 onwards. At the same time, the refundable child tax credit was gradually increased, so the 1985 budget redirected resources from a regressive child benefit program to a progressive one. The 1988 income tax reform went further and converted the children's tax exemption to a non-refundable credit of \$65 per child, worth on average \$100 when provincial income tax savings are factored in; the credit was twice as large (\$130) for the third and each subsequent child.

The non-refundable child tax credit is partially de-indexed, like family allowances, by the amount of inflation over three percent a year. In 1990 the credit is \$68 for the first and second child and \$136 for the third and each subsequent child; adding in average provincial income tax savings, total benefits average \$105 and \$211, respectively.

The conversion of the children's tax exemption to a non-refundable credit marked a victory of vertical equity over horizontal equity. The credit is fairer than the exemption if we measure fairness in terms of progressivity (i.e., social benefits should vary according to income, with the largest benefit going to the poor and vice versa). Although the non-refundable credit pays the same amount to all families which owe income taxes, measured as a percentage of income it is in fact a progressive social benefit since it is worth more to lower-income taxfilers.

On the other hand, the non-refundable child tax credit provides smaller tax savings to middle and upper-income families. Because the credit was set so low (14 percent of what the exemption would have been, which was the lowest of all the conversions from deductions and personal exemptions to credits), even many working poor and lower middle-income families get less from the credit than they got from the exemption. For example, a middle-income one-earner family with two children and income of \$40,000 will get \$211 in average federal and provincial income tax savings from the non-refundable credit in 1990; if the exemption were still in effect, the family would save \$322 in income taxes. A one-earner family earning \$80,000 will see its tax bill reduced by \$211 by the credit, but would save \$360 if the exemption still existed.

With the advent of the clawback on family allowances, the non-refundable child tax credit is the only child benefit program available to all well-off parents. But at an average value in federal and provincial income tax savings of just \$105 for each of the first two children (which is as many as most parents have), the non-refundable child tax credit provides little more than symbolic recognition of child-rearing costs. Moreover, partial de-indexation is steadily reducing the value of this program each year. Canada's child benefits system now only feebly realizes the goal of horizontal equity.

Refundable Child Tax Credit

The refundable child tax credit was created in 1978. It is geared to lower and middle-income families with children and thus serves the anti-poverty/income supplementation objective of child benefits.

The credit is a "diminishing" benefit, which means that the full amount goes to families with incomes below a set level (the "threshold"), above which benefits are reduced increasingly to the point where they disappear altogether for higher-income families. Families which owe income taxes deduct their child tax credit from their tax bill; families too poor to pay taxes receive their tax credit in the form of a cheque from the federal government, which is why the benefit is described as "refundable".

The refundable child tax credit has been substantially enhanced in recent years. The credit was raised from \$384 per child in 1985 to \$454 in 1986, \$489 in 1987 and \$559 in 1988; its threshold was lowered from \$26,330 to \$23,500 in 1986. In 1988, an additional \$100 was added to the maximum refundable child tax credit for children six and younger for whom families do not claim the child care expense deduction, and the supplement rose to \$200 in 1989.

In 1990, the maximum refundable child tax credit is \$778 for children six and under and \$575 for children aged seven to seventeen, and the net family income threshold for the maximum credit is \$24,769. A family with two children — one six or younger and the other seven or older — will receive the maximum credits of \$1,353 so long as its net income is under \$24,769. The credit is reduced by \$5 for every \$100 of income above this threshold. For example, a \$40,000 family with one child under seven and one child over seven will get refundable child tax credits totalling \$591; two-child families with incomes over \$51,828 do not qualify for benefits.

While the various increases in the refundable child tax credit have enhanced the anti-poverty/income supplementation power of the child benefits system, another change is working in the opposite direction and will diminish this function as the years go by. That mechanism is partial de-indexation.

Like the family allowance and non-refundable child tax credit, the refundable child tax credit and its threshold are only partially indexed (to the amount of inflation over three percent). Partial de-indexation will weaken the refundable child tax credit's anti-poverty/income supplementation capacity in two ways. First, the value of the credit will fall steadily over time. Secondly, the threshold will decline in real terms, which means that fewer and fewer low-income families will qualify for the maximum benefit — a benefit that in any case will fall in value over the years.

For instance, the maximum refundable child tax credit for families with two children (one child six or under and the other older than that) is \$1,353 in 1990, payable to families with net incomes up to \$24,769; the latter is 88 percent of the estimated \$28,061 low income line for a family of four living in a metropolitan area. By 1995, the maximum refundable child tax credit for such a family will be an estimated \$1,102 and the threshold will have fallen to \$20,184 or 72 percent of the low income level (these figures are expressed in constant 1990 dollars).

Equivalent-to-Married Exemption/Credit

Single parents can claim a larger than normal tax break for one child. Until 1988, this tax assistance took the form of an equivalent-to-married exemption (\$3,700 in 1987); the 1988 tax reform converted this exemption to a non-refundable credit worth \$850 in federal income tax savings. However, the equivalent-to-married exemption was converted at a more generous rate than the children's tax exemption (23 percent as opposed to 14 percent), which improved its tax assistance. In 1990, the equivalent-to-married credit is \$877; adding in average provincial income tax savings, it totals \$1,359.

Single parent families — eight in ten are headed by women — are bunched on the lower rungs of the income ladder. Those with incomes below the taxpaying threshold did not qualify for the old equivalent-to-married exemption and will not get the credit either, since the latter is not refundable. Because the equivalent-to-married credit was set at 23 percent of the exemption (higher than the lowest income tax rate of 17 percent), most single parents who pay income tax enjoy larger tax savings from the credit than they got from the exemption.

However, like the other child benefits, the equivalent-to-married credit is partially de-indexed, so it will fall in value over time. This erosion will compromise both the income supplementation and horizontal equity objectives of this child benefit.

Child Care Expense Deduction

There is disagreement over how to classify this social program. Some people consider it a child benefit, like those discussed above. Others view it as income tax assistance for work-related expenses.

As part of the national child care strategy proposed in 1987, the child care expense deduction was doubled from \$2,000 to \$4,000 for children aged six or under for whom child care receipts are available, and the previous \$8,000 family limit was removed. The maximum child care expense deduction remains \$2,000 for children aged seven to fourteen. This benefit is not indexed, not even partially.

Since it is an exemption, the child care expense deduction is regressive. Doubling the maximum deduction for young children boosted the program's horizontal equity power, although the failure to index the benefit will erode its value over time.

A Leaner Federal Child Benefits System

To assess these numerous and varied changes, we will look at their overall impact on different types of families at different income levels. Our analysis compares the "old" federal child benefits system with the "new" one. The old child benefits system consisted of the family allowance, children's tax exemption, refundable child tax credit and child care expense deduction. By "new" child benefits system, we mean the family allowance-with-clawback, non-refundable child tax credit, refundable child tax credit and child care expense deduction; as noted above, the two latter benefits have been increased in recent years. The new child benefits system is partially de-indexed.

Figures A through F illustrate the child benefits system in 1984 (the old system) and the post-reform system as it will be in 1994. We chose 1994 in order to take into account the effect of a few more years of inflation on the partially indexed child benefits system. All figures have been converted to constant 1990 dollars in order to show real changes over time. One child is six years of age or younger and the other child is seven or older.

Figure A shows federal child benefits for four one-earner couples, each with two children. The welfare poor family has no earnings and receives family allowances and the refundable child tax credit. The working poor family earns \$20,000 in 1990 and receives three child benefits — family allowances, the refundable child tax credit and the non-refundable child tax credit (which was an exemption in 1984). The middle-income family earns \$40,000 and also gets family allowances and the refundable and non-refundable child tax credits. The upper-income family earns \$100,000 and receives family allowances (although the clawback takes them all away in 1994) and the non-refundable child tax credit, but not the refundable child tax credit.

The welfare poor family's federal child benefits will be fractionally higher in 1994 (\$1,896) than they were in 1984 (\$1,855). The family's loss from the partial indexation of family allowances and the refundable child tax credit is more than made up for by the substantial increase in the latter benefit between 1985 and 1989, as explained above.

All the other families will receive smaller child benefits in 1994 than in 1984. The working poor family will end up with \$1,833 in 1994 or \$241 less than they got in 1984; its child benefits fall from

10.4 percent of earnings in 1984 to 7.8 percent in 1994. While the family's refundable child tax credit is higher in 1994, its losses from the partial de-indexation of family allowances and the non-refundable child tax credit as well as the conversion of the old exemption to a credit more than offset the gain from the refundable child tax credit.

The middle-income one-earner couple's child benefits fall from \$2,066 or 5.2 percent of earnings in 1984 to \$806 or 1.7 percent of earnings in 1994. The family will lose benefits from all three programs, including the refundable child tax credit as a result of the falling threshold.

The upper-income couple loses most. Its total child benefits plunge from \$1,408 or 1.4 percent of earnings in 1984 to a mere \$180 or 0.2 percent of earnings in 1994. The clawback removes family allowances, leaving the family with just one program — the non-refundable child tax credit — which is worth considerably less to them than the child tax exemption which it replaced.

Figure B broadens the picture to include a wider range of earnings. The decline in child benefits shows up dramatically. The new child benefits system is certainly progressive, but all but the poorest families will receive smaller child benefits in 1994.

**CHILD BENEFITS, ONE-EARNER COUPLES WITH
TWO CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUP,
1984 AND 1994**

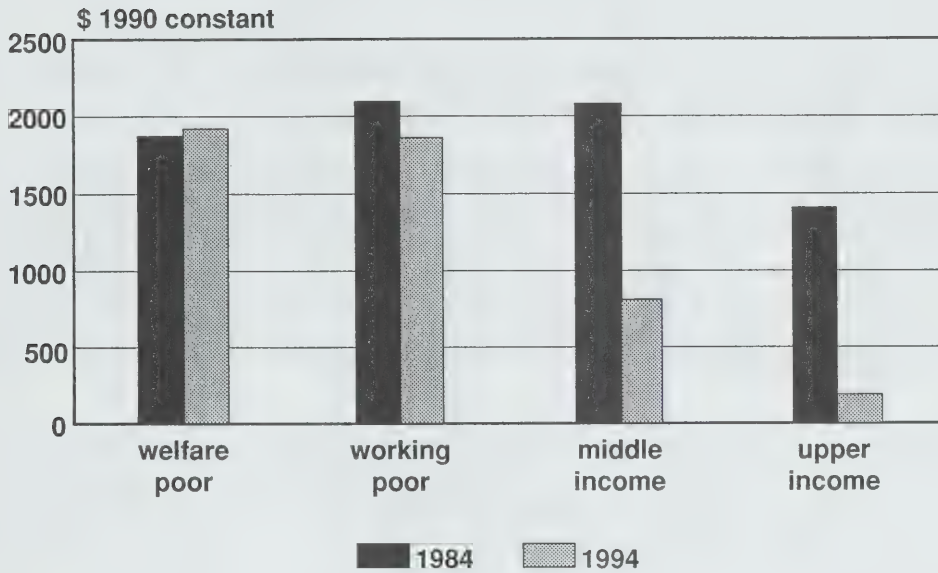


Figure A

**CHILD BENEFITS, ONE-EARNER COUPLES
WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS,
1984 AND 1994**

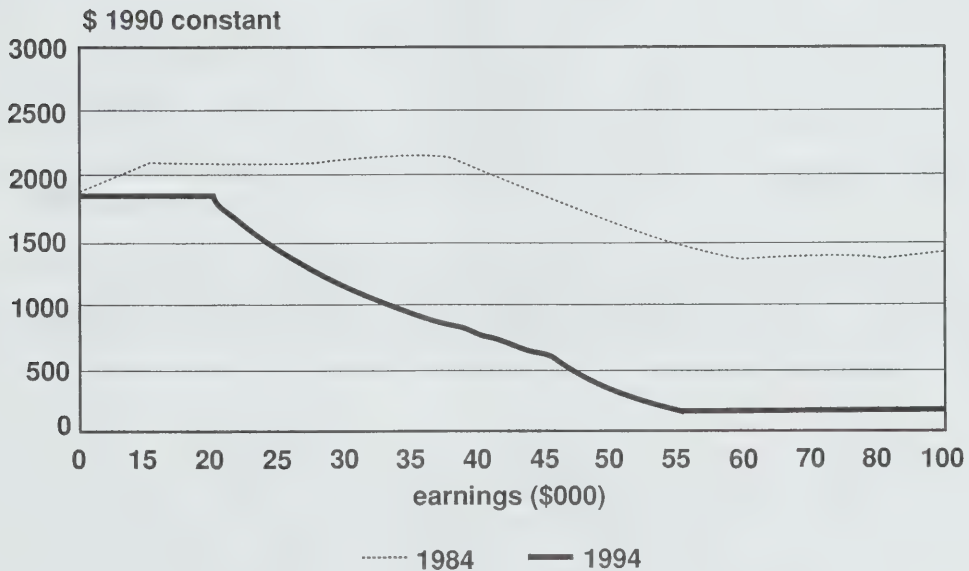


Figure B

In calculating the child benefits for two-earner couples, we treat the child care expense deduction as part of the child benefits system and assume that the middle and upper-income families claim a child care deduction for their younger child. The earnings levels are the same as for the one-earner families, except that we set the middle-income family's earnings at \$55,000 since two-earner families have a higher average income than one-earner families.

Figure C shows that the welfare poor family's federal child benefits go up a bit from \$1,855 in 1984 to \$1,896 in 1994. All the other families lose child benefits.

The working poor family's child benefits fall from \$2,081 or 10.4 percent of earnings in 1984 to \$1,833 or 9.5 percent of earnings in 1994. The largest loss is felt by the middle-income family, whose child benefits decline by 45 percent from \$2,312 or 4.2 percent of earnings to \$1,272 or 2.4 percent of earnings over the ten year period. The upper-income family's child benefits fall by 30 percent from \$2,218 or 2.2 percent of earnings in 1984 to \$1,544 or 1.6 percent of earnings in 1994. Note that the well-off family gets more child benefits in 1994 than the middle-income family because of the regressive child care expense deduction.

Figure D plots total child benefits for two-earner couples at various earnings levels. All but the poorest will lose child benefits under the new system, which is still regressive because of the child care expense deduction. In fact, in 1994 the lowest child benefits (\$932) will go to the \$45,000 family, which will get substantially less than the \$100,000 family's \$1,544.

Figures E and F illustrate the child benefits for one-parent families with two children. The working poor parent earns \$15,000, the middle-income parent \$25,000 and the upper-income parent \$80,000. Child benefits include the equivalent-to-married tax exemption/credit and the child care expense deduction for the younger child, as well as family allowances and the refundable child tax credit.

Single-parent families with taxable income receive larger child benefits than two-parent families because of their bigger benefit for one child in the form of the equivalent-to-married exemption/credit, which amounts to \$1,359 in average federal/provincial tax savings for 1990 compared to \$105 for the regular non-refundable child tax credit. The working poor family's child benefits decline from \$3,046 or a substantial 20.3 percent of earnings in 1984 to \$2,861 or 19.7 percent of earnings in 1994. Total child benefits for the middle-income one-parent family fall from \$3,184 or 12.7 percent of earnings in 1984 to \$2,413 or 10.0 percent of earnings in 1994, while the affluent family's child benefits drop from \$4,212 or 5.3 percent of earnings to \$2,550 or 3.5 percent of earnings over the same period.

As is the case for two-earner couples, the new child benefits system for one-parent families is not smoothly progressive because of the child care expense deduction. The \$50,000 family receives the lowest benefits in 1994 (\$2,582), while the \$80,000 earner — admittedly, few and far between among single parents — gets more.

**CHILD BENEFITS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH
TWO CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUP,
1984 AND 1994**

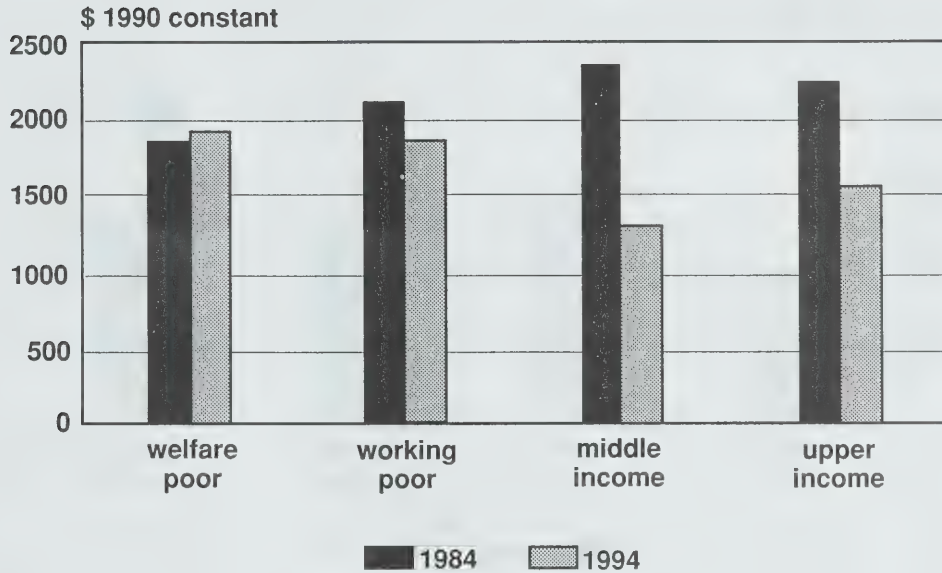


Figure C

**CHILD BENEFITS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES
WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS,
1984 AND 1994**

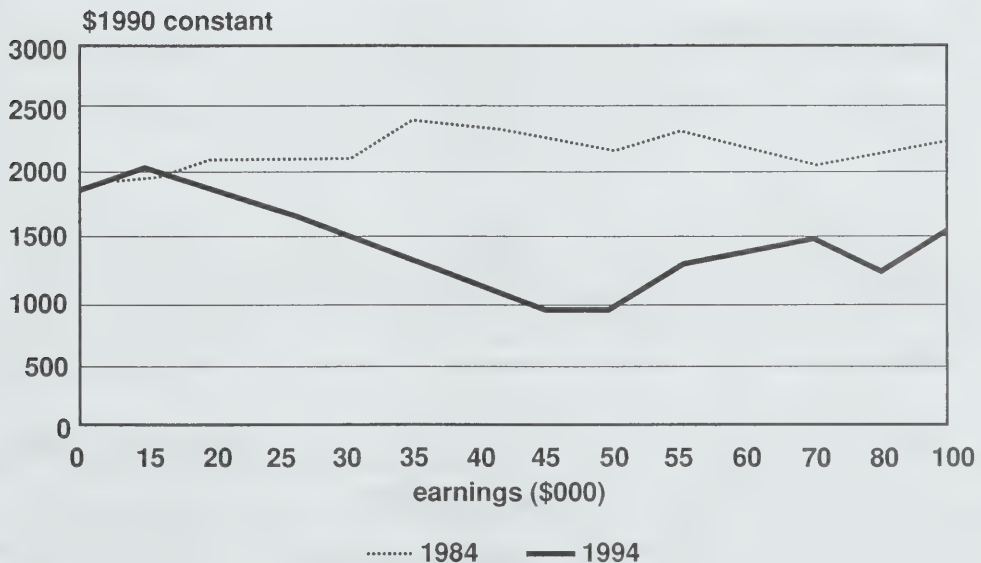


Figure D

**CHILD BENEFITS, SINGLE PARENTS WITH
TWO CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUP,
1984 AND 1994**

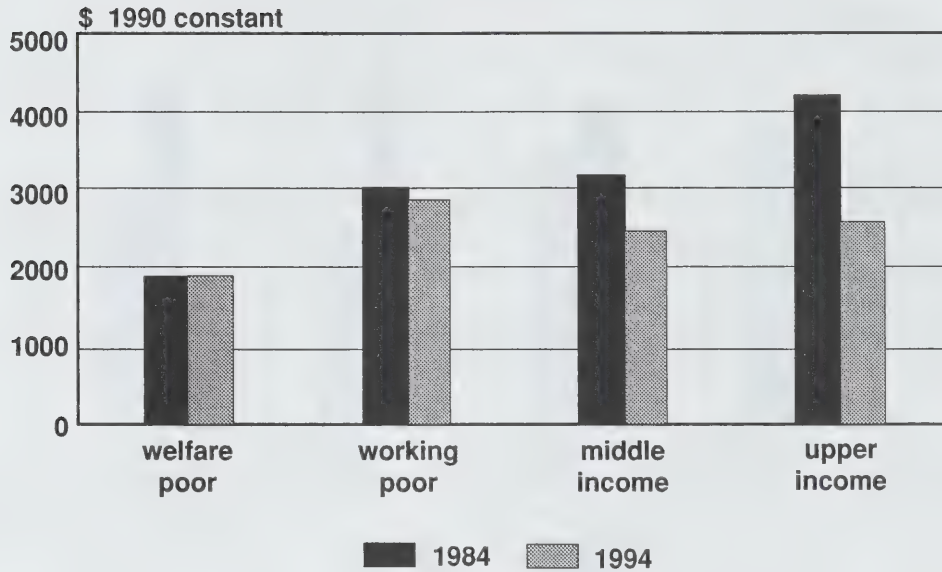


Figure E

**CHILD BENEFITS, SINGLE PARENTS
WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS,
1984 AND 1994**

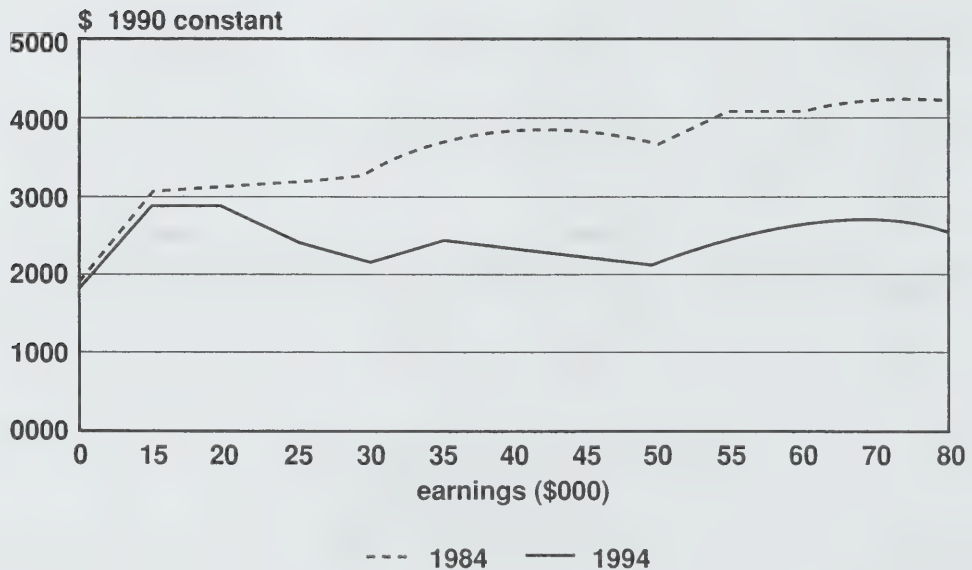


Figure F

Summary

It is clear from these findings that **the various changes made during the latter half of the 'eighties have significantly altered the federal child benefits system**. Despite the improvement in the refundable child tax credit, partial de-indexation is eating away at all child benefits. Partial de-indexation of the threshold for the refundable child tax credit will target this program further and further below the poverty line. Partial de-indexation of the threshold for the clawback on family allowances will reduce and eventually remove the baby bonus from increasing numbers of middle-income families.

Universal family allowances will disappear next year, so that in fact Canada's child benefits system will become entirely income-tested, though imperfectly so. While the value of family allowances, the non-refundable child tax credit and the child care expense deduction hinge on individual income — the first and second programs on the higher-income parent's income, the third on the lower-income parent's income — the refundable child tax credit is calculated on the basis of family income.

Our analysis indicates that **all the traditional objectives of child benefits are being jeopardized by the changes made over the last five years**. The antipoverty/income supplementation role of child benefits will weaken steadily over time, unless something is done to stem their erosion from inflation. The goal of horizontal equity has been severely compromised, leaving many higher-income families with a token and dwindling benefit. To the extent that child benefits help stimulate consumer demand — the available evidence indicates that their economic impact is probably fairly small — it can be argued that their erosion will further reduce this effect as well.

The savings that are being realized through the partial de-indexation of child benefits are massive albeit hidden from public view. We estimate that more than \$3.5 billion will be removed from the child benefits system between 1986 and 1991. These savings are being applied to deficit reduction and are not being redistributed to low-income families.

The recent child benefit reforms have not traded off the goal of horizontal equity in favour of strengthening the anti-poverty goal. Rather, they have siphoned off resources from the child benefits system to meet another objective of public policy that has overshadowed social policy purposes in recent years — deficit reduction.

Reform Options

Our analysis of the current federal child benefits system strongly indicates a need for alternative reforms, especially if we want to do more to ease child poverty. Re-indexing child benefits to protect them from inflation is the first order of the day. However, changes in the design of the child benefits system also merit study.

a. some previous proposals

There is no shortage of proposals for change. The National Council of Welfare, for one, has for years proposed that Canada's child benefits system be made simpler and fairer and that payments to lower-income families be increased to help ease the burden of poverty.

In 1978, the National Council of Welfare proposed that the three child benefits that existed at the time (family allowances, the children's tax exemption and a small children's credit which helped middle-income families only) be replaced by a single child benefit program made up of two parts — a diminishing refundable credit for low and modest-income families paid through the income tax system (pegged at \$200 in 1978), and a \$300 minimum credit paid monthly (\$25 per month) in the same fashion as family allowances to families at all income levels. Lower-income families would have received in total \$500 per child or \$200 more than they then got from family allowances. In effect, the Council's proposed scheme would have amounted to a refundable tax credit along with a non-taxable family allowance.

That same year, the federal government brought in a refundable child tax credit which was financed by eliminating the \$50 children's credit and reducing family allowances from \$25 to \$20 per month. However, Ottawa kept the children's tax exemption in place.

The National Council of Welfare's most recent child benefit proposals follow closely its 1978 approach, though it takes into account the various changes made in recent years. The Council would do away with the non-refundable child tax credit and use the resulting savings to increase the refundable child tax credit. Family allowances would remain a truly universal benefit taxed under the regular tax system, as they were from 1973 to 1988, and there would be no clawback. The child care expense deduction would be converted to a credit and then removed altogether when a better child care system was put in place.

The National Council of Welfare's reform would simplify the child benefits system — there would be only two basic programs, family allowances and a larger refundable child tax credit — and would pay larger benefits to poor families. The child benefits system would be fully indexed in order to protect benefits from inflation and to ensure that all low-income families continue to receive the refundable child tax credit. This reform would put more emphasis on the anti-poverty/income supplementation goal of child benefits than those of horizontal equity and parental recognition, although the latter objectives would fare better than they do under the existing system. The child benefits system would have a universal base, as it did before the clawback on family allowances.

The Canadian Council on Social Development put forward a child benefit reform scheme in 1983 that was essentially the same as the National Council of Welfare's 1978 proposal. Family allowances, the children's tax exemption and the refundable child tax credit would be recombined into a "family assistance allowance" which would pay (in 1983) \$900 per child for families with incomes up to \$30,000, above which benefits would be reduced by 15 percent until they reached a floor of \$360 (the amount of the family allowance at that time). This child benefit would be non-taxable. Single-parent families would receive an additional equivalent-to-married credit for one child, worth \$1,050.

The Child Poverty Action Group advocates a "universal child income credit" which would pay (in 1986) a maximum benefit of \$3,600 for the first child and \$3,000 for each additional child. These amounts were chosen to equal the estimated cost of raising children in Metropolitan Toronto. While the Child Poverty Action Group did not specify design features for its proposal, it had in mind a progressive program in which benefits would decline to no lower than one-half the maximum amount for higher-income families.

The Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology issued a report on child benefits in 1987 which recommended replacing existing federal child benefits with a “guaranteed family income supplement” geared to lower-income families. However, the report was vague on the design of this scheme. Some committee members wanted to keep a universal family allowance, which would require an infusion of new money into the child benefits system in order to help finance the proposed guaranteed family income supplement.

The *Transitions* report of the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee (SARC) released in 1988 proposed a radically targeted child benefit in the form of a diminishing refundable tax credit of \$3,300 per child for families with incomes up to \$15,000, above which payments would be reduced by 25 percent of additional income. Families with two children would get nothing once their income exceeded \$41,400. This cut-off point is well below average income, which was \$59,928 for an Ontario family of four in 1988.

The SARC proposal would create a simple, single child benefit program dedicated solely to improving the incomes of lower-income families with children. The system would exclude not only the affluent, but many middle class families as well.

One intriguing aspect of the SARC proposal is that it would sweeten the child benefits pot by folding in provincial (Ontario) spending on children through social assistance (welfare) as well as provincial and federal sales tax credits for children. However, there is not much that is new under the social policy sun. The classic 1943 *Report on Social Security for Canada* written by Leonard Marsh proposed a family allowance that would replace all current federal and provincial child-related payments, although the family allowance program that actually came into being the following year did not follow Marsh’s advice in this regard.

b. federal/provincial child benefit options

At the request of the Senate Committee, we threw all the federal child benefits money into one pot (except for the child care expense deduction, since its status as a child benefit is open to debate) along with federal and provincial spending on children under the social assistance provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan. Because it is virtually impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the amount of money that the welfare system devotes to children — Canadian social assistance data being appallingly sparse and limited — we examined the welfare rate structures in every province (which vary considerably) as well as the national breakdown of recipients according to family type and, for the sake of argument, assumed that 20 percent of social assistance spending goes to children. All in all, expenditures on federal child benefits and child-related social assistance came to an estimated \$5.7 billion for 1990.

Our calculations did not include provincial child-related programs in the three provinces which provide them (Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Quebec) because, if we did so, we would in effect be redistributing part of this money to the other provinces. Quebec in particular spends substantial amounts on its various child-related income security programs; the most recent Quebec budget projected its child-related expenditures at close to \$2 billion for 1990. Nor have we included the cost of the child care expense deduction.

It is important to understand that our options are based on current spending on child benefits and so start with a smaller pot of money than was available in the pre-1985 child benefits system. The various changes noted earlier — partial de-indexation above all — have taken a considerable slice out of the child benefits system. In 1991, the federal child benefits system will pay out about \$1.7 billion less than it would under the old system.

(i) two illustrative options: targeted versus universal

For the sake of discussion, we have drawn up two quite different reform options and compared them to the current child benefits system in 1990. In portraying the existing child benefits system, we have assumed that the clawback on family allowances is fully in place, whereas in fact it was only two-thirds implemented in 1990.

One reform option is a **targeted child benefit**. It replaces the current child benefits with a single, refundable child tax credit paying \$3,075 per child for families with incomes under \$16,500, above which benefits are reduced by 25 percent of other income. This option is based on the SARC proposal; we adjusted the threshold for inflation, kept the 25 percent reduction rate and determined the amount of the maximum benefit according to the resources available as described above.

The other reform option is a two-part **universal child benefits** scheme which is simpler than the existing system. The universal program is a taxable family allowance, as all Canadian families received before the clawback, worth \$400 per child in 1990 (i.e., the current rate without the clawback). The other program is a refundable child tax credit paying \$1,400 per child for families with incomes under \$10,000, above which the credit is reduced by 5 percent of additional income.

Neither of these options is meant to be a proposal of the author or the National Council of Welfare. Rather, the two options were chosen to exemplify two quite different philosophies on the design of child benefits. One approach concentrates resources on lower-income families and excludes families with average incomes and above, while the other serves families at all income levels. However, both deliver their largest payments to poor families.

Figure G illustrates child benefits for two-earner couples with two children under the existing system and the two options. The dashed line depicts the status quo, the thin solid line the universal option and the solid line with small boxes the targeted option.

The dashed line marking the current system represents total benefits from family allowances and the refundable and non-refundable child tax credits. The large difference in the benefits for families with zero or little income and those with \$15,000 or more requires explanation.

We assume that the family with no employment earnings is on welfare. In order to provide a valid comparison between the current system and the two options, we have counted provincial social assistance benefits as part of the welfare family's child benefits, because the options we are considering fold in social assistance payments on behalf of children.

Welfare benefits include allowances for children, but vary from one province to another and according to such factors as the age of children and type of family. For the sake of argument, we assume

that each child is worth \$1,800 in annual social assistance payments, a rough estimate provided by the economist David Ross based on research he conducted for the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee. This figure is for Ontario's long-term welfare program (Family Benefits Assistance) and would not be the same in other provinces. It does not include discretionary special needs benefits for children such as special diets or medication. We added \$3,600 to the \$800 in family allowances and \$1,353 in refundable child tax credits to arrive at a grand total of \$5,753 for the welfare families with two children under the existing system. Again, this is an estimate used for illustrative purposes only: the actual amount of child-related social assistance benefits vary considerably from one family and province to another.

CHILD BENEFIT OPTIONS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS, 1990

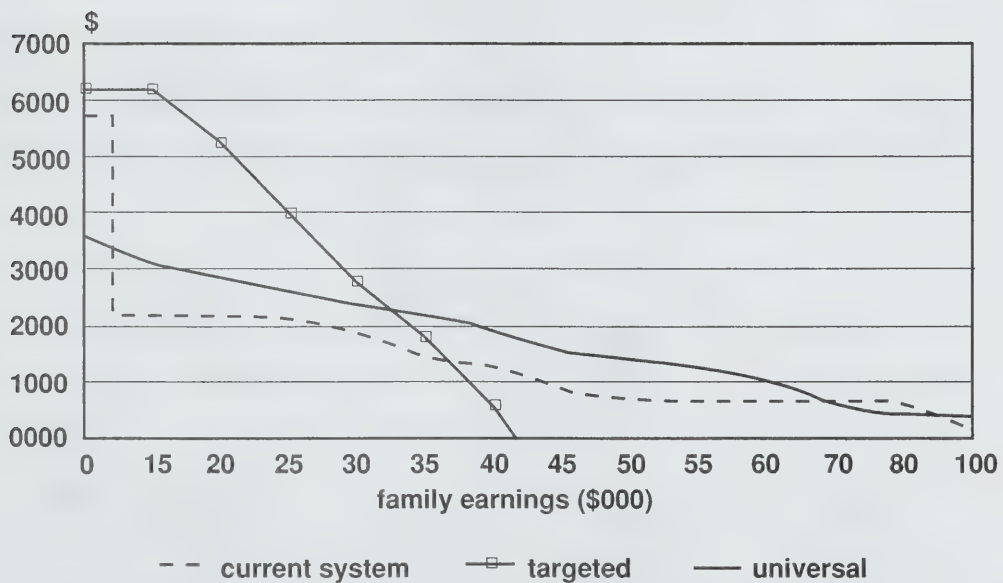


Figure G

The working poor families represented on Figure G by the \$15,000 and \$20,000 levels receive only the three federal child benefits. Total benefits for the working poor families amount to \$2,153 under the existing system, which accounts for the steep drop in the line from the zero earnings families (with total child-related benefits totalling \$5,753) to those at \$15,000.

The targeted option drawn by the boxed line would pay its maximum benefit (\$3,075 per child or \$6,150 for two children) to families with incomes under \$16,500. Above this income level, benefits would decline rapidly, disappearing at \$41,100 for families with two children. Poor and lower-middle income families would be better off than they are under the present system, but those with average incomes or above would no longer receive child benefits.

The universal option's maximum benefit of \$1,800 per child or \$3,600 for two children, payable to families with incomes under \$10,000, would leave welfare families a good deal worse off than they are under the current system. Working poor, middle-income and most upper-income families would be better off than they are now.

To illustrate the effects of the two options, we looked at families at four different income levels — welfare poor families (those with no earnings), working poor families (\$20,000), middle-income families (\$55,000) and upper-income families (\$100,000). The working poor, middle and upper-income families have two earners. In all families, one child is aged six or younger and the other child is seven or older.

Figure H compares child benefits under the two options with the current system. **Figure I** shows the change in benefits that would arise from each reform option (i.e., we subtracted each family's benefits under the present system from what they would get from the targeted option and from the universal approach). Bars which are above the line show increases in child benefits, while those which are below the line indicate losses.

Figure H shows that the welfare family would receive slightly more from the targeted option than it does from the current system but considerably less under the universal option. The working poor family would be much better off under the targeted approach and somewhat better off under the universal approach. The middle and upper-income families would get nothing from the targeted option; the universal option would raise their benefits somewhat from where they are now.

CHILD BENEFITS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUP AND OPTION, 1990

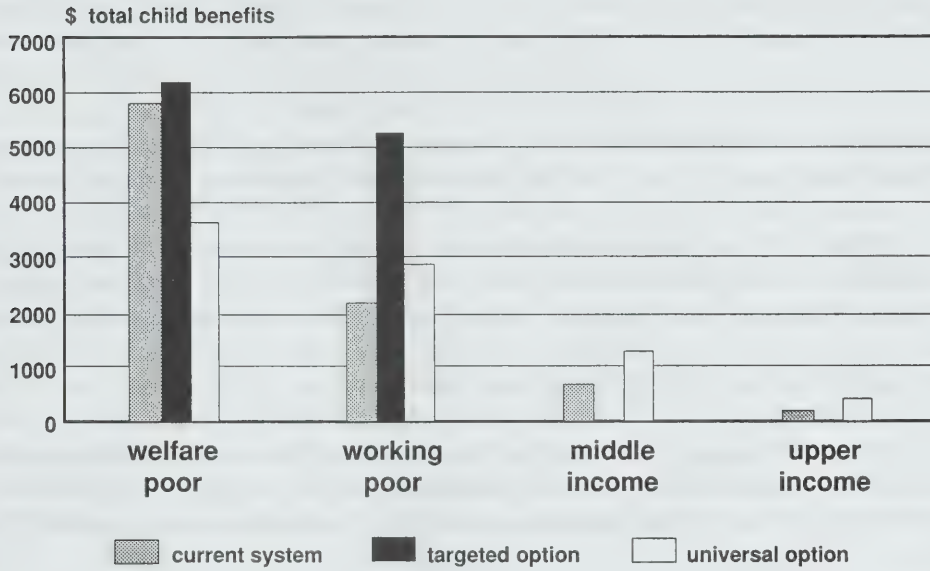


Figure H

IMPACT OF CHILD BENEFIT OPTIONS ON TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY INCOME GROUP, 1990

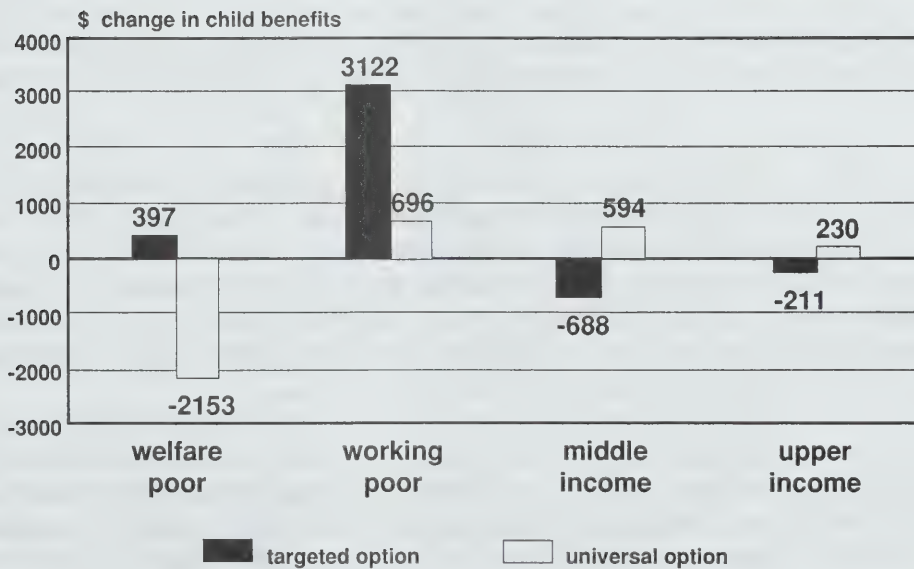


Figure I

Figure I illustrates the effects of the two options. The welfare family would gain \$397 from the targeted option but would lose a sizeable \$2,153 under the universal approach. The working poor family would enjoy a substantial \$3,122 boost in its child benefits under the targeted scheme as opposed to \$696 from the universal option. The middle-income family loses \$688 — all of its present benefits — under the targeted approach but would gain \$594 under the universal option. The upper-income family would lose all \$211 of its benefits under the targeted option but would be \$230 ahead under the universal scheme.

The targeted option would leave welfare families roughly where they are now but would markedly improve child benefits for working poor families with children. However, such a child benefit reform which removed children from welfare — in the sense that their parents now would receive child benefits through a program which is separate from the stigmatizing welfare system and available to all lower-income families with children — would mark a major advance in income security reform, as the SARC report argued. Providing working poor families comparable child benefits to families on social assistance would help ease the transition from welfare to work, since ex-welfare recipients would no longer suffer a sharp reduction in their child-related benefits.

The targeted approach unequivocally opts for the anti-poverty objective of child benefits and rejects their parental recognition and horizontal equity rationales. Working poor and lower-middle income families would enjoy very substantial increases in their disposable income thanks to the larger child benefit they would receive from the targeted option.

The universal option produces mixed results. On the one hand, it would raise the benefits of the working poor by a significant amount (the \$20,000 family with two children would see a \$696 increase) and also would preserve the universal nature of Canada's child benefits system. Middle and upper-income families would get somewhat more than they do now, so the horizontal equity purpose would be somewhat better served. Universalists would like this aspect; those who believe that the state should not pay child benefits to well-off parents would not.

However, perversely, the universal option would hurt the poorest of poor families with children — those who live on welfare. Even universalists would be hard put to defend a proposal which improved child benefits for most families — the well-off included — while slashing benefits for families on welfare.

While our illustrations have used two-parent families, it is important to remember that taxpaying one-parent families currently receive larger child benefits by virtue of the equivalent-to-married non-refundable credit. Any reform one might consider must take this benefit into account, either by retaining it as a distinct program or by incorporating it into the new refundable child tax credit, perhaps as a special supplement for one child for one-parent families. Since one-parent families on welfare do not qualify for the equivalent-to-married credit and some working poor families get only partial benefits, it might be wise to fold it into the refundable credit of the new scheme.

There are many possible variations on these two models in terms of thresholds and reduction rates for refundable credits. For example, a targeted program which extended benefits to more middle-income families could be devised, although this would require reducing the payment to poor families and so could leave welfare families worse off. However, the basic shape of the curves and the differences

between them would remain much the same so long as we compare a sharply targeted program with a universal one funded out of existing resources devoted to federal child benefits and provincial social assistance paid on behalf of children.

(ii) *a “mixed” option: a targeted-but-universal child benefit*

Because public funds are so scarce these days, would-be reformers who want to have any chance of being taken seriously by government tend to limit themselves to so-called ‘revenue-neutral’ options built on current spending levels. That is what we did above in exploring our two equal-cost alternatives to the present tax/transfer system for children.

But it is instructive to consider another option made possible by adding some money to the child benefits pot. After all, millions of dollars have been removed each year since 1985 from the child benefits system as a result of the decision to partially de-index benefits and thresholds.

David Ross, Richard Shillington and I devised a third reform option which offers the same advantages as the targeted option but would at the same time preserve universality — at a cost. By spending \$500 million more, Canada could maintain a universal, taxable family allowance at the current rate (\$400 per child in 1990) and substantially boost the refundable child tax credit to \$2,775. (We used the same \$16,500 family income threshold and 25 percent reduction rate for the third option’s refundable child tax credit as with the targeted option discussed earlier.)

Figure J compares this third, “mixed” option with the targeted option and the current system. We designed the mixed extra-cost option, illustrated by the line with crosses, so that it closely matches the targeted option for poor and lower-middle income families. However, unlike the targeted approach, the mixed option ensures that middle and upper-income families receive child benefits, although most would get somewhat less than they do from the current system. In pictorial terms, the mixed option resembles a targeted-with-a-tail approach, in that it pays large benefits to lower-income families but still provides some benefits to all middle and upper-income families.

Welfare poor families would receive \$100 more per child under the mixed system than they would from the targeted option — \$3,175 per child (\$2,775 from the refundable child tax credit and \$400 in family allowances). For technical reasons, we had to set the mixed option’s refundable credit high enough to ensure that working poor families got similar benefits as they would from the targeted approach; in so doing, welfare families actually came out a bit ahead, which is fine. Even so, families earning in the \$15,000 to \$39,000 range still would get somewhat less from the mixed option than from the targeted option; for instance, two-earner families earning \$20,000 and supporting two children would receive \$5,064 from the mixed option and \$5,275 from the targeted option. Conversely, families earning \$40,000 or more would be better off under the mixed option; remember that the targeted option pays no benefits whatsoever to families with two children and earnings of \$41,100 or more.

Figure J is a bit misleading in that it compares the existing child benefits system and an equal-cost targeted option with a mixed option that costs half a billion dollars more. If we added the same \$500 million to the targeted option, then its maximum benefit would increase from \$3,075 to \$3,250 per child. As a result, the distances between the lines on the graph would increase somewhat; the targeted approach would be even more generous to lower-income families than the mixed option, since an extra

half billion dollars could pay for a higher benefit. However, the overall shape of the curves would not change much, as indicated in Figure K. In any case, the point of the extra-cost option was to illustrate how much it would cost to gain the same advantages as the targeted approach yet maintain universality in Canada's child benefits system.

If we added the same \$500 million to the targeted option to create an extra-cost targeted option, maximum benefits would increase from \$6,150 to \$6,500 for two children. **Figure K** compares the two extra-cost options — targeted and mixed. The picture is similar to that shown in Figure J.

CHILD BENEFIT OPTIONS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS, 1990

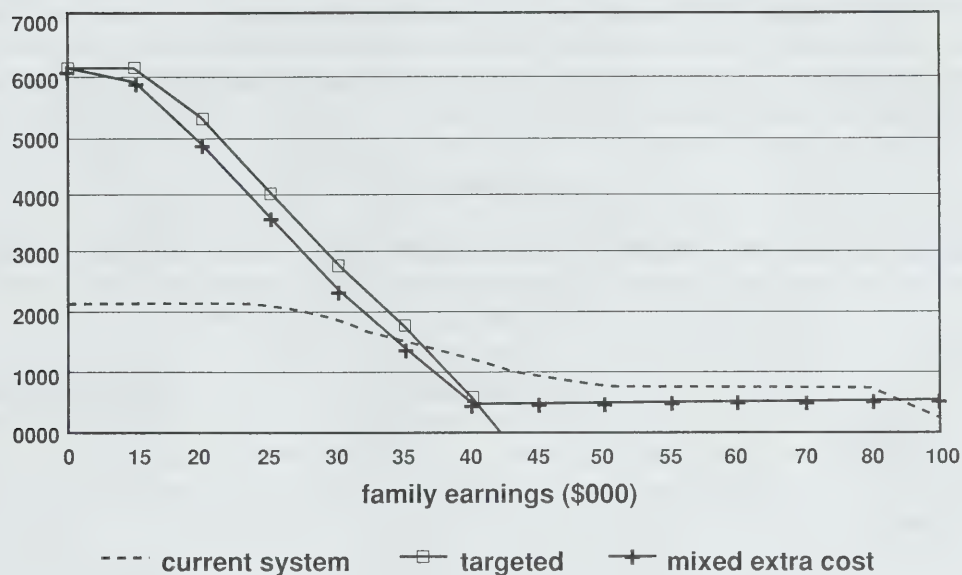


Figure J

EXTRA COST CHILD BENEFIT OPTIONS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS, 1990

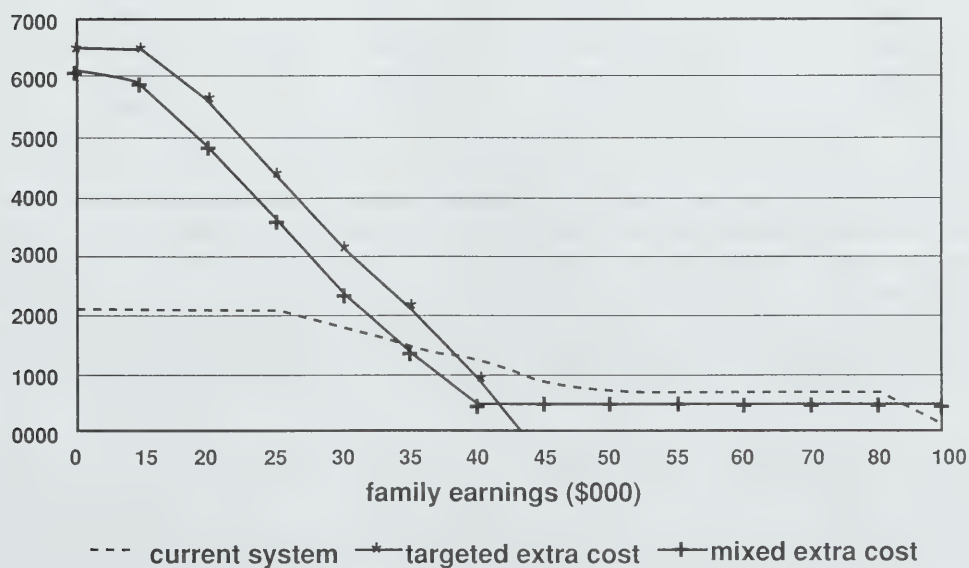


Figure K

The important thing to note is that the mixed option, like the targeted option which it so closely resembles, would improve child benefits for working poor and lower-middle income families to a very significant extent — enough to provide a sizable supplement to their incomes. **Table 1** compares child benefits for two-earner couples with two children under the current system and under the mixed option. Working poor and lower-middle income families would see a large boost to their child benefits. For instance, a family earning \$15,000 would see its child benefits increase from \$2,153 or 14.4 percent of its earnings to \$5,939 or 39.6 percent of its earnings. The \$20,000 and \$25,000 families also would enjoy significant increases in their child benefits.

Table 1

**CHILD BENEFITS FOR TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN,
CURRENT SYSTEM AND MIXED EXTRA-COST OPTION,
FEDERAL/PROVINCIAL SPENDING, 1990**

family earnings	current system		mixed extra-cost option	
	benefits	as % of earnings	benefits	as % of earnings
(\$000)				
0	5,753	—	\$6,350	—
15	2,153	14.4	6,139	40.9
20	2,153	10.8	5,064	25.3
25	2,101	8.4	3,814	15.3
30	1,851	6.2	2,564	8.5
35	1,450	4.1	1,573	4.5
40	1,247	3.1	589	1.5
45	851	1.9	478	1.1
50	725	1.4	478	1.0
55	688	1.3	478	0.9
60	688	1.1	478	0.8
70	688	1.0	478	0.7
80	688	0.9	478	0.6
100	211	0.2	440	0.4

Figure L compares the disposable or take-home incomes — i.e., employment earnings plus family allowances plus refundable child and sales tax credits minus federal and provincial incomes taxes, Canada Pension Plan contributions and unemployment insurance premiums — for two-earner couples with two children and earnings ranging from \$15,000 to \$30,000 under the current child benefits system and under the extra-cost targeted and mixed options. (The average income for two-earner couples with children is an estimated \$56,900 in 1990). **Figure M** indicates the increase in disposable income resulting from the higher child benefits that would flow from the extra-cost options.

Families in which the two spouses together earn \$15,000 would see their disposable income rise from \$16,144 to \$20,491 under the extra-cost targeted option — a very large \$4,347 increase. The \$20,000 family would be \$3,512 ahead, the \$25,000 family \$2,314 in the black and the \$30,000 family \$1,174 better off under our the extra-cost targeted child benefits option. The mixed option would raise

the disposable income of the \$15,000 family by \$3,979 over the present system, the \$20,000 family by \$2,904, the \$25,000 family by \$1,706 and the \$30,000 couple by \$706.

These are substantial increases, especially for the working poor families earning \$15,000 and \$20,000. The estimated 1990 low income line for a four-person family living in a city of 500,000 or larger is \$28,061, which is less than half of the estimated average income for two-earner couples with children. Total pre-tax income for a family earning \$15,000 comes to \$17,573 under the current system (i.e., employment earnings plus gross family allowances and refundable child and sales tax credits); this amount is \$10,448 below the low income level or just 62.6 percent of the poverty line. The extra-cost targeted option would elevate this family's gross income to \$21,920, which would cut the poverty gap from \$10,448 to \$6,141 and raise income from 62.6 to 78.1 percent of the low income line. The mixed option would raise this \$15,000-earning family's total gross income to \$21,770, thus reducing the poverty gap to \$6,291 and increasing its income to 77.6 percent of the low income line.

Under the current child benefits system, the family earning \$20,000 has gross income of \$22,433, which is \$5,628 below the low income line or 79.9 percent of the latter. The larger child benefits payable under the extra-cost targeted option would raise this family's gross income to \$25,945, which is only \$2,116 below the low income level or 92.5 percent of the latter. The family earning \$25,000 would see its gross income grow from \$27,131 (\$930 below the low income line) to \$29,445 or \$1,384 above the estimated low income line for a city of 500,000 or more in 1990. The mixed approach would produce similar, though smaller, improvements. **Figure N** illustrates the impact of the extra-cost targeted and mixed options on the poverty gap as measured in dollars, while **Figure O** shows incomes before and after the two options as a percentage of the low income line.

**DISPOSABLE INCOME, TWO-EARNER COUPLES
WITH TWO CHILDREN, CURRENT SYSTEM AND
EXTRA COST OPTIONS, 1990**

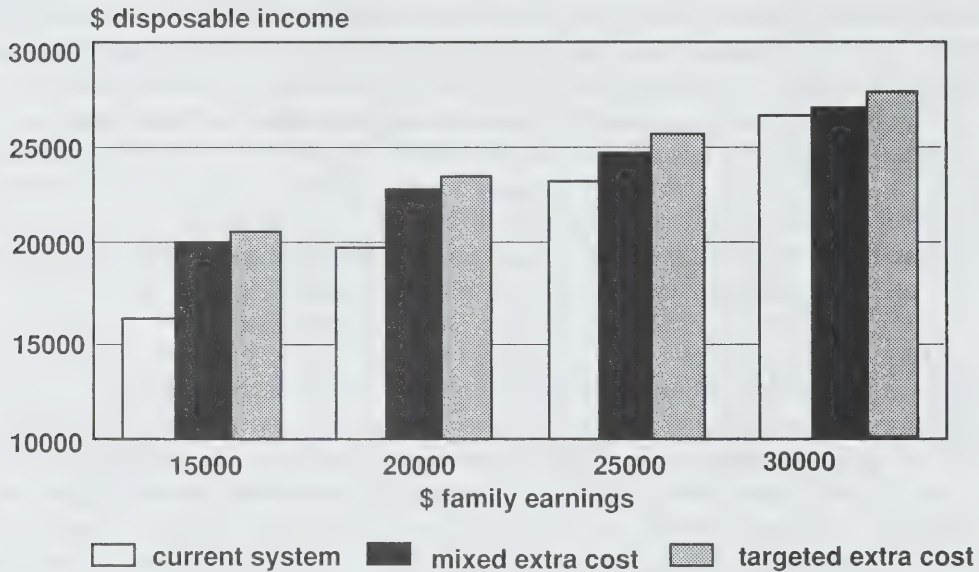


Figure L

**INCREASE IN DISPOSABLE INCOME FROM
EXTRA COST OPTIONS, TWO-EARNER
COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, 1990**

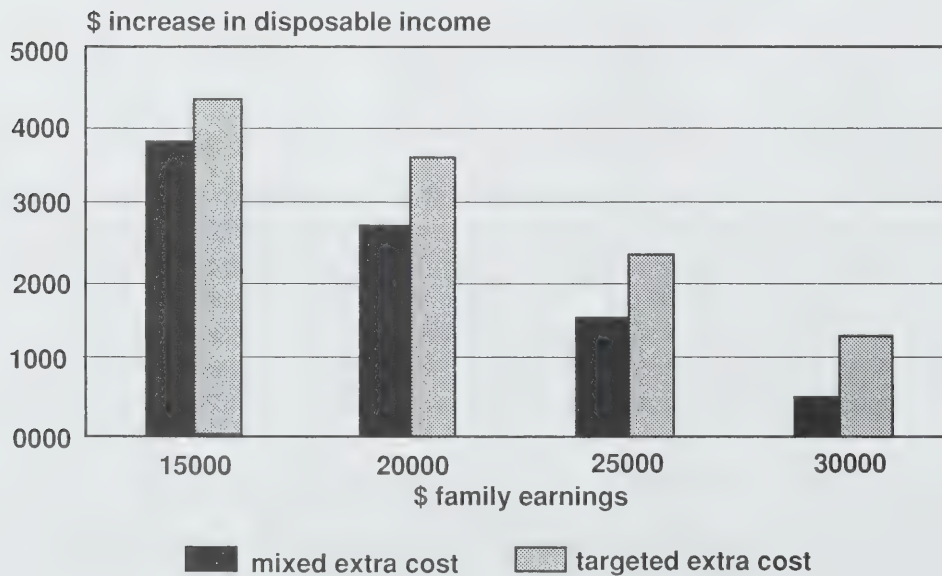


Figure M

**POVERTY GAP, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH
TWO CHILDREN, CURRENT SYSTEM AND
EXTRA-COST OPTIONS, 1990**

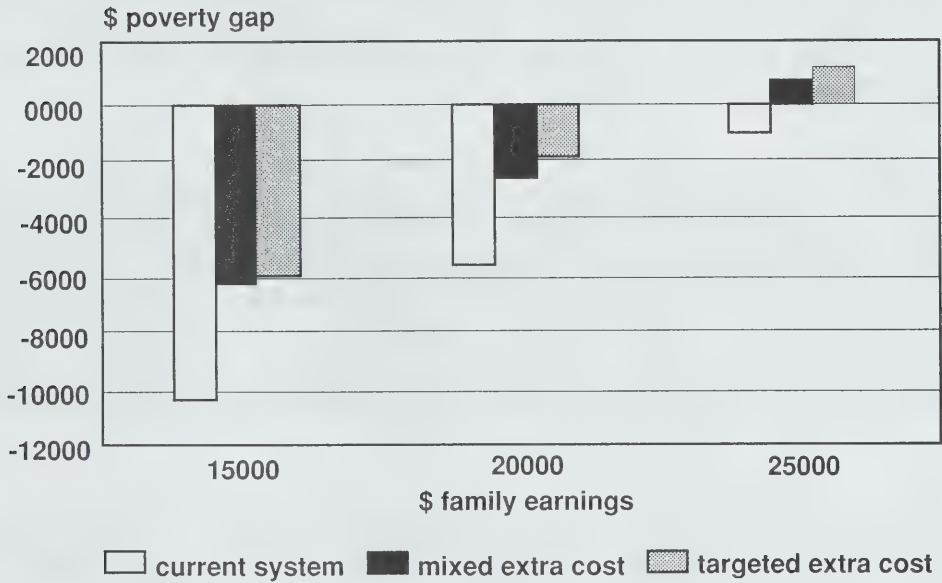


Figure N

**INCOME OF TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH
TWO CHILDREN AS % OF LOW INCOME LINE,
CURRENT SYSTEM AND EXTRA-COST OPTIONS**

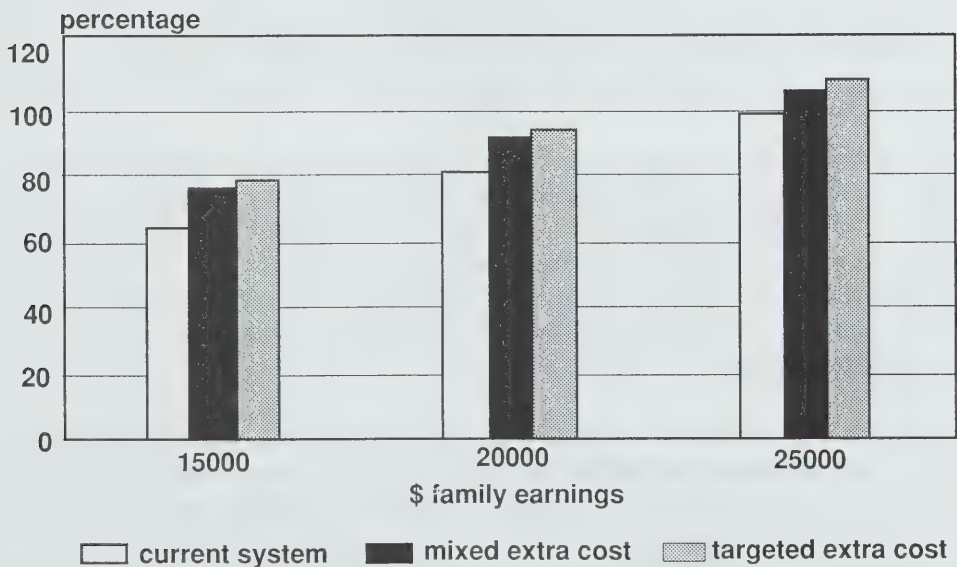


Figure O

c. *federal-only child benefit options*

The options discussed above assume that the federal and provincial governments could agree to pool their child-related resources and create a joint child benefits system. That was the hope of the Ontario Social Assistance Review Committee's *Transitions* report which, as noted earlier, advocated a rationalization of existing federal and provincial child benefits and their recombination into a single program geared to lower-income families.

However desirable a joint federal/provincial child benefits system might be in theory, putting such a scheme into practice would be another matter altogether. For one thing, provincial social assistance rates and budgets vary a good deal, so it might prove difficult to agree on and finance a child benefits system that paid a uniform maximum rate across Canada. This problem would not arise if the new system paid different rates in different provinces; unfortunately, such a variable scheme likely would mean that have-not provinces (which tend to have higher child poverty rates and lower average incomes) would pay lower child benefits to their poor families. Nor does it seem likely in the current period of federal fiscal restraint that Ottawa would move to pump enough money into the new system to finance an adequate uniform national rate.

This problem aside, a joint federal/provincial child benefits system that included Quebec seems a dim prospect. Quebec has built its own system of child benefits integrated into its income security system. Some provinces might resist so radical a step as removing child-related benefits from their welfare system. While the federal government could try to negotiate a joint child benefits scheme with the other nine provinces, the prospects for a new national social program look pretty bleak in 1990.

What would our child benefit options look like if we only have federal expenditures on child and elderly benefits to work with? Not so different from those funded from federal and provincial money, as it turns out.

We compared the mixed option with the targeted option, using federal child benefit funds only. The mixed approach would cost an estimated \$650 million more than current federal child-related spending, so we based the targeted option on the same level of resources in order to draw a fair comparison between the two (i.e., the current \$4.2 billion plus \$650 million for a total of \$4.8 billion).

Figure P illustrates the two options and the current system. Assuming that welfare recipients received the full amount of federal child benefits (i.e., their social assistance benefits were not reduced accordingly), a welfare family with two children would receive in total an estimated \$9,100 under the extra-cost targeted option and \$8,800 from the mixed approach. These amounts are well above what such a family receives from the present child benefits/welfare system (an estimated \$5,753) and from the federal/provincial options discussed earlier (\$6,500 from the extra-cost targeted approach and \$6,150 from the mixed option).

The working poor would benefit considerably from both options, although not as much as they would under joint federal/provincial funding (see **Table 2**). A two-earner couple earning \$20,000 gets benefits totalling \$2,153 from the current child benefits system; the family would receive \$4,625 under the extra-cost targeted option and \$3,914 under the mixed approach. The mixed option would pay middle-income families earning \$55,000 child benefits worth \$478 for two children compared to the

\$688 they get from the present system. The well-off \$100,000 family would get \$440 in child benefits from the mixed option, which is more than it does now (\$211). Middle and upper-income families would receive no child benefits from the targeted approach.

**EXTRA COST CHILD BENEFIT OPTIONS,
FEDERAL SPENDING ONLY, TWO-EARNER
COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN, BY EARNINGS**

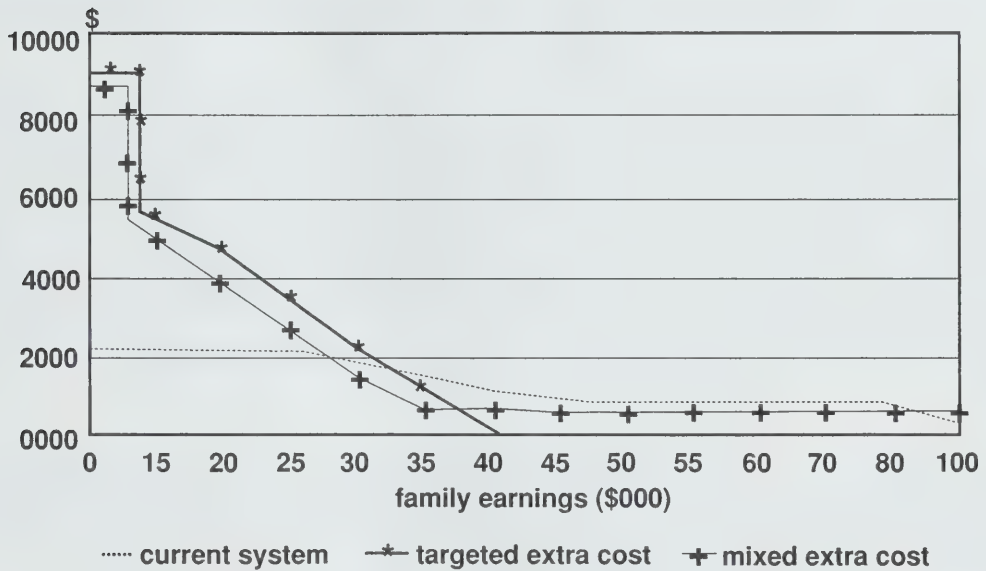


Figure P

Table 2

**CHILD BENEFITS, TWO-EARNER COUPLES WITH TWO CHILDREN,
CURRENT SYSTEM AND EXTRA-COST OPTIONS, 1990**

	welfare poor	working poor	middle income	upper income
	(in dollars)			
federal/provincial				
current	\$5,753	\$2,153	\$688	\$211
targeted	6,500	5,625	0	0
mixed	6,150	4,864	478	440
federal only				
targeted	9,100	4,625	0	0
mixed	8,800	3,914	478	440

Even without adding child-related welfare spending to the pot, then, there is ample scope for boosting child benefits for lower-income families. A two-earner couple raising two children on \$20,000 would get more than twice as much from the extra-cost targeted option as it does now — \$4,625 compared to \$2,153. (Even a no-extra cost targeted approach would leave them much better off — \$4,125 as opposed to the current \$2,153.) The mixed option would boost this working poor family's child benefits from \$2,153 to \$3,914.

Conclusion

It is important not to become mesmerized or befuddled by the intricacies of program options, thresholds, reduction rates, disappearing points and the other arcane tools in the social program designer's toolbox. Several straightforward conclusions stand out from our examination of the existing child benefits system and possible alternatives to it.

First, the child benefits system is withering away because it is no longer adequately protected from inflation. Whether one sticks with the current system or dreams up a better mousetrap, child benefits must be fully indexed. This proviso applies to the threshold for the refundable child tax credit as well as child benefit rates.

Our exploration of several options funded by recombining existing federal and provincial child-related spending shows that a targeted approach which protects the benefits of welfare families and gives large increases to working poor and lower-middle income families could be devised using current resources, although middle and upper-income families would no longer receive benefits. This option would simplify the child benefits system, which would serve one very worthwhile purpose — easing poverty by supplementing the incomes of lower-income families with children. It also would remove one of the barriers facing parents who try to get off welfare and find and keep a job — the loss of their child-related social assistance benefits. However, the targeted option would deny child benefits to middle and upper-income families.

For half a billion dollars more, we can come up with a child benefits scheme that is targeted but still universal. Doubtless, those who do not believe in universal child benefits will regard such a mixed option as undesirable, preferring instead to save the extra money or use it to further improve child benefits for the poor. Universalists will have to ask themselves whether the additional half a billion dollars — no small sum — is justifiable in view of the fact that it would provide a relatively modest payment (\$220 per child, or a mere 0.2 percent of a \$100,000 family's income) to high-income families. By the same token, one might ask why the current child benefits system bothers to pay well-off parents the non-refundable children's tax credit, since it amounts to just \$105 per child on average.

While the precise figures differ, child benefit reforms which use federal resources only also can significantly improve the incomes of lower-income families. Even without provincial involvement, then, the federal government could change the child benefits system so that it boosted benefits to poor families.

A targeted child benefit system clearly would help poor families most. However, a mixed option which is almost as good for the working poor and which retains universality can be devised.

Anti-universalists will still prefer a targeted approach on philosophical grounds, especially since it also offers the biggest bang for the buck in fighting poverty. However, the potential political costs of denying child benefits to middle and upper-income families might make the mixed option more palatable than a strictly targeted approach, even if the mixed option pays relatively small benefits to the better-off.

In the end, either model of child benefits reform — strictly targetted or targetted/universal — would lift many working poor families above the poverty line and substantially reduce the poverty gap for the rest.

"IT'S ALMOST TOO LATE"

**REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON VETERANS AFFAIRS
of the
STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AFFAIRS,
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

January 1991

MEMBERSHIP

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology:

The Honourable Lorna Marsden, *Chair*

The Honourable Brenda M. Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and

The Honourable Senators:

Austin, Jack

Bonnell, M. Lorne

David, Paul

Gigantès, Philippe D.

Hébert, Jacques

Kirby, Michael

Lavoie-Roux, Thérèse

*MacEachen, Allan J., P.C.

(or Frith, Royce)

Marshall, Jack

*Murray, Lowell, P.C.

(or Doody, C. William)

Thériault, L. Norbert

Spivak, Mira

* *Ex Officio Members*

The Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs:

The Honourable Jack Marshall, C.D., *Chairman*

The Honourable M. Lorne Bonnell, M.D., C.M., *Deputy Chairman*

and

The Honourable Senator:

David, Paul

The following senators also participated in the examination by the Subcommittee: The Honourable Senators E.W. Barootes, Joseph-Philippe Guay, Finlay MacDonald (*Halifax*), Lorna Marsden, Gildas Molgat, Robert Muir, Eileen Rossiter and Cyril B. Sherwood.

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, Wednesday, June 28, 1989:

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That the Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates, which were referred to the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance on 2nd May, 1989, be withdrawn from the said Committee and referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The Question being put on the motion, it was--
Resolved in the affirmative".

Gordon Barnhart
Clerk of the Senate

Extract of the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology*, September 26, 1989:

The Honourable Senator David moved:

"That a Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs be established for the purpose of hearing evidence and considering matters relating to the Order of Reference adopted by the Senate on June 28, 1989 concerning Veterans Affairs Votes, 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates which was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology:

That the Subcommittee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bonnell, David and Marshall;

That the Honourable Senators Marshall and Bonnell be Chairman and Deputy Chairman respectively; and

That the Subcommittee be authorized to report from time to time to the Standing Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was--
Resolved in the affirmative."

Patrick Savoie
Acting Clerk of the Committee

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Appendix A - List of persons who appeared before the Committee

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. that at the earliest possible opportunity, the Government of Canada introduce legislation to extend full veterans benefits to all Canadian merchant seamen who served in dangerous waters in Canada's armed conflicts;
2. that the *War Veterans Allowance Act* be amended to define as a veteran all merchant seamen who made at least one trip through dangerous waters;
3. that the Government of Canada prepare and place in the Peace Tower a Book of Remembrance honouring merchant seamen who died of enemy action in Canadian armed conflicts and, further, that suitable monuments to their sacrifices be erected;
4. that the residency requirement of the *War Veterans Allowance Act* and Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act* be amended to permit otherwise qualified veterans to apply for benefits from outside Canada;
5. that the Canadian government take immediate steps to negotiate an agreement with the United Kingdom to exempt War Veterans Allowance from British taxes;
6. that the rates of compensation provided for under the *Prisoners of War Compensation Act* be reviewed with the objective of taking into account the severity of the POW regime forced on veterans by the award of additional compensation for each month deemed extremely severe, and that two additional categories be added at appropriate rates of compensation for those veterans who served 30 months and more as prisoners of war;
7. that for the purposes of establishing entitlement to the Veterans Independence Program, receipt of prisoner-of-war compensation be treated as proof of undiagnosed medical disability;
8. that the Veterans Independence Program immediately be extended to civilians who served in close support of the wartime armed forces, that is, as enumerated in Part XI of the *Civilian War Pension and Allowances Act*, and that these benefits be comparable to those offered military veterans; and
9. that the cuts to the heavy housekeeping component of the Veterans Independence Program be fully restored.

10. that the *Veterans Allowance Act* be amended:

1. to establish a common age at which both men and women qualify for benefits and that this common age be 55 years old; and
2. to make eligible for benefits all those Canada service veterans of World War I and World War II who volunteered for unrestricted active duty, who were assigned to serve within the boundaries of Canada, who served for no less than 365 days, and who are in need.

11. that the Pension Commission give careful consideration to the psychological problems which may arise when the stresses of retiring and aging are combined with those of blindness, and that these problems influence the assessment of applications for exceptional incapacity.

12. that peacetime service personnel pensioned under the Special Duty Area Pension Order be eligible for Veterans Independence Program benefits.

"IT'S ALMOST TOO LATE"

Introduction

The Committee tabled its last Report on Veterans' Affairs, "They Served, We Care", over nine years ago. The subject matter of that Report was the *Statute Law Amendment Act of 1980* (Bill C-40), which had substantially amended the provisions of the *Pension Act*, the *Compensation for Former Prisoners of War Act*, the *War Veterans Allowances Act*, and Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act*. "They Served, We Care" was highly regarded by veterans and veterans' organizations, and the government acted on a number of its recommendations. But even at the time of its submission, members of the Subcommittee had become aware of other anomalies and inequities in the treatment of veterans and their families, and, unfortunately, governments then and since have not seen fit to implement all of its recommendations or eliminate the anomalies.

The passage of nine years has brought improvements to veterans' programs and to government policy - most notably the introduction of the Aging Veterans Program, later called the Veterans Independence Program, to assist veterans to stay in their own homes by providing funds for assistance in housekeeping, groundskeeping, transportation, etc. At the same time, the hearings of the Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs have highlighted the unequal treatment of our veterans who served in the merchant marine, the continuing plight of some of our veterans living abroad, the realignment of prisoner of war compensation, groups of veterans with deserving claims who were overlooked when the Veterans Independence Program was extended to Canada Service veterans, and other anomalies in the legislation and ways in which our treatment of veterans could be improved.

The present Report deals with deliberations and recommendations on these issues. We have chosen the title "It's Almost Too Late" because it is literally true - the average age of our First World War veterans is over 90, while that of Second World War veterans is over 70, and that of Korean war veterans is approaching 60 and we have only a few more years in which to show those who served that we care by ensuring they and their surviving spouses spend their last few years in dignity and comfort.

The Committee wishes to thank the members of the Subcommittee for their hard work and the representatives of the veterans organizations and members of the public who gave testimony and advised the Subcommittee. We also wish to acknowledge our gratitude for assistance given during the study and preparation of our report by Mr. Denis Bouffard, Clerk to the Subcommittee, Miss Laura Fox, Administrative Assistant, Mrs. Marie Claire Jak, and Mr. Grant Purves, Research Officer of the Research Branch of the Library of Parliament.

VETERANS OF THE CANADIAN MERCHANT NAVY

"Make no mistake, the real victors of the Battle of the Atlantic were not the navies or air forces, but the Allied merchant seamen." (Rear-Admiral Leonard W. Murray, Commander-in-Chief, Canadian North-West Atlantic, as quoted in the brief dated 15 January 1990 by the Canadian Merchant Navy Association)

"That was the kiss of death bestowed with gratitude." (Gordon Olmstead, ex-merchant mariner and POW, speaking of the government's post-war treatment of veterans of the merchant marine)

1. The wartime service and post-war treatment of the veterans of the Canadian Merchant Navy was a major focal point of your Committee's concern, and the Subcommittee heard from a number of groups and individuals who represent merchant navy veterans and merchant navy prisoners of war. As far as we are aware, our investigation marks the first occasion on which a parliamentary committee has been made aware both of the service and sacrifices of merchant seamen during World War II and of the shabbiness of their treatment in the years following the war. We also became aware of how little we and other Canadians know of the wartime history of the merchant marine. For this reason, the proceedings of our Subcommittee reprint some of the briefs and material we received.
2. When World War II began in September 1939, Canada's merchant marine consisted of just 37 ships and 1,400 merchant seamen. By war's end in 1945, it had grown to 180 ships and 12,000 mariners. Sixty-seven Canadian ships were lost during the war, and of the 7,705 seamen credited by the Department of Transport with sailing in dangerous waters, 1,146 were killed and 198 taken prisoner of war. (Proceedings, 1A:7)
3. German sea warfare was limited until June 1940 because until the fall of France and the Atlantic ports, the Allies could restrict German naval and air operations largely to the North Sea and Baltic, well away from the most heavily travelled sea-lanes which converged on the English Channel and off the East Coast of North America. Once the Germans had the time to organize their occupation of the Atlantic coast from Norway through the Low Countries and France, German aircraft, submarines and surface vessels entered a three-year period, called the

Battle of the Atlantic, 1941-1943, during which they devastated Allied resources in ships, men and materiel.

4. While many histories of the Battle of the Atlantic have been published, our witnesses knew of no official history of the Canadian Merchant Navy's role in this battle or, indeed, its role in the war. On their own initiative, however, many of them had spent a great deal of time researching the background of their briefs. The most extensive of these briefs are reprinted as appendices to our *Proceedings*. On the basis of their testimony, it is clear that many Canadians, wanting to serve their country during the war, joined the merchant marine rather than one of the fighting services because they had been rejected as too old or too young or as physically unfit for the latter. These wartime volunteers and many veteran mariners served in various capacities, such as firemen, oilers, victualling staff, deck, engineer and radio officers and gunnery crew aboard merchant vessels so equipped.

5. The ships carried the lifeblood of Great Britain and of the Allied armies assembling there and later on the continent. They at times sailed independently, but most were grouped in convoys escorted by naval vessels and were confined to their station in the convoy which travelled at the speed of its slowest member. Whether sailing alone or locked into the rigid columns and rows of a convoy, the merchant vessels faced many hazards. Their greatest enemies were the dreaded U-boats or submarines. In the early stages of the Battle of the Atlantic, the U-boats easily evaded the thin lines of navy escorts and tore into the orderly columns of merchantmen with their torpedos. Closer to Europe, long-range German airplanes bombed and strafed merchant vessels which were also at the mercy of floating mines. Then there was the mariners' traditional antagonist, the weather. When combined with the close proximity of ships in convoy formations, complex zig-zag patterns governed by the clock, the weather "could create a seemingly never-ending nightmare of black looming shapes in the dark, and strident blasts of whistles and sirens." (*Proceedings*, 8:18)

6. Merchant seamen were the prime victims of the inexperience of the naval crews at the beginning of the Battle of the Atlantic and of the failure of the military authorities to respond quickly and effectively to the developing crisis in 1941-1942. As a result, by the end of 1942, 88% of the Canadian merchant navy's casualties had occurred. When the obvious flaws in organization, training and equipment were corrected and the Royal Canadian Navy attained its potential, merchant shipping losses were dramatically reduced. (*Proceedings*, 8:32, 1988) Nevertheless, casualties among merchant seamen who sailed in dangerous waters during the war, at more than one in seven, were much higher than those of the Navy.

7. One hundred and ninety-eight Canadian merchant seamen were captured when their ships were sunk. The "hazards of war at sea were replaced by the purgatory of imprisonment ashore."

Most of these men spent more than four years in prison camps in German-occupied Europe, but 23 spent more than three years in the Far East. Those captured and imprisoned by the Japanese were incarcerated under "conditions of appalling deprivation and degradation." (Proceedings, 1A:9). A radio officer repatriated from a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp reported that his Japanese captors had told him, "You merchant seamen are going to be lower than the military, whether they are a private or whatever they are in the military, they are higher than the merchant seamen." (Proceedings, 8:31, 1988)

8. Throughout the war, members of the government acknowledged that in the Canadian Merchant Navy "everyone from the masters to the mess boys served in the front lines of the war at sea." The tribute of April 1943 by the then Minister of Transport, the Hon. J.E. Michaud, was quoted by one of our witnesses as follows:

"Merchant seamen virtually form the fourth arm of the fighting services, and despite their reticence to blazen abroad their heroic exploits, we feel that in fairness to them and to their next of kin the Canadian public should be told of their work." (Proceedings, 1:24)

In the words of Rear-Admiral Leonard W. Murray, Commander-in-Chief, Canadian North-West Atlantic:

"Make no mistake, the real victors of the Battle of the Atlantic were not the navies or air forces, but the Allied merchant seamen." (Quoted in the brief dated 15 January 1990 by the Canadian Merchant Navy Association)

Following the war, however, the survivors of this "fourth arm of the fighting services" were not granted veteran status; rather, merchant seamen were classified as civilians, non-military, having the freedom to participate in an open labour market, and non-combatant since they were not under arms, a decision that belied their exceptionally heavy casualties and the conditions of their service which might include gunnery training and serving on the gun crew of those merchantmen so equipped.

9. Post-war policy toward veterans of the merchant marine was also based on the desire to encourage the expansion of the peacetime merchant marine and hence to keep in being the pool of experienced merchant mariners formed during the war years. The Canadian government enacted legislation to reintegrate ex-service personnel. Programs for retraining and education permitted veterans of the armed forces to attend courses in high school, technical schools and universities. However, veterans of the merchant marine were offered only such educational assistance as would "further their careers at sea." (Proceedings, 1:28) In the words of one witness:

"Merchant seamen did get a number of benefits. However, the Honourable Lionel Chevrier, then Minister of Transport, put it this way in "Canada's Merchant Seamen", King's Printer, 1945,

Such benefits should not be of a nature which would encourage seamen to leave the industry at the end of the war to seek employment in other fields...

That was the kiss of death, bestowed with gratitude."

10. The vaunted expansion of the Canadian Merchant Marine did not materialize after the war. On the contrary, the ships of the merchant marine were sold or flagged out to other countries. Seamen and officers alike lost their jobs overnight, their hope for careers was destroyed and many, lacking the education and training necessary to successfully change careers, fell by the wayside. Even those few merchant navy veterans employed in the federal civil service had difficulty winning promotion. *The Veterans Preference Act* excluded even the disabled merchant seamen because they were classified as civilians, not as veterans. As a result, they were liable to be passed over for promotion and to be trapped on the lowest rungs of the employment ladder. Not surprisingly, merchant seamen were also ignored on such occasions as annual veterans' parades, Remembrance Day services, Battle of the Atlantic Sunday services, and in the design of public memorials.

11. Transport Canada acknowledged the failure of the dream of a great Canadian merchant marine in 1948, when it admitted that there was employment for less than 4,000 of the 10,000 wartime merchant seamen. (Proceedings, 1:26) Whatever the justification for the original decision to deny seamen veterans' access to the educational opportunities and veterans' preference extended to military veterans - in retrospect, your Committee finds it exploitative and unjust - the refusal to extend these benefits to veterans of the merchant marine after 1948 was indefensible. The only possible explanation for government inaction is that, relatively speaking, veterans of the merchant marine were a small group without the sympathy or support of a powerful lobby or of friends in high places. The Canadian Seamen's Union, which might have interested itself in the plight of the veterans and the deep-sea fleet, was identified as a union led by Communists. It was superseded by the Seafarers' International Union led by the American, Hal Banks, and supported by the business, labour and political establishment. Hal Banks used strong arm tactics and blacklists to impose his will and to ensure that his supporters got the available jobs, a struggle which, together with the demands of his union, decimated the remaining deep-sea fleet and made it easy for the government to forget its promises and the claims of veterans of the merchant marine for another decade. (Proceedings, 8:44-45 (29 June 1988) and 1:33 (14 February 1990))

12. In responding to charges that merchant seamen veterans were unfairly treated after the war, governments have traditionally argued that not only were merchant seamen civilians, but

also they were much better paid than their military equivalents. A study presented before the Subcommittee challenged the accuracy of this claim, concluding that "no MN (Merchant Navy) officer under the rank of Captain or Chief Engineer received as much pay as the RCN (Royal Canadian Navy) equivalent, even in 1944, and that the 1940 rates for all MN ratings were much lower than RCN rates until 1944." (Proceedings, 1A:20-21).

13. The situation has improved since the 1960s. In 1962, Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act* extended War Veterans Allowance benefits to civilians "in the same manner and to the same extent as if the civilian were a veteran to whom the Act applies." As of April 1976, the *Compensation for Former Prisoners of War Act* included compensation for merchant seamen POWs. (Proceedings, 1A:31). At least since 1986 veterans of the merchant marine have found an important ally in the Royal Canadian Legion, the Navy League of Canada and other associations representing uniformed servicemen and servicewomen. In recent years, they have also become more welcome at official ceremonies honouring Canada's war dead. Nevertheless, they are still treated inequitably under existing legislation and veterans programs.

14. The most glaring example of this continuing unequal treatment is in the respective service qualifications for the War Veterans Allowance and its equivalent under Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act*. For merchant seamen, it is still 180 days' service in dangerous waters, but for uniformed servicemen and women, interpretations of the *War Veterans Allowance Act* by adjudicative boards have liberalized service eligibility criteria so that today they are deemed to have had theatre of war experience if they travelled on or over dangerous waters while on duty. Thus, travel from the mainland to either P.E.I. or Newfoundland would qualify them for benefits. There are other equally glaring examples of unequal treatment in terms of the Veterans Independence Program, access to veterans' homes, etc.

15. Both the United Kingdom and the United States recognize their merchant seamen as veterans. Since 1988, when legislation was adopted declaring their veteran status, U.S. merchant seamen have been eligible for full benefits from the Veterans Administration. (Proceedings, 8:27, and 1A:34) Canada should do no less, particularly as under existing legislation, a U.S. merchant seaman resident in Canada might receive Canadian benefits as an "allied veteran" and thus receive preferred treatment over Canadian merchant seamen.

16. As the veterans of Canada's wartime merchant marine have aged, public recognition of their wartime contribution and of the sacrifice of those mariners who have died as a result of enemy action in Canada's wars, has become increasingly important. Yet no book of remembrance honouring their contribution and war dead has ever been placed in the Peace Tower of Parliament. Nevertheless, there is a book honouring those Canadian civilians who volunteered in 1884 to help a British military expedition make its way up the Nile River in Egypt to Khartoum in the Sudan in an effort to rescue General Charles Gordon. The title page of the book dedicated to the "Nile Boatmen" reads as follows:

IN 1884
CANADA FOR THE FIRST TIME
TOOK PART IN WAR OVERSEAS

FOUR HUNDRED VOLUNTEERS SKILLED IN
RIVER NAVIGATION SERVED WITH DISTINCTION

IN THE NILE EXPEDITION

SIXTEEN OF THESE GAVE THEIR LIVES

THEIR NAMES ARE RECORDED IN THIS BOOK IN
LASTING AND GRATEFUL MEMORY

Have Canada's merchant mariners deserved any less respect for their participation in two World Wars and the Korean conflict?

17. It is to correct these inequities, past and present, that your Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. that at the earliest possible opportunity, the Government of Canada introduce legislation to extend full veterans benefits to all Canadian merchant seamen who served in dangerous waters in Canada's armed conflicts;
2. that the *War Veterans Allowance Act* be amended to define as a veteran all merchant seamen who made at least one trip through dangerous waters; and
3. that the Government of Canada prepare and place in the Peace Tower a Book of Remembrance honouring merchant seamen who died of enemy action in Canadian armed conflicts and, further, that suitable monuments to their sacrifices be erected.

**THE RESIDENCE REQUIREMENT FOR VETERANS
UNDER THE WAR VETERANS ALLOWANCE
ACT AND THE CIVILIAN WAR PENSIONS
AND ALLOWANCES ACT**

18. In its 1981 Report, "They Served, We Care," your Committee recommended that "the residence requirement of the *War Veterans Allowance Act* and Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act* be amended to permit otherwise qualified persons to benefit from the legislation while residing outside Canada." We strongly urge the government to act on this recommendation.

19. While the *Statute Law Amendment Act* of 1980 removed the Canadian residence requirements for widows and children of recipients who die outside Canada, veterans (both military and civilian) must still return to Canada and reside here for a period of one year before they become eligible for benefits. Once in receipt of an allowance, however, they can then leave Canada and resume their residence abroad.

20. Most veterans find it difficult and often impossible to return to Canada to establish residence in order to comply with the present legislation. Often they are too poor, too old and too ill to be able to travel and to establish a new domicile in Canada for one year. Frequently they have family ties where they are living that make it financially and psychologically out of the question. Most of the veterans involved, especially those living in the United Kingdom and the United States, feel that Canada is ignoring their wartime service by forcing them to return to Canada for one year before being eligible for benefits.

21. In 1988, the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs invited the National Secretary of the Canadian Veterans' Association of the United Kingdom, Mr. Percy Mercer, to come to Canada to appear before the Committee. He was able to give evidence about the plight of many veterans who were living in absolute poverty. One case in particular was symbolic of successive governments' lack of concern about the welfare of our veterans living abroad. A William Simmons, a Canadian veteran who had spent three years in a prisoner-of-war camp, had died

destitute and had left a surviving wife in the same condition. He should have been receiving prisoner-of-war compensation since 1976 which entitled him to a pension equal to 25% of the disability pension. Upon his death, his widow should have received a pension equal to one-half of his compensation - amounts that would have allowed them to spend their last years in dignity rather than poverty. But the Simmons' did not know that he was entitled to POW compensation, nor had the Canadian Veterans' Association of the United Kingdom been advised of the new legislation. The staff of the Canadian High Commission in London claimed they did not have the responsibility or budget to seek out Canadian veterans to advise them of changes in veterans' legislation that might be to their benefit.

22. As a result of Mr. Mercer's testimony, it became apparent to your Committee that among impoverished Canadian veterans and their spouses living in Great Britain, there might be others who were entitled to POW compensation and/or disability pensions. Thus, it was decided that all those who were listed with the Association and for whom the War Veterans Allowance was being sought should be interviewed again and should have their war records studied to see whether they too might be entitled to pensions. Mr. Mercer and his colleagues carried out the study and submitted a large number of new applications to the Canadian Department of Veterans Affairs.

23. The Chairman of the Veterans Subcommittee, the Hon. Senator Marshall, visited the United Kingdom to investigate the conditions of Canadian veterans living there and the steps being taken to assist those in need. As a result of his trip, and at his request, the Bureau of Pensions Advocates sent an advocate to the U.K. to interview Canadian veterans on the spot to avoid the delays of correspondence and to allow speedier processing. Over the past two years, around 50 of these pension applications have been approved, and over \$250,000 has been paid in retroactive benefits to U.K. veterans and the spouses of deceased veterans, all of whom now receive regular pension income. For example, one widow is now entitled to a full widow's pension of \$1,057.57 monthly and has received retroactive awards totalling some \$36,000.

24. Despite the success in finding entitlement to pension income for some veterans and their survivors, many others are still living in poverty - poverty that would quickly be relieved if they were eligible for War Veterans Allowance. For some years now, the Government of Canada has made small payments to needy Canadian veterans in the United Kingdom up to the limit where these payments would begin to affect the veterans' benefits under the British program of National Assistance. Your Committee is pleased to note that, following the recent increase in the British limit from 21 pounds sterling per month to 43, the Canadian government announced an increase in its support to the full 43 pounds sterling. Despite these developments, your Committee recommends:

4. that the residency requirement of the *War Veterans Allowance Act* and Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act* be amended to permit otherwise qualified veterans to apply for benefits from outside Canada; and

5. that the Canadian government take immediate steps to negotiate an agreement with the United Kingdom to exempt War Veterans Allowance from British taxes.

PRISONER OF WAR COMPENSATION AND DISABILITIES

"He said that the government was not geared to look after POWs, and neither did they give a damn. Just get rid of them. " (The words of an unnamed Brigadier of the medical corps as remembered by a witness)

25. For many years now, associations representing European theatre Prisoners of War, and particularly those veterans incarcerated for long periods of time such as the Dieppe Prisoners of War and the Merchant Marine Prisoners of War, and others, have expressed discontent with their levels of compensation and disability pension. The *Prisoners of War Compensation Act, 1976* flowed from the findings of Doctor Douglas Hermann's "Report to the Minister of Veterans Affairs on a Study of Canadians Who Were Prisoners of War in Europe During World War II" and from its recommendation that "provisions be made to compensate similarly other former prisoners of war who, because of extraordinary stress and trauma related to capture and imprisonment, also suffer from significant physiological and psychological disadvantages." (Proceedings, 4:21) Current levels of compensation under the legislation range from 10-25% of the disability pension, depending on the length of time the veteran was held prisoner. Those held for 3-18 months receive 10%; those held for 18-30 months, 15%; and those held for 30 months and over, 25%. (Proceedings, 1A: 11)

26. The Committee heard from Dr. A. Lynne Beal, a psychologist acting as advisor to the Dieppe Veterans and Prisoners of War Association. Based on a close review and analysis of the data and findings of the Hermann Report, she concluded that the Dieppe POWs had been compensated through pensions for the significant physiological disadvantages they have suffered: "However, the significant psychological disadvantages they suffered have been totally overlooked in awarding compensation through pensions, contrary to Dr. Hermann's recommendation." (Proceedings, 4:21)

27. While Dr. Beal found a strong correspondence between physical disabilities and pensions - 36.9% of Dieppe POWs reported general deterioration in physical health and 36% received pensions - there was no such correspondence between psychological disabilities resulting from incarceration and pensions. Seventy-one point seven per cent (71.7%) of Dieppe POWs reported

suffering nervous disorders directly attributable to incarceration, while only 36% received pensions. The same disparity showed up among other POWs of whom 59.3% reported suffering nervous conditions and only 22% received pensions. Many of these nervous conditions would today be related to "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder" which was only recognized as a diagnostic category in 1980, well after submission of Dr. Hermann's Report, and which has become accepted in the United States as the basis of disability claims.

28. Dr. Beal reviewed the diagnostic criteria of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the evidence of this disorder among war veterans, including World War II veterans who experience it as they get older. She found that "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder has been diagnosed in a WWII veteran as long as 40 years after the traumatic event. It is, therefore, a very specialized disorder. It takes very qualified people to identify it." Treatment of the disorder is a complex process but can be effective. In her opinion, some of the responses to Dr. Hermann's survey of European theatre POWs revealed some of the classic symptoms of the disorder, particularly nervous conditions attributed to incarceration that adversely affected relations with immediate family, and a sense of helplessness "with a mental status of surrender and lack of choices and control over their environment". (Proceedings, 4:24)

29. The *Prisoners of War Compensation Act* was adopted in recognition that POWs might have a residual disability which nevertheless was not pensionable because it arose from the intangible effects of incarceration and the deprivations of life as a prisoner of war. The National Prisoners of War Association, which has represented the interests of the European theatre POWs before the Subcommittee on many occasions, testified that a great many of its members are not entitled to benefits under the Veterans Independence Program because their POW compensation is not treated as a form of disability pension under the eligibility criteria for VIP. For some other purposes, however, POW compensation is treated as a form of disability pension - for example, in determining eligibility for a full surviving spouse's pension, the deceased veteran's POW compensation, if any, is added to his/her rate of disability pension. The Association has also proposed a new table of POW compensation which would range from 10% -55% by 5% increments for each six months of internment. Thus, a veteran who spent up to six months as a POW would receive 10% compensation, while one who spent more than 54 months would receive the maximum amount of 55%. (Proceedings, 1A:12)

30. For the first time, the Subcommittee heard from the Konzentration Lager Buchenwald Club, a small unique organization made up of the 16 remaining RCAF veterans who were shot down over occupied Europe in 1944 and who, because they were captured in civilian clothing while evading capture, were turned over to the Gestapo as spies, saboteurs and collaborators. Consequently, they were not initially treated as prisoners of war, but were held first in a civilian prison in Paris run by the Gestapo and then were sent to the notorious Buchenwald concentration camp. Throughout this period, they were subjected to beatings, emotional torture and solitary confinement during questioning, and then to starvation and more abuse during their stay in the concentration camp. When, in November 1944, they were sent by some "miracle" to Stalag Luft

III, a prisoner of war camp, it was just before the camp was evacuated by forced marches to avoid first the advancing Soviet armies and then the advancing western allies. Thus, although their period of incarceration was short, it was extremely harsh and cruel both physically and emotionally. (Proceedings, 8:30-33)

31. Those prisoners of war who met with the Subcommittee were encouraged to tell their personal story of capture, incarceration and post-war treatment. Out of these discussions, one fact emerged with stark clarity - in the words of an unnamed Brigadier of the medical corps as remembered by a witness: "He said that the government was not geared to look after POWs, and neither did they give a damn. Just get rid of them." (Proceedings, 2:17) Certainly, the above situation was thought to exist where veterans attempted to get pensions for wounds resulting from their being taken prisoner, or sickness and injuries arising from the conditions of their internment. Frequently, of course, the fact of these wounds and injuries was not part of the POW's wartime Canadian medical records for the wounds had been treated or left to heal for themselves while the veteran was incarcerated. Lacking documentary evidence of the service-related nature of some of these disabilities, lacking, according to testimony, medical examiners knowledgeable about the conditions in POW camps, between one camp and another, or even between a POW camp and a concentration camp like Buchenwald, the Department was accused of being too prone to reject the claims of ex-POWs for disability pensions arising from the circumstances of their capture and incarceration. (Proceedings, 2:12-17 and 8:36) The experience and opinions of some ex-POWs who appeared before the Subcommittee may not be typical of the assessment of pension claims arising from internment, but the discontent of veterans who suffered long-term and/or extremely harsh internment is real and long-standing.

32. The Committee is of the opinion that the risk of and experience of the equivalent of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder would depend on both the length of incarceration and the severity of the camp regime and, further, that its symptoms, if left untreated, might intensify during the veterans' "retirement years." In framing its recommendations, the Committee must acknowledge the fact that many ex-POWs might refuse to come forward or might lack the motivation to come forward and seek treatment. Consequently, your Committee recommends:

6. that the rates of compensation provided for under the *Prisoners of War Compensation Act* be reviewed with the objective of taking into account the severity of the POW regime forced on veterans by the award of additional compensation for each month deemed extremely severe, and that two additional categories be added at appropriate rates of compensation for those veterans who served 30 months and more as prisoners of war; and

7. that for the purposes of establishing entitlement to the Veterans Independence Program, receipt of prisoner-of-war compensation be treated as proof of undiagnosed medical disability.

VETERANS INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM

33. The Veterans Independence Program, or VIP, is the most creative and worthwhile new program to be introduced in the last decade. Its object is to help veterans maintain or improve their quality of life by assisting them to remain healthy and independent in their own homes or communities. To this end, the program will fund, up to prescribed limits, alterations to a veteran's residence, assistance in house and groundskeeping, in home and ambulatory health care (including transportation where necessary). If institutionalization is unavoidable, the program contributes to the costs of residential or nursing home care. Begun on an experimental basis as a departmental initiative in 1981, the program was at first limited to war disability pensioners and civilian disability pensioners whose long-term health needs were related to their pensioned conditions.

34. From its inception, the VIP has been very popular among all veterans groups, and there has been pressure on the government to expand it to cover veterans other than the war disabled. The program was also popular with the Department because the costs of helping a veteran entitled to institutional care at government expense to stay at home were only a fraction of the cost of residential or nursing home care. As a result, the program was expanded to include other groups of military veterans with theatre of war experience - recipients of the War Veterans Allowance aged 65 and over, and "near recipients," i.e., those who would be receiving WVA benefits were it not for payments under Old Age Security legislation. For some reason, these expansions ignored the claim of civilian veterans with overseas service to equal treatment with their uniformed fellow veterans. Thus, Merchant Seamen, Red Cross workers, Canadian Firefighters, the Newfoundland Overseas Forestry Unit, Trans-Atlantic Air Crew, etc., not in receipt of a war-related disability pension, are not eligible, even if they are recipients or "near recipients" of the civilian equivalent of War Veterans Allowance. The claim of Prisoners of War to be included in the program was also ignored.

35. At the 1988 convention of the Royal Canadian Legion, the Minister of Veterans Affairs announced a major extension of the VIP. It would be extended to those veterans who never served outside Canada, the Canada Service Only veterans, who were 65 years old and older, and were in need. While members of your Committee supported the decision, they strongly believe that other groups had and have an equally strong claim to be included.

36. As noted earlier, the VIP not only enhances the independence of the veteran, it also helps the Department delay or altogether avoid the exceptionally high costs of institutionalization. The year following the institutionalization or death of a spouse is one of the most difficult periods of a person's life. The *War Veterans Allowance Act* and the *Pension Act*, following recommendations by the Committee in its last report on this subject, were amended to permit the continued payment to a surviving spouse of married rates and, where applicable, special allowances, for one year following the death of the veteran. The Committee believes that the continuance of at least the housekeeping, groundskeeping and transportation portions of the VIP benefits would help spouses make the necessary adjustments to their new lifestyle following the institutionalization or death of a veteran. Consequently, we are glad to report that over the summer, the government announced its intention of continuing to provide certain VIP services to surviving spouses for up to a year following the death of the veteran.

37. The budget of February 1990 sought to reduce the costs of the Veterans Independence Program by eliminating the heavy housecleaning service except where the security or safety of the veteran was involved. This decision followed on the heels of an independent evaluation of the program which found that heavy housekeeping assistance was the most frequently identified unmet need that might affect the veterans' ability to manage at home. Of the 30% of veterans reporting unmet needs, fully 81% in the survey felt the need for heavy housekeeping assistance as opposed to light housekeeping or groundskeeping. The reports of visiting nurses and informal caregivers made the same point, if less dramatically - more, not less, heavy housekeeping was needed.⁽¹⁾ In assessing the additional costs involved in implementing the recommended changes to the Veterans Independence Program, your Committee expects the government to keep in mind the \$46 million annually that this program is estimated to save the taxpayer when its costs are compared to the cost of the institutional care the veterans might otherwise have required.⁽²⁾ Consequently, your Committee recommends:

(1) Final Report, "Evaluation of the Veterans Independence Program," Corporate Services Division, Veterans Affairs Canada, 20 June 1989, p. 22-23.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. iv.

8. that the Veterans Independence Program immediately be extended to civilians who served in close support of the wartime armed forces, that is, as enumerated in Part XI of the *Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act*, and that these benefits be comparable to those offered military veterans; and

9. that the cuts to the heavy housekeeping component of the Veterans Independence Program be fully restored.

THE WAR VETERANS ALLOWANCE ACT

38. The *War Veterans Allowance Act* authorizes the award of an allowance to women at age 55 while men do not qualify until age 60. The different age requirements for men and women have been challenged before the Veterans Appeal Board as being inconsistent with Section 15 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guarantees equality before and under the law, and which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, age, etc. Notwithstanding the Charter argument, the Board ruled that it could only interpret the Act and that the choice of an appropriate age at which to award an allowance was an issue that could only be properly addressed by Parliament. The Committee believes that this gender-based age discrimination should be eliminated from the legislation.

39. A basic element of eligibility for War Veterans Allowance is that the veteran must have served in a theatre of war. Hence, those wartime servicemen and women who served only within the geographical boundaries of Canada are not eligible unless they have been awarded a disability pension. Many of the veterans volunteered to serve abroad and could have been sent anywhere in the world. Instead, they were assigned to the defence of Canada itself or to training bases and establishments. Since interpretations by adjudicative boards have already blurred the distinction between actual theatre of war service and Canada-only service, your Committee believes the time has come to broaden service eligibility criteria.

40. Your Committee recommends:

10. that the *Veterans Allowance Act* be amended:

1. to establish a common age at which both men and women qualify for benefits and that this common age be 55 years old; and

2. to make eligible for benefits all those Canada service veterans of World War I and World War II who volunteered for unrestricted active duty, who were assigned to serve within the boundaries of Canada, who served for no less than 365 days, and who are in need.

ADMINISTRATION OF BENEFITS ON BEHALF OF VETERANS AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

41. When veterans or their dependants are unable to manage their finances and have no one to assist them, the Department has administered these accounts. Although 20 years ago Veterans Affairs administered accounts for about 10,000 veterans, today only about 1,000 veterans and their dependants are assisted in this way. This assistance has come at a steep price because the Department was not authorized to pay interest on the funds held in trust. The practice of not paying interest on these funds was criticized by members of the Subcommittee during their intensive discussions with departmental officials in Charlottetown in March 1990 and thereafter with representatives of veterans groups. The Subcommittee had prepared a recommendation that the *Department of Veterans Affairs Act* be amended to oblige the Department to pay interest on these accounts at the going rate. Consequently, we are pleased to note that both Houses of Parliament have given speedy passage to Bill C-87, an *Act to amend the statute law in relation to war veterans*, which allows the Minister of Veterans Affairs to pay interest on these accounts as of 1 January 1990.

AWARD OF EXCEPTIONAL INCAPACITY ALLOWANCE TO THE WAR BLINDED

42. Under the *Pension Act*, veterans can apply for an exceptional incapacity allowance provided that their degree of incapacity is already assessed at 100%. This allowance is paid to veterans whose disability has left them in a helpless condition, resulted in continuing pain and discomfort, resulted in loss of enjoyment of life, shortened their life expectancy, etc. There are five degrees of exceptional disability. As these apply to the war blinded, grade one - total blindness plus a significant secondary disability - gives rise to the maximum award and grade five - the ability to count fingers and to move about in protected areas outdoors - gives rise to the minimum award.

43. The President of the Sir Arthur Pearson Association of War Blinded, Mr. Dorward, brought to the attention of the Subcommittee the special problems of approximately 160 war blinded veterans, problems that have arisen when blindness is combined with retirement and aging. Most of these veterans had found employment, frequently with the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (CNIB) or in some other protected environment because they could not compete with sighted people. Their working world consisted of going to work on the same bus, getting off at the same stop, and spending their day with people they knew. According to the witness, "the friendships at work were generally the only friendships those war blinded men and women had. They were like one large family. They did not want to get mixed up with other organizations." (Proceedings, 4:8) Following retirement, however, their blindness has helped precipitate a marked decline in the quality of their life and in that of their spouses:

"However, they have now grown old and have retired. Now they sit at home. They do not want to go out because that means that their wives, who are as old as they are, get a little tired. It is enough for them to go out for the groceries, the daily newspaper and do other jobs to maintain the household without having their

husbands tagging along. Their husbands are embarrassed by having to be guided and worry that they might knock things over in crowded department stores. Today's merchandisers seem to create total chaos by placing everything in our way. There are no clear aisles anymore." (Proceedings, 4:7)

44. The war blinded believe that their applications for exceptional incapacity or for an increase in the level of their exceptional incapacity allowance are dealt with from a strictly physical point of view. Too many are going before the Canadian Pension Commission with a medical report which says there is no change in their physical condition; consequently, no increase in the incapacity allowance is awarded. Your Committee recommends:

11. that the Pension Commission give careful consideration to the psychological problems which may arise when the stresses of retiring and aging are combined with those of blindness, and that these problems influence the assessment of applications for exceptional incapacity.

SERVICE WITH UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY SPECIAL AND PEACEKEEPING FORCES

45. The present report has focused on some of the outstanding oversights and anomalies in the benefits available to civilian and military veterans of World War I and World War II and their surviving spouses. Since World War II, however, thousands of Canadian servicemen and servicewomen have served abroad in theatres of war, or of civil or international strife as members of various United Nations "emergency" "special" and "peacekeeping" forces. Yet the veterans of these conflicts and near conflicts may not be eligible for the same benefits as are the veterans of the world wars. This fact was brought to the attention of the Committee by Cliff Chadderton, Chairman of the National Council of Veterans Associations in Canada, who appeared before the Subcommittee.

46. The most serious of the anomalies in our treatment of post-World War II veterans is the denial of Veterans Independence Program benefits to some of the veterans disabled as a direct consequence of their participation abroad in United Nations military and para-military operations. Thus, while veterans disabled in the Korean "emergency" have been made eligible for VIP benefits, service personnel who have been pensioned under the Special Duty Area Pension Order for injuries arising from service in Cyprus, the Middle East, etc. are not eligible for VIP benefits. Peacekeeping in a hostile environment can be as dangerous and stressful as service in a declared theatre of war, and veterans of international peacekeeping operations should be entitled to equal benefits as a general rule. As a preliminary step in this direction, the Committee recommends:

- 12. that peacetime service personnel pensioned under the Special Duty Area Pension Order be eligible for Veterans Independence Program benefits.**

The Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs will be examining this Special Duty Order in its new mandate, the "Veterans Health Care Regulations SOR/90-594", 28 August 1990, to ascertain the benefits, services and care to which armed forces personnel, in all categories should be entitled.

Appendix "A"

List of Persons who appeared before the Committee, showing the number and date of the Issue in which their evidence appears

First Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90

Name	Issue No.	Date
Barnett, Mr. Barney Secretary Treasurer <i>Army, Navy and Air Force Veterans in Canada</i> Ottawa, Ontario	8	June 13, 1990
Beal, Mr. Ron Vice-President <i>Dieppe Veterans and Prisoners of War Association</i>	4	April 3, 1990
Beal, Dr. A. Lynne, Ph.D. Advisor to the Association <i>Dieppe Veterans and Prisoners of War Association</i>	4	April 3, 1990
Brick, Capt. Paul Chairman <i>Company of Master Mariners of Canada (Maritimes Division)</i> Dartmouth, Nova Scotia	8	June 13, 1990
Broadbent, Mr. David Deputy Minister <i>Department of Veterans Affairs</i>	3	March 28, 1990
Carter-Edwards, Mr. Edward Secretary <i>K.L.B. Club "Konzentration Lager Buchenwald"</i> Bala, Ontario	8	June 13, 1990

(Appendix "A" cont'd)

Name	Issue No.	Date
Chadderton, Mr. H. Clifford Chairman <i>National Council of Veteran Associations in Canada</i>	6	May 23, 1990
Craddock, Mr. Ralph Past President <i>Federation of British and Canadian Veterans of Canada</i> Brantford, Ontario	7	June 6, 1990
Dorward, Mrs. Doreen <i>Sir Arthur Pearson Association of the War Blinded</i>	4	April 3, 1990
Dorward, Mr. D.M. President <i>Sir Arthur Pearson Association of the War Blinded</i>	4	April 3, 1990
Garceau, Mr. Gaston Dominion President <i>Royal Canadian Legion</i>	5	May 16, 1990
Gibson, Mr. Bill Member <i>K.L.B. Club "Konzentrations Lager Buchenwald"</i> Halifax, Nova Scotia	8	June 13, 1990
Giguère, Mr. Georges National President <i>Dieppe Veterans and Prisoners of War Association</i>	4	April 3, 1990
Hannington, Mr. Fred G. Dominion Secretary <i>Royal Canadian Legion</i>	5	May 16, 1990
Houison, Mr. Frank E. National President <i>National Prisoners of War Association (E.T.) of Canada</i> Hamilton, Ontario	2	March 7, 1990
Keast, Mr. Ted Service Officer <i>Royal Canadian Legion</i>	5	May 16, 1990

(Appendix "A" cont'd)

Name	Issue No.	Date
Large Mr. Robert (Bob) Past National President <i>National Prisoners of War Association (E.T.) of Canada</i> Lion's Head, Ontario	2	March 7, 1990
Luce, Mr. Oswald First Vice-President <i>National Prisoners of War Association (E.T.) of Canada</i> Thorold, Ontario	2	March 7, 1990
MacDonald, Mr. Gordon <i>National Prisoners of War Association (European Theatre) of Canada</i>	2	March 7, 1990
Marsh, Mr. Dennis Chairman Brief Committee and Pensions Officer of the Federation <i>Federation of British and Canadian Veterans of Canada</i> London, Ontario	7	June 6, 1990
Merrithew, the Honourable Gerald S., P.C., M.P. Minister of Veterans Affairs	3	March 28, 1990
Olmstead, Mr. Gordon President <i>Canadian Merchant Navy Prisoner of War Association</i>	1 2 5	February 14, 1990 March, 7, 1990 May 16, 1990
Robertson, Mr. Gordon S. Member <i>Canadian Merchant Navy Association</i>	1	February 14, 1990
Smith, Mr. Ray Immediate Past National President <i>National Prisoners of War Association (European Theatre) of Canada</i> Kitchener, Ontario	2	March 7, 1990

(Appendix "A" cont'd)

Name	Issue No.	Date
Thorne, Mrs. Ruth Secretary <i>Federation of British and Canadian Veterans of Canada</i> Hamilton, Ontario	7	June 6, 1990
Vernier, Mr. John President <i>National Prisoners of War Association (E.T) of Canada</i> Ottawa Branch	1 2	February 14, 1990 March 7, 1990

Nom	n° de fascicule	Date
Large M. Robert (Bob)	2	le 7 mars 1990
Ancien président national		
Association nationale des prisonniers		
de guerre (T.E.) du Canada		
Lion's Head (Ontario)		
Luce, M. Oswald	2	le 7 mars 1990
Premier vice-Président		
Association nationale des prisonniers		
de guerre (T.E.) du Canada		
Thorold (Ontario)		
MacDonald, M. Gordon	2	le 7 mars 1990
Membre		
Association canadienne des prisonniers		
de guerre de la marine marchande		
Marsh, M. Dennis	7	le 6 juin 1990
Président		
Comité chargé de la rédaction du mémoire		
et agent des pensions de la Fédération		
"Federation of British and Canadian		
Veterans of Canada"		
London (Ontario)		
Merrilew, l'honorable Gerald, c.p. député	3	le 28 mars 1990
Ministre des Anciens combattants		
Olmstead, M. Gordon	1	le 14 février 1990
Président		
Association canadienne des prisonniers de		
la marine marchande		
Robertson, M. Gordon S.	1	le 14 février 1990
Membre		
Association canadienne de la marine marchande		
Smith, M. Ray	2	le 7 mars 1990
Président national sortant		
Association nationale des prisonniers		
de guerre (T.E.) du Canada		
Kitchener (Ontario)		
Thorne, Mme Ruth	7	le 6 juin 1990
Secrétaire		
"Federation of British and Canadian		
Veterans of Canada"		
Hamilton (Ontario)		
Vernier, M. John	1	le 14 février 1990
Président		
Association nationale des prisonniers		
de guerre (T.E.) du Canada		
Section d'Ottawa		
le 7 mars 1990	2	

Nom	n° de fascicule	Date
Chadderton, M. H. Clifford Président Conseil national des associations des anciens combattants au Canada	6	le 23 mai 1990
Cradock, M. Ralph Ancien président "Federation of British and Canadian Veterans of Canada" Bramford (Ontario)	7	le 6 juin 1990
Dorward, Mme Doreen "Sir Arthur Pearson Association of the War Blind"	4	le 3 avril 1990
Dorward, M. D.M. Président "Sir Arthur Pearson Association of the War Blind"	4	le 3 avril 1990
Garceau, M. Gaston Président national Légion royale canadienne	5	Le 16 mai 1990
Gibson, M. Bill Membre "K.L.B. " (Club Koncentration Lager Buchenwald) Halifax (Nouvelle-Ecosse)	8	Le 13 juin 1990
Giguère, M. Georges Président national Association des anciens combattants et des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe	4	le 3 avril 1990
Hannington, M. Fred G. Secrétaire national Légion royale canadienne	5	le 16 mai 1990
Houison, M. Frank E. Président national Association nationale des prisonniers de guerre (T.E.) du Canada Hamilton (Ontario)	2	le 7 mars 1990
Keast, M. Ted Officier d'entraide Légion royale canadienne	5	le 16 mai 1990

Annexe "A"

Listes des personnes qui ont comparu devant le Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants avec le numéro et la date du fascicule

Première session de la trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990

Nom	n° de fascicule	Date
Barnett, M. Barney Secrétaire-trésorier Anciens combattants de l'armée, de la marine et des forces aériennes Ottawa (Ontario)	8	le 13 juin 1990
Beal, M. Ron Vice-Président Association des anciens combattants et des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe	4	le 3 avril 1990
Beal, Mme A. Lynne, Ph.D. Conseillère auprès de l'Association des anciens combattants et des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe	4	le 13 avril 1990
Brick, Capt. Paul Chairman "Company of Master Mariners of Canada" (Division des Maritimes) Darmouth (Nouvelle-Ecosse)	8	Le 13 juin 1990
Broadbent, M. David Sous-ministre Du ministère des Anciens combattants	3	le 28 mars 1990
Carter-Edwards, M. Edward Secrétaire "K.L.B. Club (Koncentration Lager Buchtenwald) Bala (Ontario)	8	le 13 juin 1990

Le Sous-comité sur les affaires des anciens combattants a reçu le mandat d'examiner le Décret en question, le Règlement sur les soins de santé pour anciens combattants (DORS/90-594 - 28 août 1990), afin de vérifier les prestations, services et soins auxquels devrait avoir droit le personnel de toutes catégories des forces armées.

PARTICIPATION AUX MISSIONS SPÉCIALES, D'URGENCE ET DE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX DES NATIONS UNIES

45. Le présent rapport traite de certaines des omissions et anomalies qui subsistent encore dans les prestations accordées aux anciens combattants civils et militaires de la Première et de la Deuxième guerre mondiale, ainsi qu'à leurs conjoints survivants. Depuis la Deuxième guerre cependant, des milliers d'hommes et de femmes ont participé à des missions spéciales, d'urgence ou de maintien de la paix des Forces des Nations Unies, lors de guerres ou de conflits civils ou internationaux. Pourtant, les vétérans de ces conflits ou quasi-conflits peuvent se voir dénier les mêmes droits et avantages que les anciens combattants des guerres mondiales. Ce fait a été porté à l'attention du Comité par M. Cliff Chardderton, président du Conseil national des anciens combattants du Canada, qui a comparu devant le Sous-comité.

46. La plus grave des anomalies en ce qui concerne les vétérans des conflits postérieurs à la Seconde guerre mondiale est le refus d'accorder les avantages du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants (PAAO) à certains vétérans frappés d'invalidité par suite de leur participation aux opérations militaires et paramilitaires des Nations Unies à l'étranger. Ainsi, tandis que les anciens combattants restés invalides à cause de leur participation à la Force d'urgence en Corée ont eu droit aux avantages du PAAO, les combattants qui avaient été pensionnés en vertu du Décret sur la pension dans les zones de service spécial, pour des blessures subies durant leur service à Chypre, au Proche-Orient ou ailleurs, se sont vus refuser ces avantages. Le maintien de la paix dans un environnement hostile peut être aussi périlleux et éprouvant que sur le théâtre d'une guerre déclarée. Les anciens combattants des forces de maintien de la paix devraient donc avoir droit aux mêmes indemnités que les autres, en règle générale. Comme mesure préliminaire en ce sens, le Comité recommande:

12) **Que les membres des forces de maintien de la paix, pensionnés en vertu du Décret sur la pension dans les zones de service spécial, aient droit aux prestations du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants.**

et le journal à acheter tous les jours sans avoir à traîner leur mari. Leurs maris sont embarrasés parce qu'ils risquent de faire de la casse dans des grands magasins remplis de monde. Il semble que les étalagistes d'aujourd'hui s'ingénient à créer le chaos autour de nous, en plaçant la marchandise dans nos jambes. Il n'y a plus de rangées clairement définies comme avant." (Délibérations, 4:7)

44. Les aveugles de guerre croient que les demandes qu'ils présentent pour obtenir l'allocation d'incapacité exceptionnelle ou pour faire augmenter le degré de cette allocation sont traitées selon le seul critère de leur état physique. Trop d'anciens combattants présentent à la Commission canadienne des pensions des rapports médicaux indiquant qu'il n'y a pas de changement dans leur état physique; par conséquent, on n'augmente pas leur allocation d'incapacité. Le Comité recommande donc:

11) que la Commission des pensions examine soigneusement les problèmes psychologiques qui résultent de la conjugaison de la retraite et du vieillissement avec la cécité, et qu'elle tienne compte des ces problèmes dans l'évaluation des demandes d'allocation d'incapacité.

OCTROI D'UNE ALLOCATION D'INCAPACITÉ EXCEPTIONNELLE AUX ANCIENS COMBATTANTS AVEUGLES DE GUERRE

42. Aux termes de la *Loi sur les pensions*, les anciens combattants peuvent réclamer une allocation d'incapacité exceptionnelle si leur incapacité a été jugée totale. Cette allocation est versée à ceux que leur incapacité a laissés dans un état d'impotence ou dans un état de souffrance et de malaise continus, entraînant la perte de jouissance de la vie, réduisant leur espérance de vie, etc. Il existe cinq degrés d'incapacité exceptionnelle: Dans le cas des aveugles de guerre, le premier degré - cécité totale à laquelle s'ajoute une incapacité secondaire importante - rend admissible à l'allocation maximale, et le cinquième degré - capacité de compter ses doigts et de se déplacer dans des zones extérieures protégées - rend admissible à l'allocation minimale.

43. Le président de la Sir Arthur Pearson Association of War Blind, M. Dorward, a porté à l'attention du Sous-comité les problèmes particuliers d'environ 160 aveugles de guerre. Ces problèmes résultent de la conjugaison de la retraite et du vieillissement avec la cécité. La plupart de ces anciens combattants ont trouvé un emploi, auprès de l'Institut national canadien des aveugles (INCA), ou dans un autre milieu protégé, parce qu'ils ne pouvaient pas faire concurrence aux voyants. Le monde dans lequel ils travaillaient se limitait à prendre tous les jours le même autobus pour aller au travail, à descendre au même arrêt et à passer leur journée entourés de personnes qu'ils connaissaient. Selon le témoin, "les amitiés que les personnes aveugles nouent dans leur milieu de travail sont les seules qu'elles aient. Les aveugles font partie d'une seule grande famille. Ils ne veulent pas se mêler à d'autres organisations." (Délibérations, 4:8) Une fois à la retraite, cependant, leur cécité a accéléré une diminution marquée de leur qualité de vie et de celle de leurs conjoints:

"Cependant, ces gens-là ont vieilli et ont maintenant pris leur retraite. Ils passent leurs journées chez eux. Ils ne veulent pas sortir parce que cela fatigue leurs épouses, qui sont aussi âgées qu'eux. Elles ont déjà assez à faire avec les courses, le ménage

ADMINISTRATION DES PRESTATIONS AU NOM DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS ET DES PERSONNES À LEUR CHARGE

41. Le Ministère s'est chargé de l'administration des comptes des anciens combattants et des personnes à leur charge qui étaient incapables de s'en occuper eux-mêmes. Il y a vingt ans, le Ministère s'occupait ainsi d'environ 10 000 anciens combattants, mais, aujourd'hui, il ne reste plus qu'environ 1 000 anciens combattants et personnes à leur charge qui reçoivent ce type d'aide. Cette aide s'est avérée coûteuse pour les bénéficiaires, parce que le Ministère n'était pas autorisé à payer des intérêts sur les fonds dont il avait la charge. Les membres du Sous-comité ont condamné cette pratique consistant à ne pas payer d'intérêt sur ces fonds, au cours des discussions approfondies qu'ils ont eues avec des représentants du Ministère, à Charlottetown, en mars 1990 et, par la suite, avec les représentants des groupes d'anciens combattants. Le Sous-comité avait rédigé une recommandation demandant la modification de la Loi sur le ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants en vue d'obliger le Ministère à payer, sur ces comptes, des intérêts aux taux courant. C'est pourquoi nous constatons avec plaisir que les deux Chambres du Parlement ont adopté rapidement le projet de loi C-87, *Loi portant modification de la législation concernant les anciens combattants*, qui permet au ministre des Affaires des anciens combattants de payer des intérêts sur ces comptes à compter du 1^{er} janvier 1990.

anciens combattants ayant servi au Canada pendant la Première et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, lorsqu'ils se sont portés volontaires pour un service actif sans restriction, qu'ils ont été affectés au service à l'intérieur des frontières canadiennes, qu'ils ont servi leur pays pendant au moins 365 jours et qu'ils sont dans le besoin.

LA LOI SUR LES ALLOCATIONS AUX ANCIENS COMBATTANTS

38. La *Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants* permet d'accorder une allocation aux femmes à partir de 55 ans, tandis que les hommes n'y ont droit qu'à 60 ans. Cette différence a été contestée devant le Tribunal d'appel des anciens combattants. On allègue qu'elle est contraire à l'article 15 de la *Charte des droits et libertés*, qui garantit l'égalité devant la loi et qui interdit la discrimination fondée sur l'âge, le sexe, etc. Malgré l'argument de la Charte, le Tribunal a décidé qu'il ne pouvait qu'interpréter la loi et que le choix de l'âge approprié pour accorder une allocation est une question que seul le Parlement peut trancher. Le Comité estime que cette discrimination fondée sur l'âge devrait disparaître de la loi.

39. Un élément fondamental de l'admissibilité à l'allocation aux anciens combattants est que ceux-ci doivent avoir servi sur le théâtre des hostilités. Par conséquent, les militaires qui ont servi à l'intérieur des frontières canadiennes pendant que le Canada était en guerre ne sont pas admissibles, sauf s'ils reçoivent une pension d'invalidité. De nombreux anciens combattants s'étaient portés volontaires pour servir à l'étranger et auraient pu être envoyés n'importe où dans le monde. Ils ont plutôt été affectés à la défense du Canada proprement dit ou à des bases et des établissements d'entraînements. Étant donné que les interprétations des tribunaux d'arbitrage ont déjà estompé la distinction entre le service sur le théâtre des hostilités et le service au Canada, votre Comité estime que le moment est venu d'élargir les critères d'admissibilité en fonction du service.

40. Votre Comité recommande:

10) que la Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants soit modifiée:

1. pour établir un âge commun à partir duquel les hommes et les femmes ont droit aux prestations et que cet âge soit 55 ans; et
2. pour rendre admissibles aux prestations tous les

le gouvernement tiennne compte des 46 millions de dollars que ce programme fait économiser tous les ans aux contribuables, comparativement au coût des soins hospitaliers que recevraient autrement les anciens combattant. ? Par conséquent, votre Comité recommande:

- 8) que le Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants s'adresse des maintenant aux civils qui ont fait partie des services de soutien immédiats des forces armées en temps de guerre, tels que les énumère la Partie XI de la *Loi sur pensions et allocations de guerre pour les civils*, et que ces avantages soient comparables à ceux qui sont offerts aux anciens combattants militaires; et

- 9) que les réductions apportées au poste des grosses tâches ménagères soient annulées en entier, au sein du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants.

35. Au congrès de 1988 de la Légion royale canadienne, le ministre des Affaires des anciens combattants annonçait une libéralisation importante du PAAC. Le programme s'adresserait aux anciens combattants dans le besoin, âgés de 65 ans ou plus, qui n'avaient jamais servi à l'extérieur du Canada. Même si les membres du Comité appuyaient cette décision, ils étaient fermement convaincus que d'autres groupes méritaient tout autant d'être compris dans le programme.

36. Comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, le PAAC ne réussit pas qu'à accroître l'autonomie des anciens combattants; il aide aussi le Ministère à repousser et même à éviter les coûts fort élevés du placement dans un établissement. L'année qui suit le placement, suite aux recommandations du dernier rapport du Comité, la *Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants et la Loi sur les pensions*, afin de permettre le paiement continu des allocations au conjoint survivant aux taux des personnes mariées et, s'il y a lieu, les allocations spéciales pour indemnités du PAAC relatives à l'entretien de la maison et du terrain ainsi qu'au transport pour aider les conjoints à s'adapter à leur nouveau style de vie après le placement d'un ancien combattant en établissement ou après son décès. Par conséquent, nous sommes heureux de signaler que le gouvernement a annoncé, l'été dernier, son intention de continuer à fournir certains services du PAAC aux conjoints survivants pendant l'année qui suit le décès d'un ancien combattant.

37. Le budget de février 1990 visait à réduire les coûts du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants en éliminant le service des grosses tâches ménagères, sauf lorsque la sécurité de l'ancien combattant est en jeu. Cette décision survenait après qu'une évaluation indépendante du programme eut trouvé que les grosses tâches ménagères constituent le plus important besoin à combler, car il diminue la capacité des anciens combattants de vivre dans leur logis. Des 30 % d'anciens combattants qui ont déclaré avoir des besoins à combler, 81 % estimaient que ces besoins concernaient les grosses tâches ménagères plutôt que les petites tâches ou l'entretien de la pelouse. Les rapports des infirmières visiteuses et des préposés domestiques allaient dans le même sens, même s'ils indiquaient de manière moins spectaculaire qu'il fallait intensifier et non réduire l'aide relative aux grosses tâches ménagères.¹ Dans l'évaluation des coûts supplémentaires que comporterait la mise en oeuvre des modifications recommandées au Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants, le Comité s'attend que

LE PROGRAMME POUR L'AUTONOMIE DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS

33. Le Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants (PAAc) est la mesure la plus novatrice et la plus utile parmi toutes celles qui ont été prises au cours de la dernière décennie. Il a pour objet d'aider les anciens combattants à maintenir ou améliorer leur qualité de vie en restant en santé et autonomes chez eux ou dans leur milieu. À cette fin, le programme finance, jusqu'à concurrence des limites établies, des modifications au logis d'un ancien combattant, de l'aide pour l'entretien de la maison et du terrain, des soins de santé à domicile et à l'extérieur (y compris le transport, s'il y a lieu). S'il est impossible d'éviter le placement dans un établissement, le programme contribue aux coûts des soins en maison de repos. Lancé d'abord à titre expérimental en 1981, ce programme se limitait au départ aux blessés de guerre civils et militaires à la retraite dont les besoins en soins prolongés étaient reliés à leur situation de retraités.

34. Depuis sa création, le PAAc est très apprécié par tous les groupes d'anciens combattants. Des pressions ont été exercées sur le gouvernement pour qu'il l'offre à tous les anciens combattants, et pas seulement aux blessés de guerre. Le programme est bien vu aussi au Ministère, car ce qu'il en coûte à l'État pour permettre à un ancien combattant admissible au placement en établissement de continuer de vivre chez lui ne représente qu'une fraction du coût des soins en maison de repos. Par conséquent, le programme a été élargi pour inclure d'autres groupes d'anciens combattants militaires qui ont servi au front: les bénéficiaires de l'allocation aux anciens combattants âgés de 65 ans ou plus et les "quasi-bénéficiaires", soit ceux qui recevaient ces allocations s'ils ne recevaient pas déjà des prestations en vertu de la *Loi sur la sécurité de la vieillesse*. Pour des raisons que nous ignorons, cet élargissement ne concerne pas les anciens combattants civils dont le service outre-mer équivalait à celui de leurs homologues en uniforme. Ainsi, les marins marchands, les bénévoles de la Croix-Rouge, les corps de pompiers canadiens, les membres de l'Association du corps forestier outre-mer de Terre-Neuve, les équipages des vols transatlantiques, etc., qui ne reçoivent pas de pension d'invalidité pour blessures de guerre ne sont pas admissibles même s'ils sont des bénéficiaires ou des "quasi-bénéficiaires" de l'équivalent civil de l'allocation aux anciens combattants. On n'a pas non plus tenu compte de la demande des prisonniers de guerre d'être inclus dans le programme.

s'ils ne sont pas traités, peuvent s'intensifier pendant les "années de retraite" des anciens combattants. En formulant ses recommandations, le Comité doit signaler que de nombreux ex-prisonniers de guerre refusent de faire connaître leur état ou manquent peut-être de la motivation nécessaire pour réclamer des soins. Par conséquent, votre Comité recommande:

- 6) que les taux d'indemnisation prévus par la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre* tiennent compte de la dureté du régime de vie imposé aux prisonniers de guerre, par le biais d'une indemnité supplémentaire pour chaque mois de captivité jugée extrêmement dure, et que deux catégories supplémentaires s'ajoutent, à des taux d'indemnisation appropriés, pour les anciens combattants qui ont été prisonniers de guerre pendant trente mois ou plus;

- 7) que, aux fins de l'établissement de l'admissibilité au Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants, le fait de recevoir une indemnité de prisonniers de guerre constitue la preuve d'une incapacité non diagnostiquée.

tandis que celui qui y aurait passé plus de 54 mois obtiendrait l'indemnité maximale de 55 %.

(Délibérations, 1A:60-61)

30. Pour la première fois, le Sous-comité a entendu le Club Konzentration Lager Buchenwald, petite association unique en son genre, formée de 16 vétérans de l'Aviation royale du Canada dont les appareils ont été abattus en Europe occupée en 1944. Parce qu'ils portaient des vêtements civils au moment de leur capture, ils ont été livrés à la Gestapo et accusés d'être des espions, des saboteurs et des collaborateurs. Par conséquent, ces aviateurs n'ont pas été traités au départ comme des prisonniers de guerre, mais plutôt détenus dans une prison civile de Paris dirigée par la Gestapo, puis envoyés au camp de concentration de Buchenwald, de triste renommée. Pendant tout ce temps, ils ont été battus, torturés psychologiquement et gardés en détention solitaire pendant les interrogatoires; ils ont été ensuite privés de nourriture et soumis à d'autres sévices pendant leur séjour au camp de concentration. En novembre 1944, quand on les a envoyés, "par miracle", au camp de prisonniers de guerre de Stalag Luft III, c'était juste avant l'évacuation du camp en marche forcée afin d'éviter d'abord les premières troupes soviétiques, puis les troupes alliées occidentales. Par conséquent, même si la captivité a été courte, elle a été extrêmement dure et cruelle tant au point de vue physique qu'émotif.

(Délibérations, 8:30-33)

31. Le Sous-comité a encouragé les prisonniers de guerre à raconter leur capture, leur incarcération et le traitement qu'ils ont reçu après la guerre. Un fait en est ressorti très clairement: pour reprendre les termes du brigadier anonyme d'un corps médical dont se souvenait un témoin, "le gouvernement n'était pas disposé à s'occuper des anciens combattants, il s'en foutait. Tout ce qu'il veut, c'est s'en débarrasser". (Délibérations, 2:17) Cela se produisait, semble-t-il quand les anciens combattants tentaient d'obtenir des pensions pour des blessures reçues lors de leur capture ou pour des maladies ou blessures causées par leur incarcération. Souvent, bien sûr, ces blessures n'étaient pas consignées dans les dossiers médicaux canadiens des prisonniers de guerre parce qu'elles avaient été traitées en captivité, sinon laissées à la guérison naturelle. Faute de preuve écrite sur l'origine de certaines de ces incapacités, faute - selon les témoins - de médecins qui connaissaient les conditions de vie dans un camp de prisonniers de guerre, entre un camp et un autre, ou même entre un camp de prisonniers de guerre et un camp de concentration comme Buchenwald, le Ministère a été accusé d'être trop porté à refuser aux ex-prisonniers de guerre les pensions d'invalidité qu'ils réclamaient par suite des circonstances de leur capture et de leur incarcération. (Délibérations, 2:12-17 et 8:36). Les expériences vécues par certains prisonniers de guerre et les opinions qu'ils ont exprimées devant le Sous-comité ne sont peut-être pas représentatives de l'évaluation des demandes de pension découlant de l'emprisonnement, mais le mécontentement des anciens combattants qui ont été emprisonnés pendant longtemps ou dans des conditions extrêmement pénibles est réel et ne date pas d'hier.

32. Votre Comité est d'avis que le fait ou le risque de souffrir de stress post-traumatique ou de troubles équivalents dépend de la durée et de la rigueur de la captivité; et les symptômes.

27. Même si M^{me} Beal a constaté un lien étroit entre les incapacités physiques et les pensions - 36,9 % des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe ont signalé une détérioration générale de leur santé physique et 36 % ont reçu une pension -, ce lien ne semble pas exister dans la réalité. En effet, 71,7 % des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe ont déclaré souffrir de troubles nerveux attribuables directement à l'incarcération, tandis que 36 % seulement ont reçu une pension. Le même écart a été constaté parmi les autres prisonniers de guerre, puisque 59,3 % d'entre eux ont déclaré souffrir de troubles nerveux et 22 % seulement recevaient une pension. Un grand nombre de ces états nerveux seraient appelés de nos jours des "troubles dus à un stress post-traumatique", qui ne font partie d'une catégorie à diagnostic reconnu que depuis 1980, soit bien après le dépôt du rapport du D^r Hermann, et qui, aux Etats-Unis, permettent de présenter des demandes de pension d'invalidité.

28. M^{me} Beal a passé en revue les critères permettant de diagnostiquer les problèmes causés par un stress post-traumatique chez les anciens combattants, y compris les anciens combattants de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale qui en souffrent en vieillissant. Elle a constaté qu'"on a en effet diagnostiqué des troubles dus à un stress post-traumatique chez un ancien combattant de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale 40 ans après l'événement traumatique lui-même. Il s'agit par conséquent de troubles très particuliers. Seuls des médecins très qualifiés peuvent les diagnostiquer." Leur traitement est un processus complexe, mais il peut être efficace. Selon le M^{me} Beal, certaines des réponses à l'enquête du D^r Hermann sur les prisonniers de guerre ayant combattu en Europe révélèrent les symptômes classiques de ces troubles, en particulier un état nerveux attribuable à l'incarcération et préjudiciable aux relations avec la famille immédiate ainsi que des sentiments d'impuissance, car "ils ont mentalement tendance à capituler et ont la sensation de ne pouvoir exercer aucun choix et aucun contrôle sur leur environnement". (Délibérations, 4:24)

29. La Loi d'*indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre* est conçue pour reconnaître que les prisonniers de guerre peuvent souffrir d'une incapacité résiduelle mais qui ne donne pas droit à la pension parce qu'elle découle des effets immatériels de l'incarcération et des privations subies. L'Association nationale des prisonniers de guerre a représenté à maintes reprises devant le Sous-comité les intérêts des prisonniers de guerre ayant combattu en Europe. Elle a déclaré qu'un grand nombre de ses membres n'ont pas droit aux prestations du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants, parce que leurs indemnités de prisonnier de guerre ne sont pas considérées comme une forme de pension d'invalidité selon les critères d'admissibilité à ce programme. A d'autres égards cependant, les indemnités de prisonniers de guerre sont considérées comme une forme de pension d'invalidité. Par exemple, afin de déterminer l'admissibilité au plein montant de la pension pour le conjoint suivant, l'indemnité de prisonnier de guerre, le cas échéant, s'ajoute aux taux de la pension pour invalidité. L'Association propose en outre un nouveau barème d'indemnisation des prisonniers de guerre qui serait de l'ordre de 10 % à 55 %, à raison de 5 % d'augmentation par six mois de détention. Ainsi, un ancien combattant qui aurait été moins de six mois en captivité recevrait une indemnité de 10 %,

L'INDEMNISATION ET LA PENSION D'INVALIDITÉ DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE

"Il a dit que le gouvernement n'était pas prêt à s'occuper des prisonniers de guerre et que, de toute manière, il s'en foutait. Débarassez-vous-en". (Paroles d'un brigadier anonyme de l'équipe médicale, rapportées par un témoin).

25. Depuis de nombreuses années, les associations représentant les combattants qui furent emprisonnés en Europe et, particulièrement, ceux qui ont subi une longue captivité, tels que les membres de l'Association nationale des prisonniers de guerre (Theatre européen) du Canada, de l'Association des anciens combattants et des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe, et de l'Association canadienne des prisonniers de guerre de la marine marchande ont exprimé leur mécontentement au sujet des niveaux d'indemnisation et de pension d'invalidité. La *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre*, adoptée en 1976, résultait du rapport que fit le Dr Douglas Hermann au ministre des Affaires des anciens combattants, à la suite d'une étude sur les prisonniers de guerre canadiens en Europe pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Le D^r Hermann recommandait que "des dispositions soient prises pour indemniser de la même façon d'autres anciens prisonniers de guerre qui, en raison du traumatisme et des perturbations exceptionnelles subies pendant leur capture et leur emprisonnement, souffrent également de troubles psychologiques et physiologiques importants". (Délibérations, 4:21) Les niveaux d'indemnisations actuels en vertu de la loi représentent de 10 à 25 % de la pension d'invalidité, selon la durée de la captivité. Pour une détention de 3 à 18 mois, l'indemnité est de 10 %; de 18 à 30 mois, 15 %, et de plus de 30 mois, 25 %. (Délibérations 1A:60)

26. Le Comité a entendu M^{me} Lynne Beal, psychologue conseil auprès de l'Association des anciens combattants et des prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe. Après avoir analysé en détail le rapport du D^r Hermann, elle en arrive à la conclusion que les prisonniers de guerre de Dieppe ont été indemnisés par l'intermédiaire des pensions qui leur sont versées pour les problèmes physiologiques graves dont ils souffrent. "Cependant, les troubles psychologiques importants qui les affectent ont totalement été négligés, pour ce qui est des pensions accordées à titre d'indemnisation, contrairement à la recommandation du D^r Hermann." (Délibérations, 4:21)

nationale. Le Comité est heureux de constater que, par suite de la hausse récente de la limite britannique, qui est passée de 21 à 43 livres par mois, le gouvernement canadien a annoncé qu'il réhaussait son aide jusqu'au maximum de 43 livres. Malgré ces changements, votre Comité recommande:

- 4) que l'obligation de résidence de la Partie XI de la Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants et de la Partie XI de la Loi sur les pensions et les allocations de guerre pour les civils soit modifiée pour que les anciens combattants qui résident à l'extérieur de Canada puissent présenter des demandes de prestation;
- 5) que le gouvernement canadien entreprenne immédiatement de négocier une entente avec le Royaume-Uni pour que les allocations d'anciens combattants soient exemptées de l'impôt britannique;

nombreux anciens combattants qui vivent dans une pauvreté absolue. Un exemple, en particulier, témoignait bien du manque de considération des gouvernements successifs à l'endroit de nos anciens combattants qui vivent à l'étranger. Un nommé William Simmons, un ancien combattant canadien qui avait passé trois ans dans un camp de prisonniers, est mort sans le sou et a laissé sa femme dans la misère. Il aurait dû recevoir depuis 1976 une indemnité de prisonnier de guerre qui lui aurait donné droit à une pension égale à 25 p. 100 de la pension pour invalidité. À sa mort, sa femme aurait dû recevoir une pension égale à la moitié de la sienne. Ces montants leur auraient permis de vivre au moins les dernières années de leur vie dans la dignité et non dans la pauvreté. Mais les Simmons ne savaient pas qu'ils avaient droit à une indemnité de prisonnier de guerre et l'Association des anciens combattants canadiens du Royaume-Uni n'a pas été informée de nouvelles dispositions de la loi. Le Haut-commissariat canadien à Londres a prétendu qu'il ne lui revenait pas de chercher les anciens combattants canadiens pour leur apprendre les modifications apportées à la loi à leur avantage et qu'il n'avait pas non plus le budget pour ce faire.

22. À la suite du témoignage de M. Mercer, il est devenu évident pour le Comité que, parmi les anciens combattants canadiens miséreux et leurs épouses qui vivent en Grande-Bretagne, il pourrait se trouver d'autres ayant droit à des indemnités de prisonnier de guerre ou à des pensions d'invalidité. On a donc convenu d'intervenir en faveur de tous les membres de l'Association et de tous ceux qui avaient demandé l'allocation aux anciens combattants et de faire étudier leur dossier pour déterminer les ayant droit aux pensions. M. Mercer et ses collègues ont effectué cette étude et présente un grand nombre de nouvelles demandes d'indemnisation au ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants.

23. Le sénateur Marshall, président du Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants, s'est rendu au Royaume-Uni pour étudier la situation des anciens combattants établis dans ce pays et les mesures prises pour aider les personnes nécessiteuses. Après sa mission et à sa demande, le Bureau des services juridiques des pensions a dépêché un avocat au Royaume-Uni pour rencontrer les anciens combattants canadiens sur place, d'éviter les retards de la poste et accélérer le traitement des dossiers. Depuis deux ans, une cinquantaine de ces demandes de pensions ont été approuvées et quelque 200 000 \$ ont été versés en prestations rétroactives à des anciens combattants et aux veuves d'anciens combattants, qui reçoivent tous désormais un revenu de pension régulier. Parmi eux, par exemple, se trouve une veuve qui a reçu des paiements rétroactifs de 32 000 \$ environ et qui touche désormais le plein montant de la pension pour veuve de 1 057, 57 par mois.

24. Malgré le succès des recherches pour trouver les anciens combattants et leurs survivants, ayant droit à un revenu de pension, beaucoup d'autres vivent encore dans la pauvreté, une pauvreté qui disparaîtrait rapidement s'ils avaient droit à l'allocation aux anciens combattants. Depuis quelques années maintenant, le gouvernement canadien verse des petits montants aux anciens combattants nécessiteux établis au Royaume-Uni, jusqu'à concurrence du maximum à partir duquel ces montants influenceraient les prestations du programme britannique d'assistance

18. Dans son rapport de 1981 "Anciens combattants, nous nous souvenons", votre Comité recommandait que "les exigences de la *Loi sur les allocations de guerre pour les civils*, en matière de résidence, soient modifiées de manière à permettre aux personnes, qui autrement y seraient admissibles, de bénéficier des avantages découlant de ces lois, lorsqu'elles résident à l'extérieur du Canada". Nous exhortons fortement le gouvernement à mettre en oeuvre cette recommandation.
19. Même si la *Loi de 1980 modifiant la législation éliminant les exigences en matière de résidence pour les veuves et les enfants des bénéficiaires morts à l'étranger*, les anciens combattants (militaires et civils) sont encore obligés de revenir au Canada et d'y résider pendant un an avant d'avoir droit aux prestations. Ils peuvent toutefois retourner vivre à l'étranger une fois qu'ils ont exercé leur droit.
20. La plupart des anciens combattants estiment qu'il est difficile et souvent impossible de s'établir au Canada pour se conformer à la loi actuelle. Ils sont souvent trop pauvres, trop vieux et trop malades pour effectuer le voyage et s'établir au Canada pour un an. Leurs liens familiaux dans leur nouveau pays de résidence les empêchent financièrement et psychologiquement de se conformer à cette exigence. La plupart de ces anciens combattants, surtout ceux qui vivent au Royaume-Uni et aux Etats-Unis, considèrent que le Canada oublie les services qu'ils ont rendus en temps de guerre en les forçant à revenir au Canada pour un an avant d'être admissibles aux prestations.
21. En 1988, le Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants a invité M. Percy Mercer, secrétaire national de l'Association canadienne des anciens combattants du Royaume-Uni, à venir au Canada témoigner devant le Comité. M. Mercer a décrit le triste sort qui afflige de

LES EXIGENCES RELATIVES À LA RÉSIDENCE DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS DANS LA LOI D'INDEMNISATION DES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS ET LA LOI SUR LES PENSIONS ET ALLOCATIONS DE GUERRE POUR LES CIVILS

- 1) que, dans les meilleurs délais possibles, le gouvernement du Canada dépose un projet de loi pour accorder des prestations pleines et entières d'anciens combattants aux membres de la marine marchande canadienne qui ont servi dans les eaux dangereuses pendant que le Canada était en guerre;
- 2) que la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens combattants* soit modifiée pour que les anciens combattants comprennent les marins marchands qui ont fait au moins un voyage dans des eaux dangereuses;
- 3) que le gouvernement du Canada place dans la Tour de la Paix un Livre du Souvenir, afin d'honorer la mémoire des marins marchands morts du fait de l'ennemi pendant que le Canada était en guerre, et que des monuments rappellent leurs sacrifices.

que, de nos jours, ces anciens combattants sont reconnus comme ayant été sur le théâtre des hostilités s'ils ont seulement traversé des eaux dangereuses pendant leur service. Par conséquent, être passé du continent à l'Ile-du-Prince-Edouard ou à Terre-Neuve suffit pour avoir droit aux allocations. Il existe d'autres exemples tout aussi frappants de traitement inégal, notamment dans le Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants et l'accès aux foyers pour anciens combattants.

15. Le Royaume-Uni et les États-Unis considèrent leurs marins marchands comme des anciens combattants. Depuis 1988, où la loi a été adoptée pour leur donner le statut d'anciens combattants, les marins marchands américains ont droit à toute la gamme des allocations prévues par la Veterans Administration. (Délibérations, 8:27, Annexe 1A:94) Le Canada ne devrait pas demeurer en reste, notamment parce que, en vertu des lois actuelles, les marins marchands américains qui résident au Canada peuvent avoir droit à des prestations canadiennes en tant qu'"anciens combattants alliés" et donc recevoir un traitement préférentiel par rapport aux marins marchands canadiens.

16. Comme les anciens marins marchands canadiens qui ont servi pendant la guerre ont vieilli, il est devenu de plus en plus important de reconnaître leur contribution en temps de guerre ainsi que le sacrifice des marins morts aux mains de l'ennemi. Or aucun Livre du Souvenir honorant la contribution et les morts de la marine marchande n'a été placé dans la Tour de la Paix. Il existe néanmoins un livre honorant les civils canadiens qui se sont portés volontaires en 1884 pour participer à une expédition militaire britannique remontant le Nil, de l'Égypte jusqu'à Karthoum au Soudan, afin de secourir le général Charles Gordon. La page titre de ce livre dédié aux "marins du Nil" se lit comme suit:

EN 1884
LE CANADA PRENAIT PART POUR LA PREMIÈRE FOIS
À UNE GUERRE OUTRE-MER.
QUATRE CENTS VOLONTAIRES EXPÉRIMENTÉS
DANS LA NAVIGATION ONT PARTI CIPE BRILLAMENT
À L'EXPÉDITION DU NIL.
SEIZE D'ENTRE EUX Y ONT SACRIFIÉ LEUR VIE.
EN RAPELANT LEURS NOMS
CE LIVRE VEUT PERPÉTUER LEUR MÉMOIRE
ET MARQUER NOTRE RECONNAISSANCE.

Les marins marchands ont-ils droit à moins de reconnaissance pour leur participation aux deux guerres mondiales et à la guerre de Corée?

17. C'est pour corriger ces injustices, passées et présentes, que votre Comité présente les recommandations suivantes:

Comité estime qu'il s'agit d'une exploitation injuste - le refus d'accorder ces avantages aux anciens marins marchands après 1948 ne saurait se défendre. La seule explication possible de l'inaction du gouvernement est que, en termes relatifs, les anciens marins marchands constituaient un petit groupe ne jouissant pas de la sympathie ni de l'appui d'un lobby puissant ou d'amis bien placés. Le Syndicat canadien des marins marchands qui aurait pu s'intéresser au triste sort des anciens marins marchands et de la flotte hauturière, a été considéré comme un syndicat dirigé par des communistes. Il a été remplacé par le Syndicat international des marins, dirigé par l'Américain Hal Banks, et appuyé par le patronat, les syndicats et la classe politique dominante. Hal Banks a fait appel à des fiers-à-bras et à des listes noires pour imposer sa volonté et s'assurer que ses partisans décrochaient les emplois disponibles. Cette lutte, conjuguée aux demandes de son syndicat, a décimé le reste de la flotte hauturière et a permis au gouvernement d'oublier ses promesses et les demandes des anciens marins marchands pendant une autre décennie. (Délibérations, 8:44-45 (29 juin 1988) et 1:33 (14 février 1990))

12. En réponse aux allégations de traitement injuste accordé aux anciens marins marchands après la guerre, les gouvernements on toujours soutenu que les marins marchands étaient des civils et qu'ils étaient beaucoup mieux payés que leurs homologues de la marine. Une étude présentée au Sous-comité conteste cette opinion et conclut qu'"aucun officier de la marine marchande en deçà du rang de capitaine ou de chef mécanicien n'a été payé autant que son équivalent dans la Marine royale du Canada, même en 1944, et que les taux en vigueur en 1940 à tous les échelons de la marine marchande étaient beaucoup moins élevés que ceux de la Marine royale jusqu'en 1944". (Délibérations, 1A:74, 14 février 1990)

13. La situation s'est améliorée à partir des années soixante. En 1962, la Partie XI de la *Loi sur les pensions et allocations de guerre pour les civils* était modifiée pour que les civils aient droit aux allocations aux anciens combattants "de la même manière et dans la même mesure que si le civil était un ancien combattant visé par la loi". Depuis avril 1976, la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre* s'adresse aussi aux marins marchands prisonniers de guerre. (Délibérations, 1A:90, 14 février 1990) Depuis 1986 tout au moins, les anciens marins marchands ont trouvé un allié important dans la Légion royale canadienne, la Ligue navale du Canada et d'autres associations représentant des militaires en uniforme. Ces dernières années, ils ont aussi été mieux accueillis lors de cérémonies officielles honorant les canadiens morts pour la patrie. Ils sont quand même traités encore de façon injuste dans les lois et les programmes actuels à l'intention des anciens combattants.

14. L'exemple le plus frappant de cette inégalité qui se perpétue se trouve dans les exigences de service pour avoir droit à l'allocation aux anciens combattants et à son équivalent aux termes de la Partie XI de la *Loi sur les pensions et allocations de guerre pour les civils*. Pour les marins marchands, il faut encore 180 jours de service en eaux dangereuses, mais pour les militaires en uniforme, hommes ou femmes, les interprétations de la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens combattants* par les tribunaux d'arbitrage ont élargi les critères d'admissibilité de sorte

la marine marchande et les conditions d'emploi, qui comprenaient parfois un entraînement dans le maniement des canons et la participation au sein des équipes de canonnières à bord des navires marchands ainsi équipés.

9. La politique à l'égard des anciens marins marchands après la guerre se fondait sur le désir de favoriser l'expansion de la marine marchande en temps de paix et donc de maintenir le bassin de marins marchands expérimentés, formés pendant la guerre. Le gouvernement canadien a adopté des lois pour réintégrer l'ancien personnel des forces armées. Les programmes de recyclage et de formation ont permis aux anciens combattants des forces armées de suivre des cours dans des écoles secondaires, dans des écoles techniques et à l'université. Mais les anciens marins marchands n'ont reçu une aide à la formation que dans la mesure où ils pouvaient ainsi "poursuivre leur carrière en mer". (Délibérations, 1:28) Selon un témoin:

"Il est vrai que les marins marchands ont obtenu certains avantages. Voici cependant ce qu'en disait l'hon. Lionel Chevrier, ministre des Transports, dans son ouvrage sur les marins marchands canadiens, publié en 1945 par l'Imprimeur du Roi:

"Ces avantages ne devraient pas être de nature à encourager les marins à quitter l'industrie à la fin de la guerre en vue de trouver du travail dans d'autres secteurs..."

Le baiser de la mort donné en toute gratitude".

10. L'expansion si vantée de la flotte marchande ne s'est pas matérialisée après la guerre. Au contraire, les navires de la marine marchande ont été vendus ou ont arboré un autre pavillon. Les matelots et les officiers ont perdu leur emploi du jour au lendemain. Leur espoir de poursuivre leur carrière s'est évanoui et beaucoup d'entre eux, n'ayant ni les diplômes ni la formation nécessaires pour réorienter leur carrière avec succès, se sont retrouvés à l'écart. Même les rares anciens marchands employés dans la fonction publique fédérale ont eu du mal à obtenir des promotions. La *Loi sur la préférence aux anciens combattants* excluait même les anciens marins marchands handicapés, parce qu'ils étaient considérés comme des civils et non des anciens combattants. Il n'est pas étonnant que les anciens marins marchands aient été oubliés à des occasions comme les défilés annuels des anciens combattants, les célébrations commémoratives du Jour du Souvenir, le services du dimanche de la Bataille de l'Atlantique, ainsi que sur les monuments commémoratifs publics.

11. Transports Canada a reconnu l'échec du rêve d'une grande marine marchande en 1948, quand il a admis qu'il ne pouvait offrir de l'emploi qu'à moins de 4 000 des 10 000 marins qui appartenaient à la marine marchande pendant la guerre. (Délibérations, 1:26) Quelle que soit la justification de la décision initiale de refuser aux anciens marins marchands la possibilité de

conséquent, à la fin de 1942, la marine marchande canadienne avait déjà subi 88 p. 100 de ses pertes. Quand on eut comblé les lacunes évidentes d'organisation, d'entraînement et de matériel et que la Marine royale canadienne put atteindre son potentiel, les pertes de la marine marchande décurent considérablement. (Délibérations, 8:32, 1988) Néanmoins, comme les marins marchands ont péri dans une proportion de un sur sept durant la guerre, les pertes de vie ont été beaucoup plus élevées dans leurs rangs qu'au sein de la Marine.

7. Cent-quatre-vingt-huit marins marchands canadiens ont été capturés par l'ennemi qui venait de couler leur navire. "Après avoir affronté les dangers de la guerre navale, ils ont connu le purgatoire de l'emprisonnement." La plupart d'entre eux ont passé plus de quatre ans dans des camps de prisonniers en Europe occupée, mais 23 ont vécu plus de trois ans en Extrême-Orient. Ceux qui ont été capturés et emprisonnés par les Japonais ont connu "la dégradation et les privations les plus horribles". (Délibérations, 1A:57). Un radio rapatrié d'un camp de prisonniers de guerre japonais a révélé que les Japonais lui auraient dit: "Vous, les marins marchands, êtes inférieurs aux militaires; n'importe quel de ces derniers, même un simple soldat, vaut plus que vous." (Délibérations, 8:31, 1988)

8. Tout au long de la guerre, des membres du gouvernement ont reconnu que, dans la marine marchande canadienne, "tout le monde, du capitaine au mousse, s'est retrouvé au front des hostilités navales". L'hommage rendu en avril 1943 par M. J.E. Michaud, ministre des Transports d'alors, a été cité par un de nos témoins:

"Les hommes de la marine marchande constituent pratiquement la quatrième arme des forces combattantes, et malgré leur réticence à faire part de leurs exploits héroïques, nous estimons qu'en toute justice envers eux et leur famille, nous devons parler de leur action à tous les Canadiens". (Délibérations, 1:24)

Le vice-amiral Leonard W. Murray, commandant en chef des Forces canadiennes du Nord-Ouest atlantique l'a affirmé en ces termes:

"Ne vous y trompez pas, les véritables vainqueurs dans la Bataille de l'Atlantique n'ont pas été les marines ou les aviations, mais bien les marins marchands alliés". (Cité dans le mémoire du 15 janvier 1990, présenté par l'Association canadienne de la marine marchande)

Après la guerre cependant, les survivants de cette "quatrième arme des forces combattantes" n'ont pas eu droit au titre d'anciens combattants; ils ont plutôt été considérés comme des civils, des non-militaires qui s'engageaient librement sur un marché du travail libre, et des non-combattants puisqu'ils n'étaient pas armés. Cette décision ignorait les pertes exceptionnelles de

3. L'offensive navale allemande fut plutôt restreinte jusqu'en juin 1940, parce que jusqu'à la reddition de la France et des ports français, les Alliés avaient pu limiter les opérations navales et aériennes allemandes à la mer du Nord et à la Baltique, soit bien loin des couloirs maritimes les plus fréquentés qui convergeaient vers la Manche et au large de la côte est de l'Amérique du Nord. Une fois que les Allemands purent organiser leur occupation de la côte atlantique de la Norvège jusqu'aux Pays-Bas et à la France, les avions, les sous-marins et les véhicules terrestres allemands menèrent pendant trois ans (1941-1943) ce qu'on appelle la Bataille de l'Atlantique, qui dévasta les ressources alliées en navires, en hommes et en matériel.

4. Même si de nombreuses histoires de la Bataille de l'Atlantique ont été publiées, nos témoins n'en connaissaient aucune qui relate officiellement le rôle de la marine marchande canadienne durant cette période, ni pendant la guerre en général. De leur propre chef cependant, un grand nombre d'entre eux ont consacré beaucoup de temps à des recherches pour étayer leurs mémoires. Les plus approfondis de ces mémoires sont reproduits en annexes de nos *Délibérations*. D'après ces témoignages, il est clair que de nombreux Canadiens, désireux de servir leur pays pendant la guerre, sont entrés dans la marine marchande au lieu de s'envoler dans l'une des forces combattantes, parce qu'ils étaient trop vieux ou trop jeunes ou avaient été rejetés à cause d'un handicap physique. Ces volontaires en temps de guerre et de nombreux anciens marins marchands ont servi en tant que chauffeurs, graisseurs, préposés aux vitualles, moussets de pont, mécaniciens, officiers radio et même canoniers sur des navires marchands armés.

5. Les navires transportaient les forces vives britanniques et alliées qui se rassemblaient en Grande-Bretagne et, plus tard, sur le continent. Ils naviguaient parfois indépendamment mais, la plupart du temps, ils faisaient partie de convois escortés par des navires de la marine et devaient garder la place qu'on leur avait assignée dans un convoi qui avançait au rythme du navire le plus lent. Qu'ils naviguent seuls ou dans les rangs et colonnes rigides d'un convoi, les navires marchands couraient de nombreux dangers. Leurs pires ennemis étaient les sous-marins, que tous craignaient. Au début de la Bataille de l'Atlantique, les sous-marins savaient déjouer facilement les faibles lignes d'escorte et torpillaient les colonnes ordonnées des marines marchands. À proximité des côtes européennes, les avions à longue portée allemands bombardaient et mitraillaient les navires marchands, qui étaient également à la merci de mines flottantes. Et le mauvais temps, l'ennemi de toujours des marins, se mettait aussi de la partie. "La proximité des bateaux formant les convois, les louvoient compliqués selon l'heure et le mauvais temps donnait à ces ombres qui semblaient surgir de la nuit et à ces coups de sifflet et de sirène stridents l'apparence d'un cauchemar dont on ne sortirait jamais". (*Délibérations*, 8:18)

6. Les marins marchands ont été les principales victimes de l'inexpérience des équipages de la marine au début de la Bataille de l'Atlantique, ainsi que de l'incapacité des autorités militaires de réagir rapidement et efficacement à la crise qui s'est développée en 1941 et en 1942. Par

LES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS DE LA MARINE MARCHANDE

"Ne vous y trompez pas, les véritables vainqueurs dans la Bataille de l'Atlantique n'ont pas été les marines ou les aviations, mais bien les marins marchands alliés". (Vice-amiral Leonard W. Murray, commandant en chef des Forces canadiennes du Nord-Ouest Atlantique, tel que cité dans le mémoire du 15 janvier 1990, présenté par l'Association canadienne de la marine marchande)

"Le baiser de la mort donné en toute gratitude." (Gordon Olmstead, un ancien combattant de la marine marchande, faisant allusion au traitement que le gouvernement accordait, après la guerre, aux anciens combattants de la marine marchande)

1. Le Comité s'est intéressé de près au service en temps de guerre et au traitement après guerre de ceux qui ont servi dans la marine marchande canadienne, et le Sous-comité a entendu divers groupes et particuliers qui représentaient les anciens marins marchands et les prisonniers de guerre parmi eux. À notre connaissance, c'était la première fois qu'un comité parlementaire était informé des services rendus et des sacrifices faits par les anciens marins marchands pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, ainsi que de la parçimonie avec laquelle ils ont été traités dans les années d'après-guerre. Nous avons aussi découvert à quel point nous et d'autres Canadiens connaissons peu l'histoire de la marine marchande pendant la guerre. C'est pourquoi nous avons reproduit, avec délibérations de notre Sous-comité, certains des mémoires et des documents que nous avons reçus.

2. Au déclenchement de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale en septembre 1939, la marine marchande canadienne ne comptait que 37 navires et 1 400 marins marchands. À la fin de la guerre, en 1945, elle comportait 180 navires et 12 000 marins. Soixante-sept navires canadiens ont fait naufrage pendant la guerre; selon le ministère des Transports, des 7 705 marins qui ont navigué dans des eaux dangereuses, 1 146 y ont perdu la vie et 198 ont été faits prisonniers. (Délibérations 1A:53-54)

celui des anciens combattants de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale dépasse les 70 ans; et les anciens combattants de la guerre de Corée atteignent maintenant la soixantaine. Ainsi, il ne nous reste plus que quelques années pour montrer à ceux qui ont défendu la patrie que nous nous souvenons d'eux, en faisant en sorte qu'eux et leurs conjoints survivants vivent les quelques années qui leur restent dans la dignité et le confort.

Le Comité tient à saluer le travail assidu des membres du Sous-comité et à remercier les représentants des organisations d'anciens combattants et du public en général qui ont témoigné devant le Sous-comité et lui ont prodigué des conseils. Nous souhaitons également exprimer notre gratitude envers M. Denis Bouffard, greffier du Sous-comité, M^{lle} Laura Fox, adjointe administrative, M^{me} Marie Claire Jak, et M. Grant Purves, attaché de recherche du Service de recherche de la Bibliothèque du Parlement, qui nous ont beaucoup aidé dans l'étude de ces questions et dans la rédaction du rapport.

"PRESQUE TROP TARD"

Introduction

Le Comité a déposé il y a plus de neuf ans son dernier rapport sur les affaires des anciens combattants. Intitulé "Anciens combattants, nous nous souvenons", ce rapport portait sur la *Loi de 1980 modifiant la législation sur les pensions, l'indemnisation et les allocations relatives à la guerre, aux militaires et aux civils* (projet de loi C-40), qui modifiait sensiblement les dispositions de la *Loi sur les pensions, de la Loi d'indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre* et de la *Loi sur les pensions et allocations de guerre pour les civils*. Les anciens combattants et les organisations d'anciens combattants l'ont très bien accueilli, et le gouvernement a mis en oeuvre certaines de ses recommandations. Mais même au moment du dépôt de ce rapport, les membres du Sous-comité étaient conscients d'autres anomalies et injustices concernant le traitement des anciens combattants et de leurs familles. Malheureusement, les gouvernements de l'époque et ceux qui ont suivi n'ont pas jugé bon de mettre en oeuvre toutes les recommandations du rapport ni de supprimer les anomalies.

En neuf ans, les programmes et la politique du gouvernement se sont améliorés, notamment par la création du Programme pour anciens combattants qui avancent en âge. Appelé par la suite Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants, celui-ci vise à aider les anciens combattants à continuer de vivre à la maison le plus longtemps possible. Par ailleurs, les audiences du Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants ont fait ressortir les injustices commises à l'égard de ceux qui ont servi dans la marine marchande, le triste sort de certains de nos anciens combattants qui vivent à l'étranger, la nécessité de réformer l'indemnité de prisonnier de guerre, les prétentions légitimes de groupes qui ont été laissés pour compte quand le Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants a été étendu aux personnes qui ont servi au Canada et d'autres anomalies de la législation ainsi que des moyens d'améliorer le sort de nos anciens combattants.

Le présent rapport traite des délibérations et des recommandations sur ces questions. Nous avons retenu le titre "presque trop tard" parce qu'il décrit un peu mieux la situation. En effet, l'âge moyen de nos anciens combattants de la Première Guerre mondiale est de plus de 90 ans,

8. que le Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants s'adresse dès maintenant aux civils qui ont fait partie des services de soutien immédiats des forces armées en temps de guerre, tels que les énumère la *Loi sur pensions et allocations de guerre pour les civils*, et que ces avantages soient comparables à ceux qui sont offerts aux anciens combattants militaires;

9. que les réductions apportées au poste des grosses tâches ménagères soient annulées en entier, au sein du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants;

10. que la *Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants* soit modifiée:

- 1) pour établir un âge commun à partir duquel les hommes et les femmes ont droit aux prestations et que cet âge soit 55 ans; et

- 2) pour rendre admissibles aux prestations tous les anciens combattants ayant servi au Canada pendant la Première et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, lorsqu'ils se sont portés volontaires pour un service actif sans restriction, qu'ils ont été affectés au service à l'intérieur des frontières canadiennes, qu'ils ont servi leur pays pendant au moins 365 jours et qu'ils sont dans le besoin; et

11. que la Commission des pensions examine soigneusement les problèmes psychologiques qui résultent de la conjugaison de la retraite et du vieillissement avec la cécité, et qu'elle tienne compte des ces problèmes dans l'évaluation des demandes d'allocation d'incapacité.

12. Que les membres des forces de maintien de la paix, pensionnés en vertu du Décret sur la pension dans les zones de service spécial, aient droit aux prestations du Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. que, dans les meilleurs délais possibles, le gouvernement du Canada dépose un projet de loi pour accorder des prestations pleines et entières d'anciens combattants aux membres de la marine marchande canadienne qui ont servi dans des eaux dangereuses pendant que le Canada était en guerre;

2. que la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens combattants* soit modifiée pour que les anciens combattants comprennent les marins marchands qui ont fait au moins un voyage dans des eaux dangereuses;

3. que le gouvernement du Canada place dans la Tour de la Paix un Livre du Souvenir, afin d'honorer la mémoire des marins marchands morts du fait de l'ennemi pendant que le Canada était en guerre, et que des monuments rappellent leurs sacrifices;

4. que l'obligation de résidence de la *Loi sur les allocations aux anciens combattants* et de la Partie XI de la *Loi sur les pensions et les allocations de guerre pour les civils* soit modifiée pour que les anciens combattants qui résident à l'extérieur du Canada puissent présenter des demandes de prestation;

5. que le gouvernement canadien entreprenne immédiatement de négocier une entente avec le Royaume-Uni pour que les allocations d'anciens combattants soient exemptées de l'impôt britannique;

6. que les taux d'indemnisation prévus par la *Loi d'indemnisation des anciens prisonniers de guerre* tiennent compte de la dureté du régime de vie imposé aux prisonniers de guerre, par le biais d'une indemnité supplémentaire pour chaque mois de captivité jugée extrêmement dure, et que deux catégories supplémentaires s'ajoutent, à des taux d'indemnisation appropriés, pour les anciens combattants qui ont été prisonniers de guerre pendant trente mois ou plus;

7. que, aux fins de l'établissement de l'admissibilité au Programme pour l'autonomie des anciens combattants, le fait de recevoir une indemnité de prisonniers de guerre constitue la preuve d'une incapacité non diagnostiquée;

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Annexe A - Liste des personnes qui ont comparu devant le Comité

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat*, le mercredi 28 juin 1989:

"Avec la permission du Sénat, l'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Turner:

Que les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants, contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990, qui a été déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des finances nationales le 2 mai 1989, soient retirés dudit Comité et déférés au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée."

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon Barnhart

Extrait du *Procès-verbal du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie*, le mardi 26 septembre 1989:

L'honorable sénateur David propose:

"Qu'un sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants soit établi pour entendre des témoignages et étudier toutes questions se rattachant à l'Ordre de renvoi du Sénat du 28 juin 1989 sur les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990 qui a été déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie;

Que les honorables sénateurs Bonnell, David et Marshall en fassent partie;

Que les honorables sénateurs Marshall et Bonnell soient les président et vice-président respectivement dudit comité; et

Que le sous-comité soit autorisé à faire rapport à l'occasion au Comité.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée."

Le greffier suppléant du Comité

Patrick J. Savoie

MEMBRES DU COMITÉ

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie:

L'honorable Lorna Marsden, *Présidente*
L'honorable Brenda M. Robertson, *Vice-présidente*

et

les honorables sénateurs:

Austin, Jack
Bonnell, M. Lorne
David, Paul
Gigantès, Philippe D.
Hébert, Jacques
Kirby, Michael
Lavoie-Roux, Thérèse
*MacEachen, Allan J., c.p.
(ou Frith, Royce)
Jack, Marshall
*Murray, Lowell, c.p.
(ou Dooddy, C. William)
Thériault, L. Norbert
Spivak, Mira

** Membres d'office*

Le Sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants:

L'honorable Jack Marshall, *Président*
L'honorable M. Lorne Bonnell, *Vice-président*

et

l'honorable sénateur:

Paul David

Autres sénateurs qui ont participé à l'étude du sous-comité: Les honorables sénateurs: E.W. Baroates, Joseph-Philippe Guay, Finlay MacDonald (*Halifax*) Lorna Marsden, Gildas Molgat, Robert Muir, Eileen Rossiter et Cyril B. Sherwood.

"PRESQUE TROP TARD"

RAPPORT DU SOUS-COMITÉ DES AFFAIRES DES ANCIENS COMBATTANT
du
COMITÉ SENATORIAL PERMANENT DES AFFAIRES SOCIALES,
DES SCIENCES ET DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Janvier 1991

familles à bas revenu avec des enfants. Ce régime aurait aussi l'avantage d'éliminer l'une des entraves aux parents qui essaient de remplacer l'assistance sociale par un revenu d'emploi: la perte de leurs prestations d'assistance sociale pour enfants. Toutefois, l'option sélective enlèverait les prestations pour enfants aux familles à revenu moyen et supérieur.

Avec un demi-milliard de dollars de plus, nous pourrions mettre en place un régime de prestations pour enfants qui soit à la fois sélectif et universel. Inutile de dire que ceux qui ne prônent pas l'universalité des prestations pour enfants rejetteraient l'option des prestations mixtes, préférant éparpiller les fonds supplémentaires ou les utiliser pour accroître davantage les prestations pour enfants versées aux pauvres. Les tenants de l'universalité du programme devront se demander si le demi-milliard de dollars supplémentaires — une somme non négligeable — se justifie vu qu'il aboutirait à des paiements relativement modestes pour les familles à revenus élevés (220 \$ par enfant, soit seulement 0,2 p. 100 d'un revenu familial de 100 000 \$). Dans le même ordre d'idées, on pourrait se demander pourquoi le système actuel de prestations pour enfants se donne la peine de verser à ces familles un crédit d'impôt non remboursable, puisque ce crédit ne leur rapporte en moyenne que 105 \$ par enfant.

Même si les chiffres diffèrent, on peut affirmer que la réforme des prestations pour enfants versées par les seuls programmes fédéraux pourrait néanmoins améliorer considérablement la situation financière des familles à faible revenu. Sans même faire intervenir les provinces, le gouvernement fédéral pourrait donc modifier le régime de prestations pour enfants de façon à accroître pour la peine les avantages accordés aux familles pauvres.

Un régime de prestations sélectives profiterait manifestement le plus aux familles pauvres. Mais on pourrait instituer un régime mixte, qui serait presque aussi avantageux pour les familles de «travail-leurs pauvres» et qui conserverait l'universalité.

Ceux qui s'opposent à l'universalité préféreront toujours une démarche sélective pour des raisons philosophiques, parce qu'elle constitue notamment le mode le plus efficace de lutte contre la pauvreté. Toutefois, les répercussions politiques éventuelles du retrait des prestations pour enfants aux familles à revenu moyen et supérieur pourraient rendre l'option des prestations mixtes plus acceptable, même si elle ne rapporte que relativement peu d'avantages aux familles aisées.

En conclusion, disons que l'un ou l'autre des modèles de réforme des prestations pour enfants — la strictement sélective ou la formule sélective/universelle — aiderait de nombreuses familles de «travail-leurs pauvres» à se hisser au-dessus du seuil de pauvreté et réduirait considérablement l'écart de pauvreté pour les autres.

Tableau 2

**PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS VERSÉES AUX COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS
AVEC DEUX ENFANTS — RÉGIME ACTUEL ET OPTIONS À COÛT
SUPPLÉMENTAIRE, 1990**

assisted pauvres	travailleurs pauvres	revenu moyen	revenu supérieur
(en dollars)			
fédéral/provincial			
actuel	2 153	688	211
sélectives	6 500	5,625	0
mixtes	6 150	4 864	440
fédéral seulement			
sélectives	9 100	4 625	0
mixtes	8 800	3 914	440

Sans même ajouter des fonds supplémentaires à la masse des prestations d'assistance sociale, il reste une grande latitude pour accroître fortement les prestations pour enfants versées aux familles à faible revenu. Un couple à deux soutiens avec deux enfants, gagnant 20 000 \$ par année, recevrait plus du double du régime actuel avec les prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire, soit 4 625 \$ contre 2 153 \$. (Même les prestations sélectives sans coût supplémentaire lui seraient beaucoup plus bénéfiques, avec 4 125 \$ au lieu de 2 153 \$.) L'option des prestations mixtes signifierait pour cette famille de «travailleurs pauvres» des versements de 3 914 \$, au lieu de 2 153 \$ présentement.

Conclusion

Il importe de ne pas se laisser fasciner ou désarçonner par la complexité des options, des seuils, des taux de réduction, des points de disparition et des autres instruments mystérieux qu'utilisent les concepteurs de programmes sociaux. Plusieurs conclusions faciles à comprendre ressortent de notre examen du régime actuel de prestations pour enfants et des solutions de rechange étudiées.

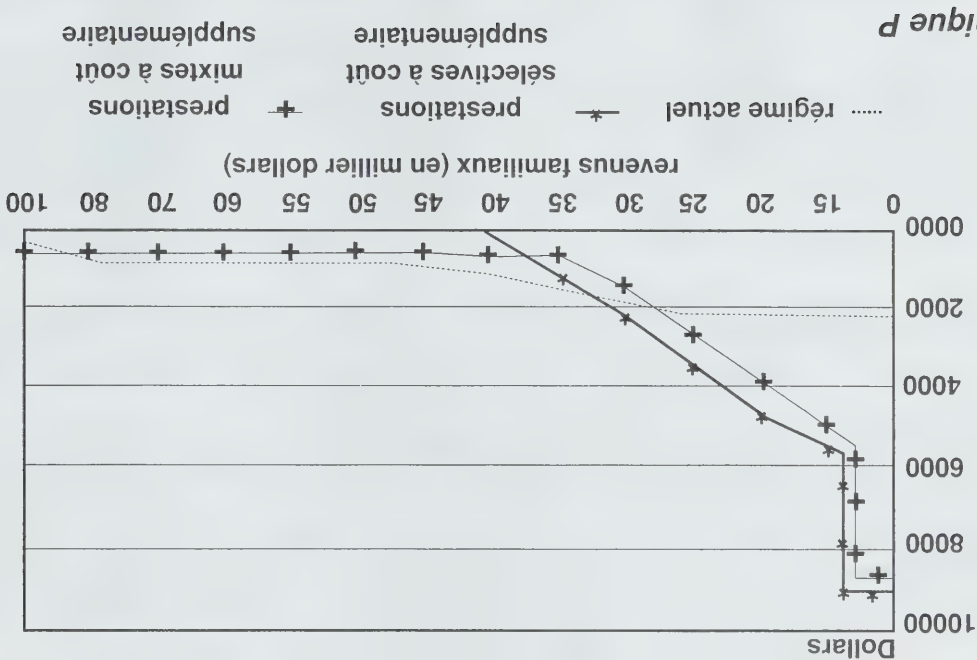
D'abord, le régime de prestations pour enfants est en dépérissement parce qu'il n'est plus protégé efficacement contre l'inflation. Que l'on conserve le régime actuel ou qu'on en conçoive un meilleur, les prestations pour enfants doivent demeurer entièrement indexées. Cette même conclusion s'applique au seul du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, de même qu'aux montants des prestations pour enfants.

Notre étude de plusieurs options financées par la restructuration des programmes fédéraux et provinciaux actuels de prestations pour enfants indique qu'un régime de prestations sélectives, qui protégerait les avantages accordés aux familles assistées et qui apporterait des augmentations considérables aux familles de «travailleurs pauvres» et à revenu faible-moyen, pourrait être mis au point dans le cadre des ressources actuelles, bien que les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur ne recevraient plus alors aucune prestation. Cette option simplifierait le régime de prestations pour enfants, qui ne viserait plus qu'un seul objectif important: alléger la pauvreté en instituant un supplément de revenu pour les

ci-dessus (6 500 \$ pour les prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire et 6 150 \$ pour les prestations mixtes).

Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» bénéficieraient considérablement des deux options, mais à un degré moindre qu'avec le régime conjoint fédéral/provincial (voir le **Tableau 2**). Un couple à deux soutiens gagnant 20 000 \$ recevrait des prestations de 2 153 \$ sous le régime actuel; la famille recevrait 4 625 \$ selon l'option des prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire; tandis qu'avec les prestations mixtes, ce montant s'élèverait à 3 914 \$. Les familles à revenu moyen, gagnant 55 000 \$ et comprenant deux enfants recevraient, selon l'option mixte, des prestations pour enfants de 478 \$, par rapport à 688 \$ sous le régime actuel. Quant aux familles bien nanties gagnant 100 000 \$, cette même option leur rapporterait 440 \$, ce qui serait supérieur au montant actuel de 211 \$. Les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur ne recevraient pas de prestations pour enfants sous le régime des prestations sélectives.

OPTIONS DE PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE - DÉPENSES FÉDÉRALES SEULEMENT - COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS



Les options exposées ci-dessus reposent sur l'hypothèse que les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux puissent s'accorder pour mettre en commun leurs ressources et créer un régime conjoint de prestations pour enfants. C'est ce que souhaite le rapport *Transition* du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario. Comme on l'a déjà indiqué, ce rapport a proposé une rationalisation des régimes fédéral et provinciaux de prestations pour enfants et leur restructuration en un seul programme focalisé sur les familles à faible revenu.

Si désirable que soit, théoriquement, un régime conjoint fédéral-provincial de prestations pour enfants, sa mise en place est bien loin d'être assurée. Signalons notamment que les taux de prestations et les budgets de bien-être social varient énormément d'une province à l'autre, de sorte qu'il pourrait s'avérer difficile d'adopter et de financer un régime uniforme de prestations à travers tout le pays. Cette uniformisation ne poserait pas de problème si le nouveau régime prévoyait des taux de prestations différents selon les provinces; malheureusement, un tel régime de prestations variables signifierait probablement que les provinces pauvres (celles où il y a habituellement des taux de pauvreté plus élevés parmi les enfants et des revenus moyens plus faibles) verseraient des prestations inférieures à leurs familles pauvres. Il semble aussi peu probable que dans le climat actuel de restrictions fiscales, le gouvernement fédéral consente à injecter suffisamment de fonds supplémentaires dans le nouveau régime pour financer un taux de prestations adéquat et uniforme à l'échelle nationale.

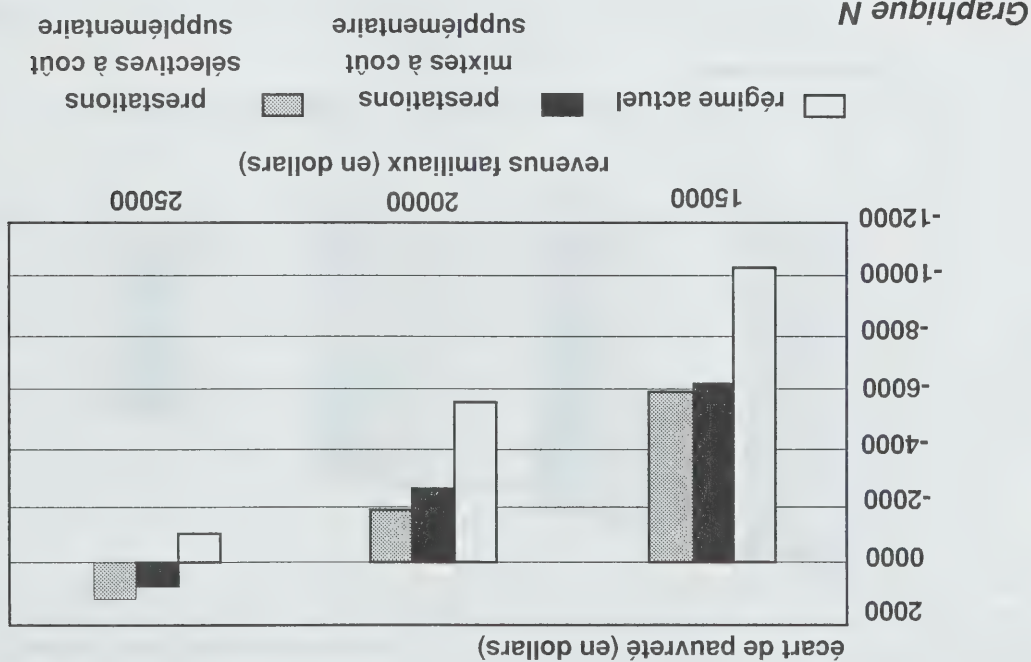
Outre le problème d'uniformité, un régime conjoint fédéral-provincial qui inclurait le Québec ne semble guère réalisable. Le Québec a développé son propre régime de prestations pour enfants, dans le cadre d'un régime intégré de sécurité du revenu. Certaines provinces pourraient résister à une mesure aussi radicale que l'élimination des prestations pour enfants de leur propre régime de bien-être social. Et même si le gouvernement fédéral essayait de négocier un régime conjoint avec les neuf autres provinces, la possibilité d'établir un nouveau programme social national semble assez mince en 1990.

À quoi ressembleraient nos options de prestations pour enfants si elles ne comprenaient que les dépenses fédérales en faveur des enfants et des personnes âgées? Il se trouve que ces options ressembleraient passablement aux régimes financés par le fédéral et les provinces.

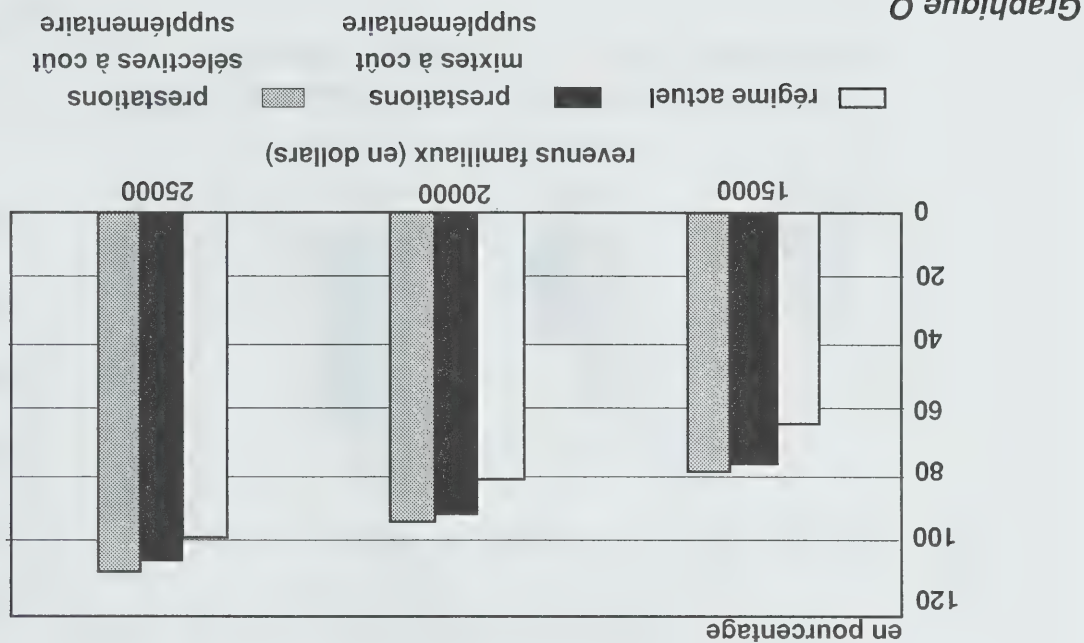
Nous avons comparé les prestations mixtes et les prestations sélectives, mais en ne tenant compte que des versements fédéraux pour enfants. Comme les prestations mixtes coûteraient au trésor fédéral quelque 650 millions de dollars de plus que le programme actuel, nous avons calculé les coûts des prestations sélectives en utilisant un niveau identique de ressources, de façon à rendre les deux régimes plus comparables (c'est-à-dire le niveau actuel de 4,2 milliards de dollars plus 650 millions de dollars, soit un montant total de 4,8 milliards de dollars).

Le Graphique P illustre les deux options ainsi que le régime actuel. En supposant que les assistés sociaux reçoivent le plein montant des prestations fédérales pour enfants (c'est-à-dire sans réduction consécutive des prestations d'assistance sociale), une famille assistée comprenant deux enfants recevrait un montant total estimé à 9 000 \$ en vertu de l'option des prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire, et à 8 800 \$ selon l'option des prestations mixtes. Ces montants sont de beaucoup supérieurs à ceux qu'une telle famille reçoit sous le régime actuel des prestations pour enfants et des allocations de bien-être social (un montant estimatif de 5 753 \$) et des options fédérales/provinciales analysées.

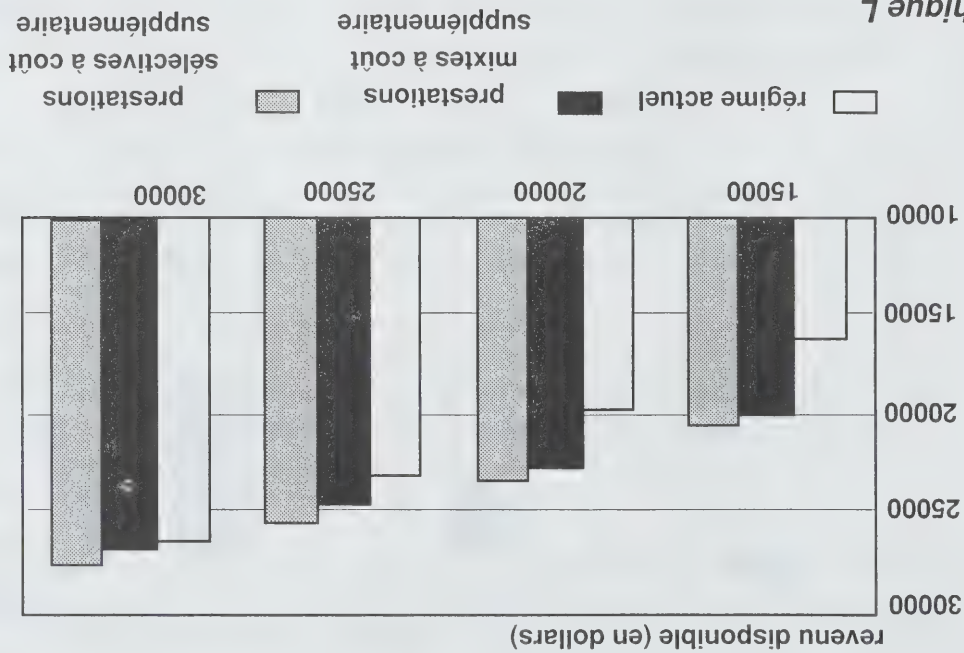
ÉCART DE PAUVRETÉ POUR LES COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS - RÉGIME ACTUEL ET OPTIONS À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE, 1990



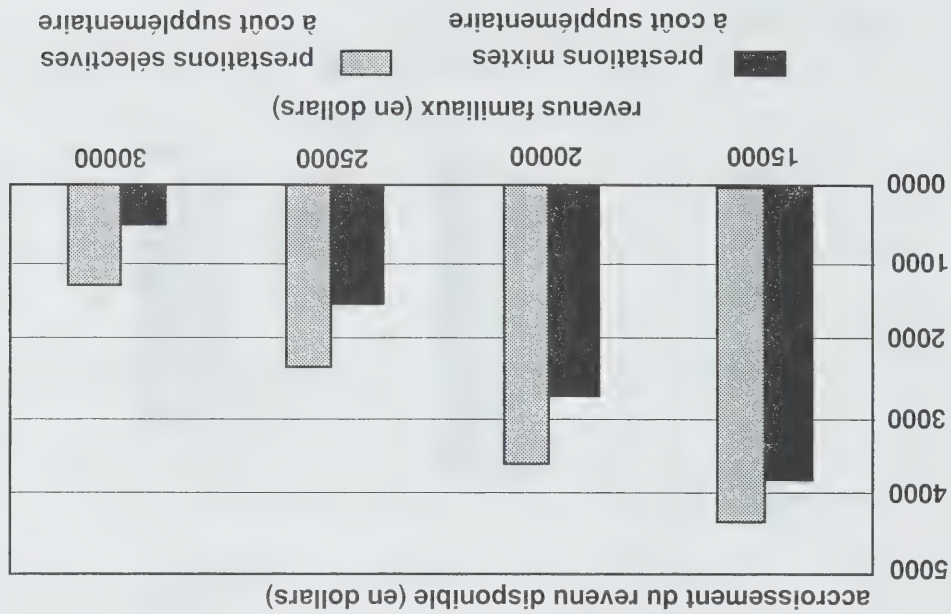
REVENU DES COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS EN POURCENTAGE DU SEUIL DE FAIBLE REVENU - RÉGIME ACTUEL ET OPTION À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE



REVENU DISPONIBLE POUR LES COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS - RÉGIME ACTUEL ET OPTIONS À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE, 1990



ACCROISSEMENT DU REVENU DISPONIBLE EN VERTU DES OPTIONS À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE - COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, 1990



Les familles dont les deux soutiens gagnent ensemble 15 000 \$, verraient leur revenu disponible augmenter de 16 144 \$ à 20 491 \$, selon l'option des prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire, une hausse appréciable de 4 347 \$. La même option ferait augmenter le revenu disponible de 3 512 \$ pour les familles gagnant 20 000 \$, de 2 314 \$ pour celles qui gagnent 25 000 \$ et de 1 174 \$ pour celles qui gagnent 30 000 \$. Quant aux prestations mixtes, elles feraient croître le revenu disponible, comparativement au régime actuel, de 3 979 \$ pour les familles qui gagnent 15 000 \$, de 2 904 \$ pour celles qui gagnent 20 000 \$, de 1 706 \$ pour celles qui gagnent 25 000 \$ et de 706 \$ pour celles qui gagnent 30 000 \$.

Les augmentations du revenu disponible seraient substantielles, surtout pour les familles de «tra-vailleurs pauvres» qui gagnent entre 15 000 \$ et 20 000 \$. Le seuil estimatif de faible revenu en 1990, pour une famille de quatre personnes habitant une ville de 500 000 personnes ou plus, se situerait à 28 061 \$, soit la moitié moins que le revenu moyen estimatif d'un couple à deux soutiens avec enfants. Dans le régime actuel, le revenu total avant impôt d'une famille gagnant 15 000 \$ s'élève à 17 573 \$ (c'est-à-dire les revenus d'emploi plus les allocations familiales brutes, plus le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, plus le crédit remboursable pour taxe de vente); ce montant de 10 448 \$ est inférieur au seuil de faible revenu, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'atteint que 62,6 p. 100 du seuil de pauvreté. L'option des prestations sélectives à coût supplémentaire hausserait le revenu brut de cette famille à 21 920 \$, réduisant ainsi l'écart de pauvreté de 10 448 à 6 141 \$, et situerait la famille à 78,1 p. 100 du seuil de faible revenu au lieu de 62,6 p. 100. Les prestations mixtes feraient passer à 21 770 \$ le revenu brut total de la même famille, ce qui réduirait l'écart de pauvreté à 6 291 \$ et relèverait son revenu à 77,6 p. 100 du seuil de faible revenu.

En vertu du régime actuel de prestations pour enfants, une famille gagnant 20 000 \$ dispose d'un revenu brut de 22 433 \$, ce qui est inférieur de 5 628 \$ au seuil de faible revenu, ou 79,9 p. 100 de ce seuil. Les plus fortes prestations accordées par l'option sélective à coût supplémentaire rehausseraient le revenu brut de cette famille à 25 945 \$, ce qui ne serait plus qu'à 2 116 \$ sous le seuil de faible revenu, c'est-à-dire à 92,5 p. 100 de ce niveau. Une famille gagnant 25 000 \$ verrait son revenu brut passer de 27 131 \$ — soit 930 \$ sous le seuil de faible revenu — à 29 445 \$, ce qui est 1 384 \$ de plus que le seuil estimatif de faible revenu, dans une ville de 500 000 personnes ou plus, en 1990. L'option des prestations mixtes apporterait des améliorations semblables quoique plus faibles. Le **Graphique N** illustre les répercussions des prestations sélectives et mixtes à coût supplémentaire sur l'écart de pauvreté mesuré en dollars, tandis que le **Graphique O** montre les conséquences des deux options en pourcentage du seuil de bas revenu.

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS VERSÉES AUX COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS — RÉGIME ACTUEL ET OPTION DES PRESTATIONS MIXTES — DÉPENSES FÉDÉRALES ET PROVINCIALES EN 1990

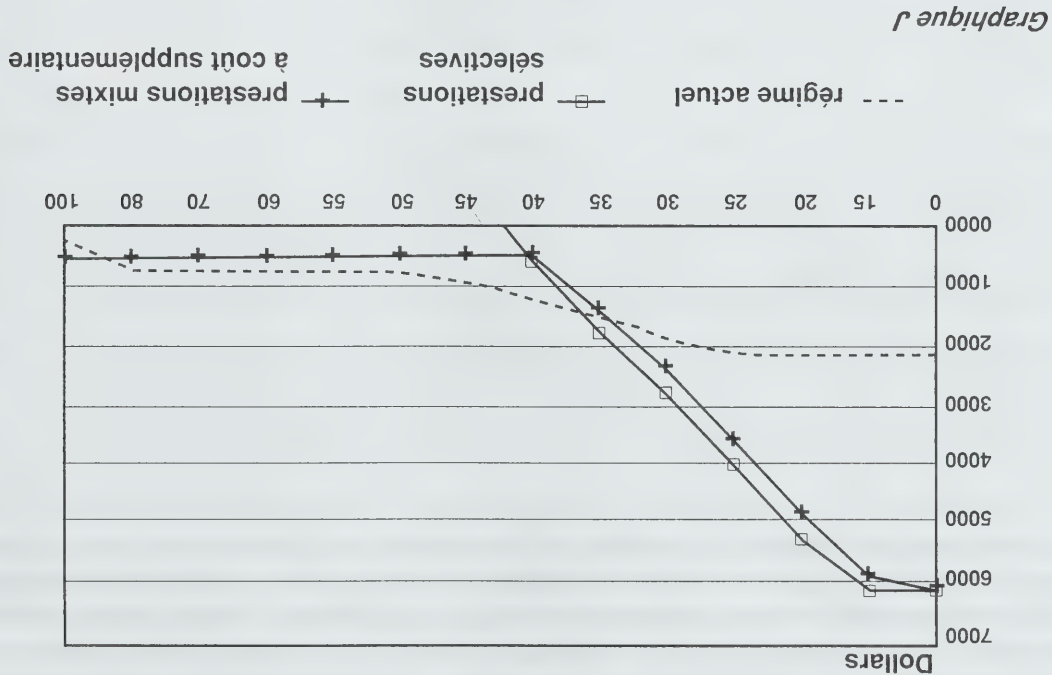
Tableau 1

On retiendra de ce qui précède que l'option des prestations mixtes, tout comme l'option des prestations sélectives à laquelle elle ressemble beaucoup, augmenterait de beaucoup les prestations pour enfants versées aux familles de «travailleurs pauvres» et à revenu faible-moyen; il s'agirait là d'un apport significatif à leurs revenus. Dans le **Tableau 1** ci-dessous, on compare les prestations versées à des couples à deux soutiens avec deux enfants dans le régime actuel à ce qui leur serait accordé par la formule mixte. Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» et à revenu faible-moyen verraient leurs prestations augmenter. Par exemple, une famille qui gagne 15 000 \$ recevrait en prestations pour enfants non plus 2 153 \$, c'est-à-dire 14,4 p. 100 de ses revenus, mais bien 5 939 \$, c'est-à-dire 39,6 p. 100 de ses revenus. Les familles gagnant de 20 000 à 25 000 \$ bénéficieraient aussi de hausses significatives de leurs prestations pour enfants.

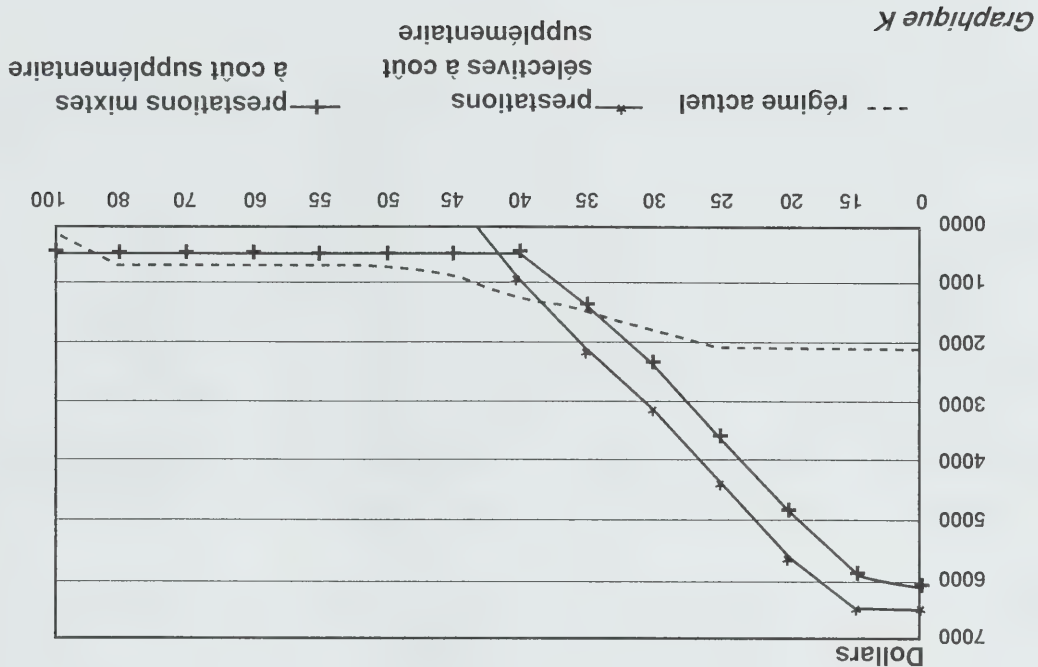
revenus familiaux	régime actuel	option prestations mixtes à coût supplémentaire		
			prestations (en dollars)	des revenus en %
0	5 753	6,350	—	—
15	2 153	6 139	14,4	10,8
20	2 153	5 064	10,8	8,4
25	2 101	3 814	8,4	6,2
30	1 851	2 564	6,2	4,1
35	1 450	1 573	4,1	3,1
40	1 247	589	3,1	1,9
45	851	478	1,9	1,4
50	725	478	1,4	1,3
55	688	478	1,3	1,1
60	688	478	1,1	1,0
70	688	478	1,0	0,9
80	688	478	0,9	0,7
100	211	440	0,2	0,4

Au **Graphique 1**, on compare le revenu disponible ou revenu net — c'est-à-dire les revenus d'emploi plus les allocations familiales, plus le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, plus le crédit de taxe de vente remboursable, moins l'impôt fédéral et provincial sur le revenu, moins les contributions au Régime de pension du Canada et moins les primes d'assurance-chômage — pour les couples ayant deux soutiens et deux enfants et disposant d'un revenu de 15 000 \$ à 30 000 \$, sous trois régimes: a) le régime actuel; b) le régime des prestations pour enfants, avec l'option des prestations sélectives avec coût supplémentaire; et c) le régime des prestations mixtes avec un coût supplémentaire. Le revenu moyen des couples à deux soutiens et deux enfants atteignait le montant estimatif de 56 900 \$ en 1990.) Au **Graphique M**, on indique l'accroissement de revenu disponible qui résulterait des prestations plus élevées accordées par les options avec coût supplémentaire.

OPTIONS DE PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS, 1990



OPTIONS DE PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS À COÛT SUPPLÉMENTAIRE, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS, 1990



cas des prestations mixtes, établir le crédit remboursable à un niveau suffisamment élevé pour assurer aux familles de «travailleurs pauvres» des avantages similaires à ceux des prestations sélectives; en conséquence, les familles assistées y gagneraient un léger avantage, ce qui est bien. Même sous cette hypothèse, les familles gagnant un revenu de 15 000 à 39 000 \$ retireraient un peu moins de l'option des prestations mixtes que de celle des prestations sélectives; par exemple, les familles à deux soutiens avec deux enfants, ayant un revenu de 20 000 \$, recevraient 5 064 \$ avec l'option mixte et 5 275 \$ avec l'option sélective. En revanche, les familles disposant d'un revenu de 40 000 \$ et plus bénéficieraient de la formule mixte. Rappelons-nous que les prestations sélectives n'accorderaient aucun avantage aux familles avec deux enfants, si leur revenu atteignait ou dépassait 41 100 \$.

Le **Graphique J** porte quelque peu à confusion, car on y compare le régime actuel de prestations pour enfants, l'option des prestations sélectives au coût actuel et l'option des prestations mixtes dont le financement nécessiterait un demi-milliard de dollars supplémentaires. Si on ajoute les mêmes 500 millions de dollars à l'option des prestations sélectives, la prestation maximale passerait alors de 3 075 \$ à 3 250 \$ par enfant. Par conséquent, l'écart entre les deux courbes sur le graphique augmenterait d'autant; la formule sélective accorderait encore plus d'avantages aux familles à faible revenu que la formule mixte, car le demi-milliard de dollars supplémentaires y servirait au versement de prestations plus élevées. Mais la forme générale des courbes ne changerait guère, comme on le voit au **Graphique K**. De toute façon, l'option à coût supplémentaire visait à montrer le prix à payer pour conserver les mêmes avantages que l'option des prestations sélectives, tout en préservant l'universalité du régime canadien de prestations pour enfants.

Si nous avions ajouté le même montant de 500 millions de dollars aux prestations sélectives, les avantages maximum seraient passés de 6 150 \$ à 6 500 \$ pour deux enfants. Au **Graphique K**, on compare les deux options avec coût supplémentaire: prestations sélectives et prestations mixtes. Les courbes sont semblables à celles du **Graphique J**.

« pauvres » ne reçoivent que des prestations partielles, il serait peut-être avisé d'inclure cette mesure dans le crédit remboursable du nouveau régime.

Nos deux modèles offrent de nombreuses variations possibles quant aux seuils et aux taux de réduction des crédits remboursables. Par exemple, on pourrait mettre sur pied un programme sélectif qui accorderait des prestations substantielles à un nombre plus grand de familles à revenu moyen. Mais cette solution pourrait nécessiter une réduction des paiements aux familles pauvres et donc, laisser les familles assistées en plus mauvaise position. Toutefois, la forme fondamentale des courbes et les écarts entre elles demeureraient semblables dans la mesure où l'on compare un programme de prestations très sélectives à un programme universel combinant l'aide sociale des provinces et ce que le fédéral consacre aux prestations pour enfants.

(ii) *L'option des prestations « mixtes » : prestations pour enfants mais universelles*

Devant la rareté actuelle des fonds publics, les réformistes qui veulent être entendus par le gouvernement tendent à ne proposer que des options « neutres en termes budgétaires », c'est-à-dire fondées sur le niveau actuel des dépenses. C'est ce que nous avons fait ci-dessus en examinant deux solutions de échange dont le coût serait identique à celui de l'actuel régime d'impôt/transfert pour enfants.

Pour se former une meilleure opinion, il serait bon d'envisager une autre option que rendrait possible l'ajout de fonds supplémentaires. Après tout, depuis 1985, on a retiré plusieurs millions de dollars par année du régime de prestations pour enfants, par suite de la décision de désindexer partiellement les prestations et les seuils.

David Ross, Richard Shillington et moi-même avons donc conçu une troisième possibilité de réforme qui offrirait les mêmes avantages que les prestations sélectives, mais qui préserverait en même temps l'universalité — à un certain prix. Avec 500 millions de dollars de plus, le Canada pourrait maintenir un régime universel et imposable d'allocations familiales au taux actuel (400 \$ par enfant, en 1990) et accroître substantiellement le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, qui passerait à 2 775 \$. Pour calculer le crédit d'impôt remboursable, nous avons utilisé ici le même seuil de revenu familial — 16 500 \$ — et le même taux de réduction — 25 p. 100 — que pour l'option des prestations sélectives.

Le Graphique 1 compare cette troisième option (prestations « mixtes ») à celle des prestations sélectives et au régime actuel. Nous avons conçu cette formule mixte à coût supplémentaire (représentée par la courbe avec croix), de façon à ce qu'elle corresponde à l'option des prestations sélectives et au régime actuel. La formule mixte assurerait le versement de prestations aux familles à revenu moyen et supérieur, même si la plupart d'entre elles recevraient un peu moins que sous le régime actuel. Graphiquement, la courbe des prestations mixtes correspond à celle des prestations sélectives, avec une ligne horizontale en plus, car elle prévoit le paiement de prestations élevées aux familles à faible revenu tout en accordant certains avantages aux familles à revenu moyen et supérieur.

Avec le régime mixte, les familles pauvres assistées recevraient 100 \$ de plus par enfant qu'avec les prestations sélectives, c'est-à-dire 3 175 \$ par enfant (2 775 \$ en crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, et 400 \$ en allocations familiales). Pour des raisons d'ordre technique, nous avons dû, dans le

Le Graphique 1 montre les effets des deux options. La famille assistée gagnerait 397 \$ avec les prestations sélectives, mais elle perdrait un montant appréciable de 2 153 \$ avec des prestations universelles. La famille de «travailleurs pauvres» bénéficierait d'un accroissement substantiel, soit 3 122 \$, avec les prestations sélectives mais gagnerait seulement 696 \$ avec les prestations universelles. La famille à revenu moyen perdrait 688 \$ — la totalité de ses prestations actuelles — avec les prestations sélectives mais elle gagnerait 594 \$ avec les prestations universelles. Enfin, la famille à revenu supérieur perdrait la totalité de ses avantages, soit 211 \$, avec les prestations sélectives, mais elle encaisserait 230 \$ en vertu du régime universel.

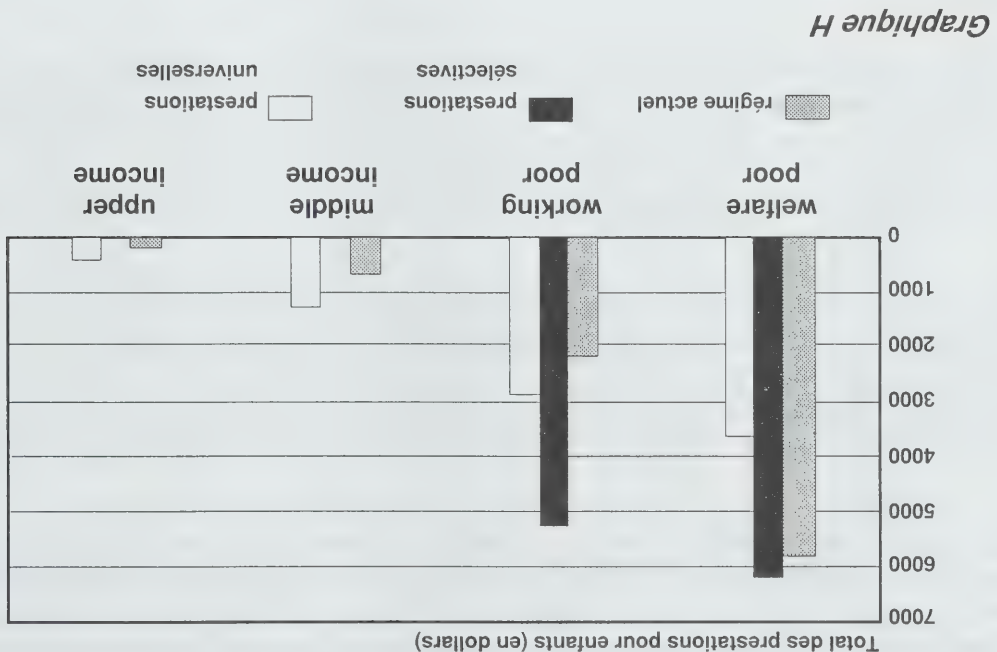
Les prestations sélectives laisseraient les familles assistées à peu près dans la même situation qu'actuellement, mais elles amélioreraient sensiblement la situation des familles de «travailleurs pauvres» avec enfants. De toute façon, une telle réforme des prestations contribuerait à retirer les enfants du bien-être social. Car leurs parents recevraient désormais des prestations pour enfants par le biais d'un programme distinct du régime stigmatisant de bien-être social, un programme qui serait disponible à toutes les familles à faible revenu qui ont des enfants. Cela constituerait un progrès appréciable de la réforme de la sécurité du revenu, comme le suggère le rapport du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario. L'octroi aux familles de «travailleurs pauvres» de prestations pour enfants comparables à celles de familles assistées contribuerait à faciliter la transition des assistés sociaux vers le monde du travail, car ceux-ci ne subiraient pas alors une réduction considérable de leurs prestations pour enfants. Les prestations sélectives favorisent sans équivoque l'objectif de lutte contre la pauvreté et laissent complètement de côté les objectifs de reconnaissance parentale et d'équité horizontale. Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» et à revenu faible-moyen bénéficieraient d'augmentations très substantielles de leur revenu disponible, grâce aux prestations plus importantes que leur apporterait cette option.

Les prestations universelles produiraient des résultats ambivalents. D'une part, les prestations accordées aux familles de «travailleurs pauvres» augmenteraient considérablement (une famille de deux enfants ayant un revenu de 20 000 \$ recevrait 696 \$ de plus); en outre, on conserverait la nature universelle du régime canadien de prestations pour enfants. D'autre part, les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur obtiendraient un peu plus que maintenant, de sorte que l'objectif d'équité horizontale serait un peu mieux réalisé. Les tenants d'un régime universel apprécieraient cet aspect; ceux qui sont contre le paiement par l'État de prestations aux parents aisés s'y opposeraient.

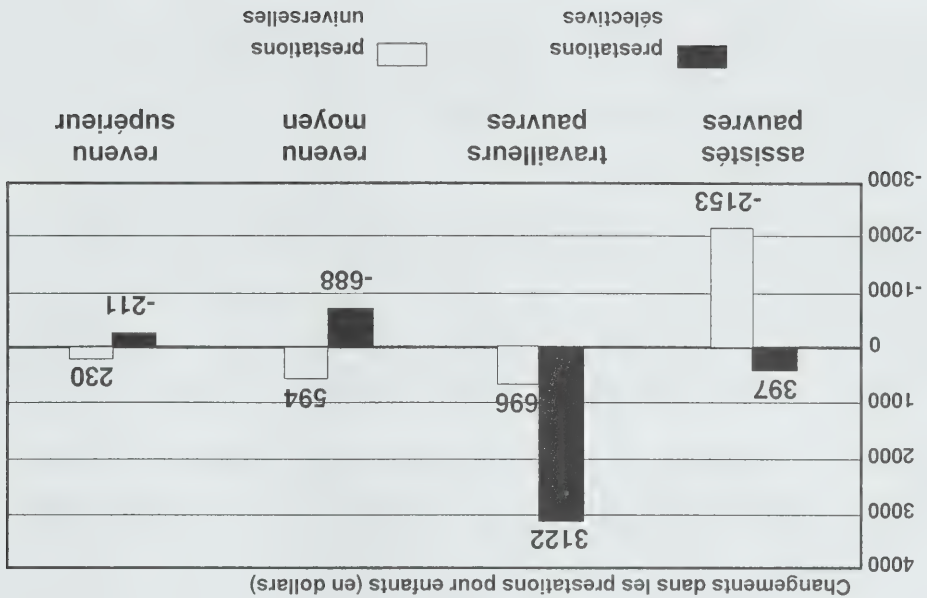
Toutefois, l'option universelle aurait comme effet pervers de frapper durement les plus pauvres des familles avec enfants: celles qui vivent du bien-être social. Même les tenants des prestations universelles pourraient difficilement appuyer une proposition qui améliorerait le sort de la plupart des familles, y compris les plus nanties, mais réduirait les avantages accordés aux familles assistées.

Même si notre démonstration porte sur les familles à deux soutiens, il faut se rappeler que les familles monoparentales qui paient l'impôt sur le revenu reçoivent actuellement des prestations pour enfants plus importantes grâce au crédit non remboursable équivalant au montant de personne mariée. Tout projet de réforme doit tenir compte de cette prestation, soit à titre de programme distinct, soit dans le cadre du nouveau crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, soit encore à titre de supplément spécial pour un enfant chez les familles monoparentales. Puisque les familles monoparentales assistées n'ont pas droit au crédit équivalant au montant de personne mariée, et que certaines familles de «travailleurs

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR GROUPES DE REVENUS, ET PAR OPTION, 1990



RÉPÉRCUSSIONS DES OPTIONS DE PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS SUR LES COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR GROUPES DE REVENUS, 1990



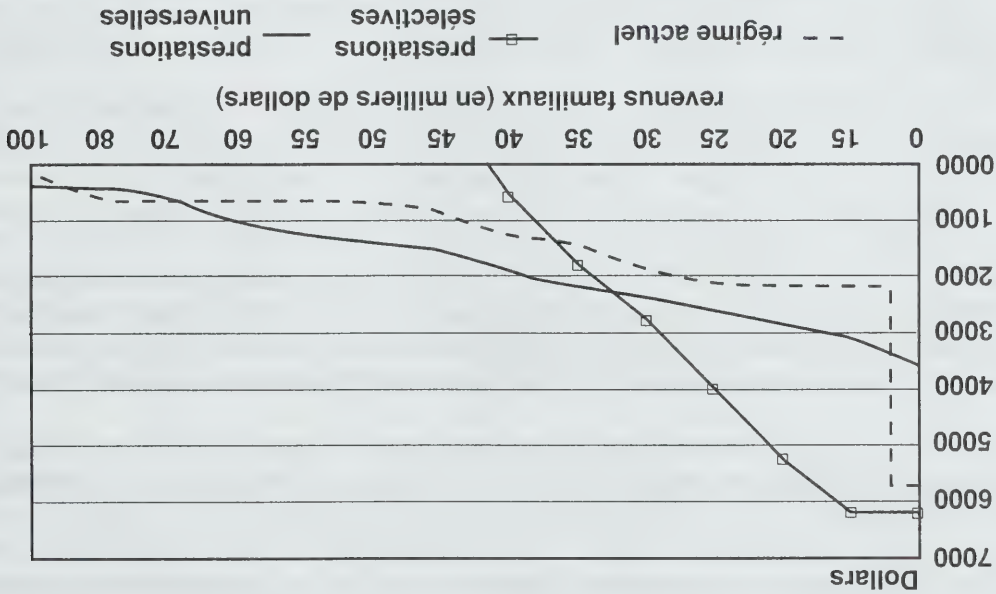
de «travailleurs pauvres», les familles à revenu moyen et la plupart des familles à revenu supérieur recevraient plus qu'actuellement.

Pour illustrer les effets des deux options, nous avons examiné la situation de familles à quatre niveaux distincts de revenu: les familles pauvres assistées (sans revenu), les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» (20 000 \$), les familles à revenu moyen (55 000 \$) et les familles à revenu supérieur (100 000 \$). Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres», à revenu moyen et à revenu supérieur comprennent deux soutiens. Dans toutes ces familles, un enfant est âgé de six ans ou moins et l'autre de sept ans ou plus.

Le **Graphique H** compare les prestations pour enfants dans les deux options et dans le régime actuel. Le **Graphique I** indique le changement qui se produirait dans les prestations en vertu de chaque option de réforme (c'est-à-dire que, pour chaque famille, nous avons soustrait les prestations actuelles de ce que la famille aurait obtenu avec des régimes de prestations sélectives et de prestations universelles). Les rectangles au-dessus de la ligne indiquent les augmentations de prestations, et sous la ligne les diminutions.

Le **Graphique H** montre que, par rapport au régime actuel, les familles recevraient un peu plus avec les prestations sélectives, mais considérablement moins avec les prestations universelles. Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» retireraient beaucoup plus des prestations sélectives, et un peu plus des prestations universelles. Les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur ne retireraient rien avec l'option actuelle.

OPTIONS DE PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS, 1990



Graphique G

Les familles de «travailleurs pauvres», représentées à la figure G par les niveaux de revenu de 15 000 \$ et de 20 000 \$, reçoivent seulement les trois prestations fédérales pour enfants. Le total des prestations pour les familles de «travailleurs pauvres» s'élève à 2 153 \$ en vertu du régime actuel, ce qui explique la chute abrupte de la courbe entre les familles à revenu nul (dont le total des prestations pour enfants s'élève à 5 753 \$) et celles dont le revenu atteint 15 000 \$.

L'option des prestations sélectives, représentée par la courbe comprenant des petits carrés, amène-rait le versement des prestations maximales (3 075 \$ par enfant ou 6 150 \$ pour deux enfants) aux familles disposant d'un revenu inférieur à 16 500 \$. Au-dessus de ce niveau de revenu, les prestations diminueraient rapidement, disparaissant complètement à 41 100 \$ pour les familles à deux enfants. Les familles pauvres et à revenu faible-moyen retireraient plus en vertu de cette option qu'en vertu du régime actuel, mais les familles à revenu moyen ou supérieur ne recevraient aucune prestation pour enfants.

L'option des prestations universelles signifierait des prestations maximales de 1 800 \$ par enfant, ou de 3 600 \$ pour deux enfants, payables aux familles dont le revenu est inférieur à 10 000 \$. Les familles assistées s'y retrouveraient dans une situation vraiment pire que le régime actuel. Les familles

Aucune de ces deux options possibles ne constitue une proposition de l'auteur ni du Conseil national du bien-être social. Elles sont avancées dans le dessein de quantifier deux conceptions très différentes des prestations pour enfants. L'une vise à concentrer les ressources sur les familles à faible revenu en excluant les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur, alors que l'autre s'adresse à toutes les familles sans considération de revenu. Toutefois, les deux options bénéficient surtout aux familles pauvres.

Le Graphique G illustre la situation des prestations accordées aux couples comportant deux enfants et deux soutiens, sous le régime actuel et selon chacune des deux options.

La courbe brisée représentant le régime actuel comprend la totalité des prestations versées: allocations familiales, crédit d'impôt non remboursable et crédit d'impôt remboursable. Il faut expliquer les différences considérables entre les prestations des familles à revenu nul ou faible et celles des familles dont le revenu atteint ou dépasse 15 000 \$.

Posons l'hypothèse qu'une famille sans revenu d'emploi dépend du bien-être social. Pour effectuer une comparaison valable entre le système actuel et les deux options précitées, nous avons inclus les prestations provinciales d'aide sociale parmi les prestations pour enfants reçues par la famille assistée, car les options que nous présentons comprennent ces paiements d'aide sociale.

Les prestations de bien-être social comprennent des allocations pour les enfants, mais elles varient d'une province à l'autre et dépendent de facteurs comme l'âge des enfants et le type de famille. Pour notre analyse, nous supposons que chaque enfant a droit à 1 800 \$ annuellement au titre de l'aide sociale, estimation arbitraire de l'économiste David Ross en fonction des recherches qu'il a effectuées pour le compte du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario. Ce chiffre a été déterminé pour le programme d'aide sociale à long terme de l'Ontario (prestations d'aide aux familles); il ne vaudrait pas nécessairement pour les autres provinces. Il exclut les prestations discrétionnaires en faveur des besoins spéciaux des enfants, tels que régimes alimentaires spéciaux ou médicaments. Nous avons ajouté 3 600 \$ aux 800 \$ d'allocations familiales et aux 1 353 \$ de crédit d'impôt remboursable. Nous avons ainsi obtenu un total général de 5 753 \$ pour les familles assistées comprenant deux enfants, en vertu du régime actuel. Encore une fois, il s'agit d'une estimation utilisée aux seules fins d'analyse: le montant actuel d'aide sociale relative aux enfants peut varier considérablement pour une famille selon la province de résidence.

uniquement une prestation pour enfants) ainsi que les sommes que le fédéral et les provinces versent en vertu des dispositions d'aide sociale du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada. Il n'est guère possible d'estimer précisément le montant que le régime de bien-être social consacre aux enfants, car les données relatives à l'assistance sociale au Canada sont étonnamment rares et limitées. Nous avons donc examiné les structures des taux du bien-être dans chaque province (ils varient considérablement), ainsi que la ventilation nationale des assistés sociaux selon le type de famille; nous avons établi, par hypothèse, que 20 p. 100 de l'aide sociale est consacrée aux enfants. En tout, on estime que les dépenses fédérales en prestations et en aide sociale reliée aux enfants s'élèveront à 5,7 milliards de dollars en 1990.

Nos calculs ne comprennent pas les programmes relatifs aux enfants des trois provinces qui disposent de telles mesures (Saskatchewan, Manitoba et Québec), car, en les intégrant, nous aurions redistribué une partie de ces fonds aux autres provinces. Le Québec, en particulier, consacre des sommes considérables à ce type de programmes. Le dernier budget du Québec prévoyait des dépenses relatives aux enfants de près de 2 milliards de dollars en 1990. Nous n'avons pas inclus non plus les déductions pour frais de garde.

Il est bien entendu que nos options sont fondées sur les dépenses actuelles en prestations pour enfants, dont le montant total est inférieur à celui du régime en vigueur avant 1985. Les divers changements notés précédemment — surtout la désindexation partielle — ont considérablement érodé les prestations pour enfants. Par rapport à l'ancien régime, le fédéral versera en 1991 environ 1,7 milliards de dollars de moins en prestations pour enfants.

(i) *Les prestations sélectives ou universelles : deux hypothèses de travail*

Pour les fins de notre étude, nous avons imaginé deux systèmes de prestations très différents, que nous avons comparé avec le régime en vigueur en 1990. Pour analyser le régime actuel, nous avons établi, par hypothèse, que la récupération des allocations familiales par l'impôt est entièrement en vigueur, même si elle ne l'était qu'aux deux tiers en 1990.

Les prestations sélectives pour enfants constituent l'une des hypothèses de réforme. On remplacerait les prestations actuelles par un seul crédit d'impôt remboursable par enfant, pour les familles dont les revenus ne dépassent pas 16 500 \$. Au-dessus, les prestations subiraient une réduction égale à 25 p. 100 du revenu supplémentaire. Cette option est fondée sur la proposition du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario; nous avons rajusté le seuil à cause de l'inflation, conservé le taux de réduction de 25 p. 100 et déterminé le montant maximal des prestations en fonction des ressources disponibles, comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut.

L'autre hypothèse ou possibilité de réforme est un régime de prestations universelles pour enfants, en deux volets et qui serait plus simple que le système actuel. Le programme universel consistait en des allocations familiales imposables, comme toutes les familles canadiennes en recevaient avant la récupération par l'impôt, s'élevant à 400 \$ par enfant en 1990 (c'est-à-dire le taux actuel sans la récupération par l'impôt). L'autre volet consisterait en un crédit d'impôt remboursable, valant 1 400 \$ par enfant pour les familles dont le revenu est inférieur à 10 000 \$, niveau au-dessus duquel le crédit est réduit dans la proportion de 5 p. 100 du revenu supplémentaire.

prestations auraient été réduites de 15 p. 100, jusqu'à un seuil de 360 \$ (le montant des allocations familiales cette année-là). Ces prestations pour enfants n'auraient pas été imposables. Les familles monoparentales auraient reçu un crédit supplémentaire équivalant au montant de personne mariée, soit 1 050 \$.

Le Child Poverty Action Group, quant à lui, a proposé un «crédit universel de revenu pour enfants» qui aurait représenté (en 1986) une prestation maximale de 3 600 \$, pour le premier enfant, et de 3 000 \$ pour chacun des autres enfants. Ces montants représentaient ce qu'il en coûtait, selon les estimations, pour élever des enfants dans le Toronto métropolitain. Quoique le *Groupe* n'ait pas expliqué en détail les tenants et aboutissants de sa proposition, il envisageait un programme progressif selon lequel les prestations accordées aux familles à revenu supérieur n'auraient pas baissé plus que la moitié du montant maximal.

Le Comité sénatorial des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a publié, en 1987, un rapport sur les prestations pour enfants. Il y recommandait de remplacer les prestations fédérales par un «supplément de revenu familial garanti», destiné aux familles à faible revenu. Toutefois, le rapport demeurait vague sur la conception de ce régime. Certains membres du Comité voulaient conserver des allocations familiales universelles, ce qui aurait nécessité un apport de fonds nouveaux dans le régime, afin de financer le supplément de revenu familial garanti proposé.

Dans le rapport *Transition* publié en 1988 par le Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, on préconisait des prestations pour enfants radicalement ciblées (sélectives) sous forme de crédit d'impôt remboursable décroissant de 3 300 \$ par enfant, pour les familles dont le revenu ne dépasse pas 15 000 \$, niveau au-dessus duquel les paiements seraient réduits de 25 p. 100 du revenu supplémentaire. Les familles comprenant deux enfants ne recevraient rien lorsque leur revenu dépasserait 41 400 \$. Ce point d'arrêt est bien inférieur au salaire moyen, qui s'élevait à 59 928 \$ pour une famille ontarienne de quatre personnes en 1988.

La proposition du Comité ontarien aurait abouti à un seul programme simplifié de prestations pour enfants, dont le seul but aurait été d'améliorer les montants disponibles aux familles à bas revenu. Le système aurait exclu non seulement les gens à l'aise mais aussi de nombreuses familles à revenu moyen.

Il faut noter que la proposition du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario aurait augmenté l'ensemble des prestations, en y englobant les dépenses provinciales (Ontario) faites pour les enfants par le biais de l'aide sociale (bien-être), de même que les crédits de taxe de vente fédérale et provinciale accordés pour les enfants. Mais il n'y a pas grand nouveau dans le domaine des politiques sociales. Le *Rapport sur la sécurité sociale au Canada*, document fondamental écrit en 1943 par Léonard Marsh, avait déjà proposé des allocations familiales qui auraient remplacé les montants fédéraux et provinciaux versés à ce moment-là pour les enfants, même si le programme d'allocations familiales institué l'année suivante n'a pas suivi les recommandations de Marsh à cet égard.

b. Les options de prestations fédérales et provinciales

À la demande du Comité sénatorial, nous avons mis ensemble tous les fonds que le fédéral consacre aux prestations pour enfants (sauf la déduction pour frais de garde, car cette déduction n'est pas

Il ne manque pas de propositions de changement. Le Conseil national du bien-être social, entre autres, préconise depuis de nombreuses années la simplification et une plus grande équité du régime de prestations pour enfants, en augmentant les versements aux familles à faible revenu afin d'alléger le fardeau de la pauvreté.

En 1978, le Conseil proposa que les trois prestations pour enfants en vigueur alors (les allocations familiales, l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants et le petit crédit pour enfants qui ne bénéficiait qu'aux seules familles à revenu moyen) soient remplacées par un seul programme de prestations en deux volets: un crédit remboursable et décroissant, accordé aux familles à revenu faible ou modeste, au moyen du régime d'impôt sur le revenu (établi à 200 \$ en 1978); et un crédit minimum de 300 \$, versé à raison de 25 \$ par mois à toutes les familles, sans égard à leur niveau de revenu, comme les allocations familiales. Les familles à plus faible revenu auraient ainsi obtenu un montant total de 500 \$ par enfant, soit 200 \$ de plus qu'elles recevaient alors par le biais des allocations familiales. De fait, le régime proposé par le Conseil revenait à un crédit d'impôt remboursable, avec des allocations familiales non imposables.

La même année, le gouvernement fédéral adoptait un crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, qu'il finançait en éliminant le crédit d'impôt de 50 \$ et en réduisant les allocations familiales de 25 \$ à 20 \$ par mois. Toutefois, l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants demeurait.

Dans ses dernières propositions relatives aux prestations pour enfants, le Conseil national du bien-être social suit de près sa démarche de 1978, tout en tenant compte des changements apportés dernièrement. Il recommande l'élimination du crédit d'impôt non remboursable et un accroissement correspondant du crédit d'impôt remboursable. Les allocations familiales demeureraient vraiment universelles et seraient soumises au régime ordinaire d'imposition, comme elles l'ont été de 1973 à 1988, et il n'y aurait pas de récupération d'impôt. La déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants serait transformée en crédit, puis complètement supprimée après l'adoption d'un meilleur régime de frais de garde.

La réforme que l'organisme propose simplifierait le régime des prestations pour enfants, car il ne resterait que deux programmes de base, les allocations familiales et un crédit d'impôt remboursable plus substantiel. En outre, elle accorderait des prestations plus élevées aux familles pauvres. Le régime serait entièrement indexé afin de mettre les prestations à l'abri de l'inflation et d'assurer que toutes les familles à faible revenu continueraient à recevoir le crédit d'impôt remboursable. Cette réforme mettrait l'accent sur la lutte contre la pauvreté (par le soutien du revenu), plutôt que sur les objectifs d'équité horizontale ou de reconnaissance parentale, ce qui n'empêcherait pas néanmoins les deux derniers objectifs d'être mieux réalisés que dans le régime actuel. Les prestations pour enfants reposeraient ainsi sur une base universelle, comme c'était le cas avant la récupération des allocations familiales par l'impôt.

Pour sa part, le Conseil canadien de développement social recommanda, en 1983, une réforme des prestations qui était, pour l'essentiel, identique à celle du Conseil national du bien-être social en 1978. Les allocations familiales, l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants et le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants y étaient refondus en une «allocation d'aide à la famille», qui aurait représenté en 1983 900 \$ par enfant pour les familles disposant d'un revenu inférieur à 30 000 \$. Au-dessus de ce niveau, les

Force est de constater que les divers changements apportés à la fin des années 1980 ont profondément modifié le régime fédéral de prestations pour enfants. Malgré l'amélioration apportée par le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, la désindexation partielle érode toutes les prestations pour enfants. S'appliquant au seuil du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, elle laissera ce programme glisser de plus en plus par rapport au seuil de pauvreté. Par ailleurs, la désindexation partielle du seuil applicable à la récupération des allocations familiales par l'impôt réduira — et supprimera graduellement — ce type de prestations pour un nombre croissant de familles à revenu moyen.

La caractéristique universelle des allocations familiales disparaîtra l'an prochain, de sorte qu'en pratique le régime canadien de prestations pour enfants sera entièrement soumis à la vérification des revenus, si imparfaite soit-elle. Alors que la valeur des allocations familiales, du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants et de la déduction pour frais de garde est fonction du revenu individuel (pour le premier et le deuxième programmes, celui du parent qui gagne le plus; pour le troisième programme, le revenu du parent qui gagne le moins), le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants est calculé en fonction du revenu familial.

Notre analyse indique que tous les objectifs traditionnels de prestations pour enfants sont ébranlés par les changements apportés au cours des cinq dernières années. Le rôle de lutte contre la pauvreté (supplément de revenu) de ces prestations pour enfants s'amenuisera graduellement avec les années, à moins qu'on ne prenne des mesures pour arrêter leur érosion par l'inflation. Le but d'équité horizontale est gravement compromis, car de nombreuses familles à revenu supérieur n'ont plus qu'une prestation nominale qui diminue sans cesse. Quant à la stimulation de la consommation — qui, d'après les examens effectués, semble produire un effet plutôt faible —, on peut dire que l'érosion des prestations la réduira encore davantage.

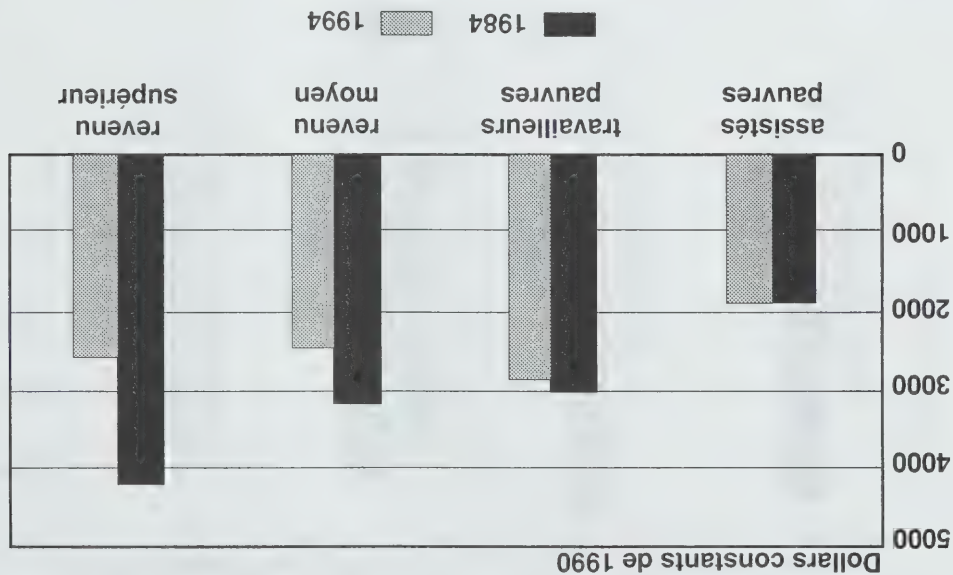
Les épargnes réalisées par la désindexation partielle des prestations pour enfants n'ont pas été rendues publiques mais elles sont considérables. Nous estimons que plus de 3,5 milliards de dollars auront été retirés du régime de prestations pour enfants, de 1986 à 1991. Appliquées à la réduction du déficit, ces épargnes ne sont pas redistribuées aux familles à faible revenu.

Les récentes réformes des prestations pour enfants n'ont pas eu pour effet de faire gagner à la lutte contre la pauvreté ce qu'on enlevait à l'équité horizontale. Elles ont plutôt soustrait des ressources au régime pour répondre à un autre objectif gouvernemental, la réduction du déficit, qui a pris le pas sur les objectifs sociaux.

Les options de réforme

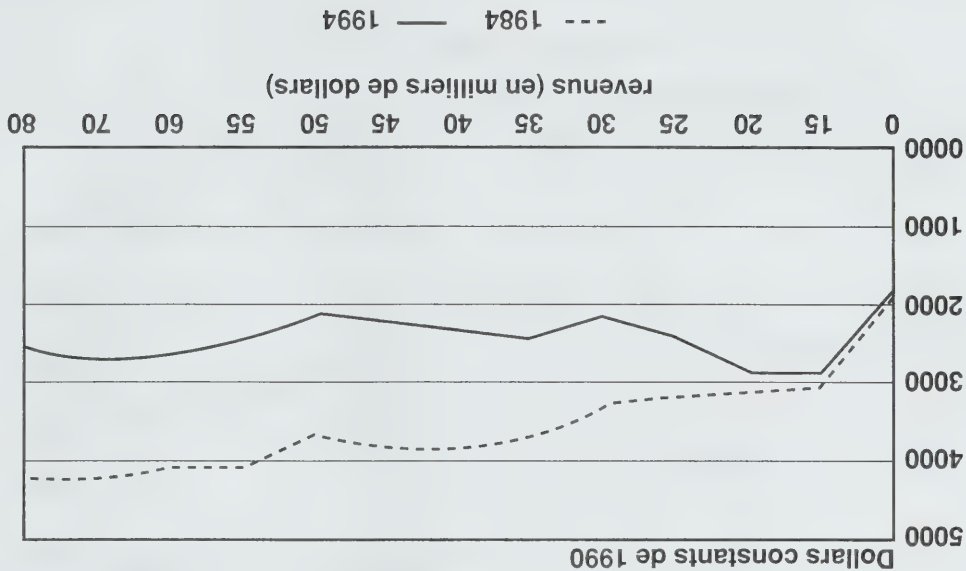
Notre analyse de l'actuel régime fédéral de prestations indique nettement le besoin de nouvelles réformes, si on veut atténuer la pauvreté dans l'enfance. En priorité, la réindexation des prestations pour enfants s'impose notamment afin de les mettre à l'abri de l'inflation. Mais il faudrait aussi se pencher sur la conception même du régime.

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, FAMILLES MONOPARENTALES AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR GROUPES DE REVENUS, 1984 ET 1994



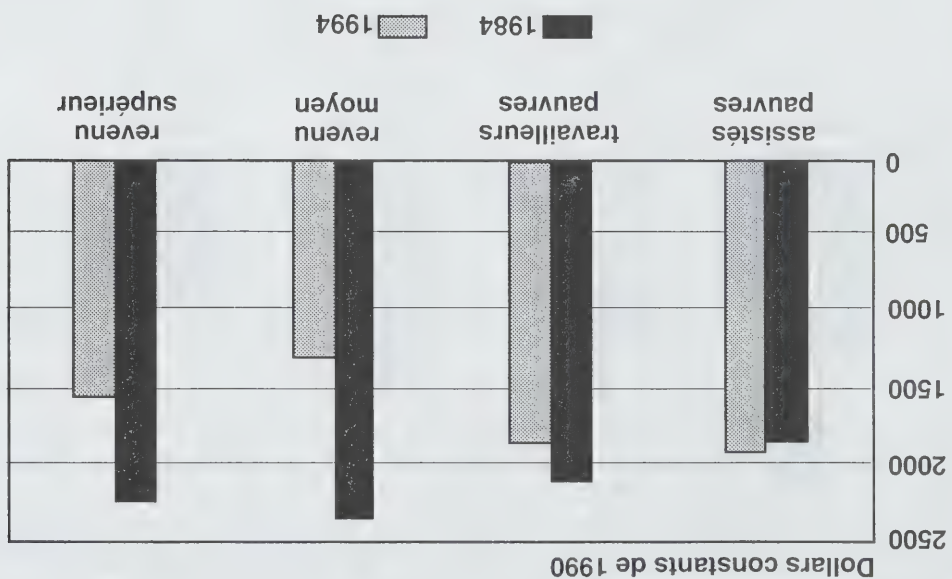
Graphique E

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, FAMILLES MONOPARENTALES AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS, 1984 ET 1994



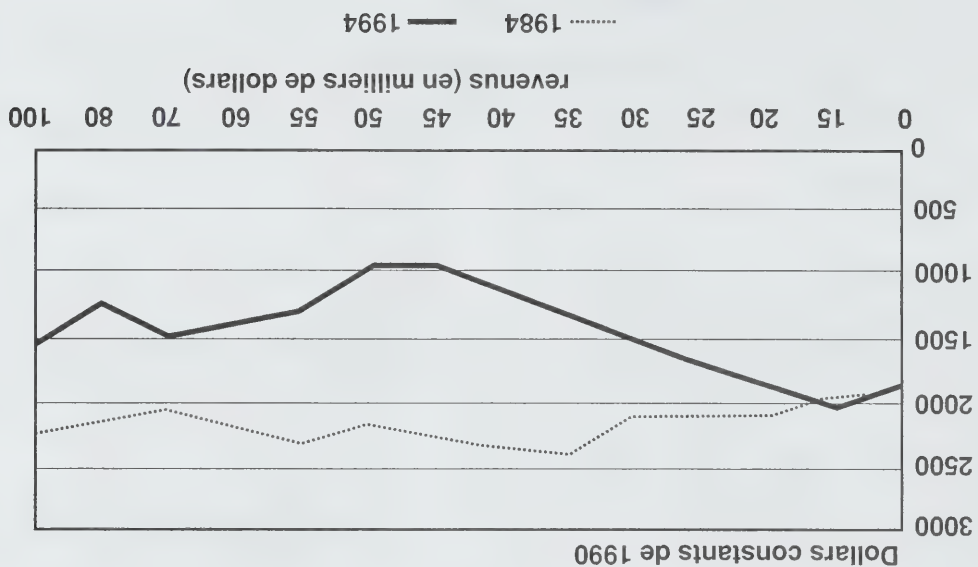
Graphique F

**PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS
AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR GROUPES DE REVENUS,
1984 ET 1994**



Graphique C

**PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À DEUX SOUTIENS
AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS,
1984 ET 1994**



Graphique D

Comme dans le cas des couples à deux soutiens, le nouveau régime de prestations n'est pas graduellement progressif pour les familles monoparentales, à cause de la déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants. La famille dont le revenu s'élèvera à 50 000 \$ recevra les plus faibles prestations en 1994 (2 582 \$), alors que la famille dont le revenu atteindra 80 000 \$ — cas assez rare parmi les familles monoparentales — obtiendra davantage.

Pour calculer les prestations pour enfants auxquelles a droit un couple à deux soutiens, nous avons considéré la déduction pour frais de garde comme partie intégrante du régime de prestations, et nous avons postulé que les familles à revenu moyen et supérieur réclamaient la déduction pour frais de garde relativement à leur plus jeune enfant. Les niveaux de revenu sont les mêmes que pour les familles à un seul soutien, sauf que nous avons établi le montant total reçu par la famille à revenu moyen à 55 000 \$, car les familles à deux soutiens disposent d'un revenu moyen plus élevé que les familles à un seul soutien.

Le Graphique C indique que les prestations fédérales pour enfants versées à la famille pauvre assistée augmentent, passant de 1 855 \$ en 1984 à 1 896 \$ en 1994. Toutes les autres familles y perdront.

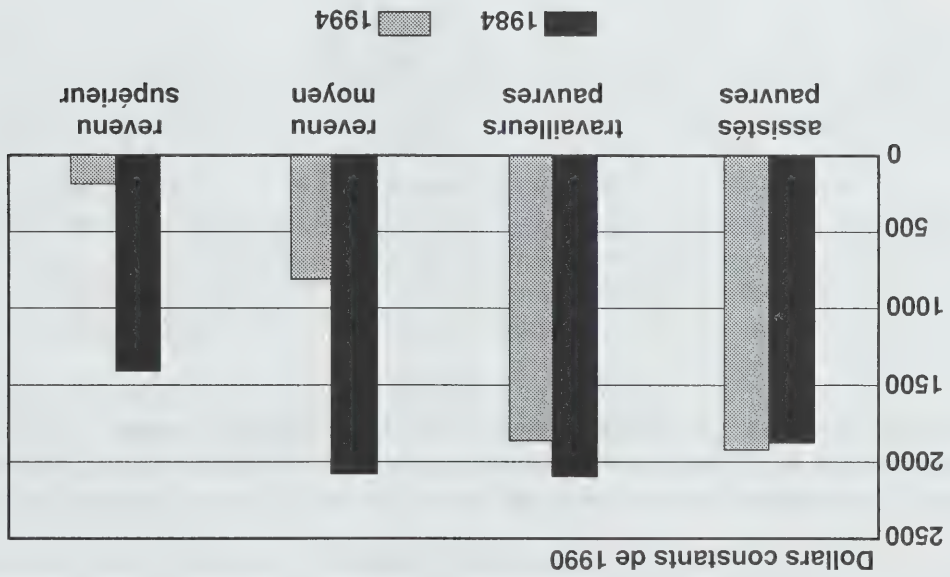
La famille de «travailleurs pauvres» verra baisser ses prestations, de 2 081 \$, soit 10,4 p. 100 de ses revenus, en 1984, à 1 833 \$, soit 9,5 p. 100 de ses revenus, en 1994. La perte la plus considérable sera subie par la famille à revenu moyen, car ses prestations diminueront de 45 p. 100, passant de 2 312 \$, ou 4,2 p. 100 de ses revenus, à 1 272 \$, ou 2,4 p. 100 de ses revenus, durant cette période de dix ans. La famille à revenu supérieur perdra 30 p. 100 de ses prestations pour enfants, celles-ci passant de 2 218 \$, ou 2,2 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1984, à 1 544 \$, ou 1,6 p. 100 de ses revenus, en 1994. Notons que la famille aisée recevra, en 1994, des prestations plus importantes que la famille à revenu moyen, à cause de la régressivité de la déduction pour frais de garde.

Le Graphique D montre, pour les couples à deux soutiens, l'état des prestations selon différentes tranches de revenus. Toutes les familles, sauf la plus pauvre, y perdront avec le nouveau régime, qui diminuera régressif à cause de la déduction pour frais de garde. De fait, en 1994, les plus basses prestations pour enfants (932 \$) seront accordées à la famille gagnant 45 000 \$, tandis que la famille disposant d'un revenu de 100 000 \$ bénéficiera d'un montant plus substantiel: 1 544 \$.

Les Graphiques E et F tracent la courbe des prestations pour enfants accordées aux familles monoparentales de deux enfants. La famille du «travailleur pauvre» gagne 15 000 \$, la famille à revenu moyen 25 000 \$ et la famille à revenu supérieur 80 000 \$. Les prestations pour enfants comprennent l'exemption/crédit d'impôt équivalant au montant de personne mariée et la déduction pour frais de garde applicable au plus jeune enfant, de même que les allocations familiales et le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants.

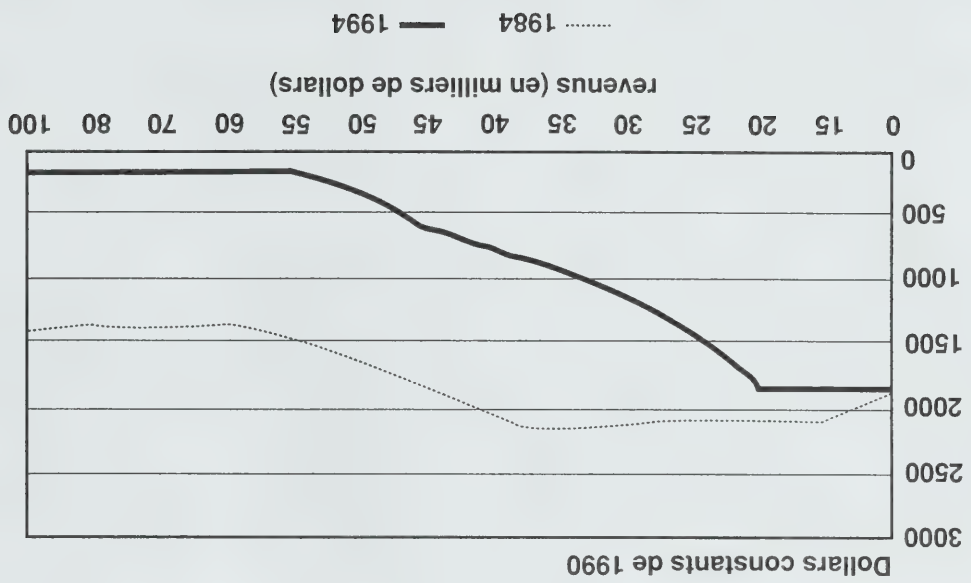
Les familles monoparentales dont le revenu est imposable reçoivent des prestations pour enfants plus grandes que les familles biparentales, à cause de la prestation plus élevée accordée pour l'un des enfants sous forme d'exemption/crédit d'impôt équivalant au montant de personne mariée; cela signifie 1 359 \$ en épargne moyenne d'impôt fédéral/provincial pour 1990, comparativement au montant habituel de 105 \$ pour le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants. La famille du «travailleur pauvre» verra ses prestations pour enfants diminuer, puisqu'elles passeront de 3 046 \$, soit un pourcentage substantiel de 20,3 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1984, à 2 861 \$, c'est-à-dire 19,7 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1994. Le montant total des prestations pour enfants accordées à la famille monoparentale à revenu moyen tombera de 3 184 \$, ou 12,7 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1984, à 2 413 \$, ou 10 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1994; quant à la famille à l'aise, ses prestations pour enfants diminueront, passant de 4 212 \$, soit 5,3 p. 100 de ses revenus, à 2 550 \$, soit 3,5 p. 100 de ses revenus, durant la même période.

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À UN SEUL SOUTIEN
AVEC DEUX ENFANTS. PAR GROUPES DE REVENUS,
1984 ET 1994



Graphique A

PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS, COUPLES À UN SEUL SOUTIEN
AVEC DEUX ENFANTS, PAR TRANCHES DE REVENUS,
1984 ET 1994



Graphique B

la proportion de son revenu provenant des prestations pour enfants passera de 10,4 p. 100 en 1984 à 7,8 p. 100 en 1994. Même si son crédit d'impôt remboursable sera plus élevé en 1994, la perte qu'elle subira par suite de la désindexation partielle des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt non remboursable, de même que de la transformation de l'ancienne exemption en crédit, sera supérieure au gain réalisé avec le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants.

La famille à revenu moyen comprenant un seul soutien recevra moins en prestations pour enfants, celles-ci passant de 2 066 \$, c'est-à-dire 5,2 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1984, à 806 \$, c'est-à-dire 1,7 p. 100 de ses revenus en 1994. La famille perdra les prestations des trois programmes, notamment celles du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, par suite de la baisse du seuil.

La famille à revenu supérieur y perdra le plus. Ses prestations pour enfants tomberont de 1 408 \$, c'est-à-dire 1,4 p. 100 de ses revenus, en 1984, à un montant d'à peine 180 \$, c'est-à-dire 0,2 p. 100 de ses revenus, en 1994. La récupération par l'impôt annulera les allocations familiales, ne laissant la famille bénéficier que d'un seul programme: le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, qui l'avantagera beaucoup moins que la précédente exemption d'impôt pour enfants.

Le Graphique B élargit la perspective afin de présenter une plus grande gamme de revenus. On y remarque une réduction considérable des prestations pour enfants. Le nouveau régime est certainement progressif, mais toutes les familles, sauf les plus pauvres, recevront des prestations pour enfants réduites en 1994.

Dans le cadre de la stratégie nationale de garde d'enfants proposée en 1987, la déduction pour frais de garde a été doublée, passant de 2 000 à 4 000 \$ pour les enfants de six ans ou moins pourvu que ces frais soient justifiés, et la limite antérieure de 8 000 \$ par famille a été supprimée. Pour les enfants de sept à quatorze ans, la déduction maximale pour frais de garde reste à 2 000 \$. Ces montants ne sont pas indexés, même partiellement.

Puisqu'il s'agit d'une exemption, la déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants est régressive. En doublant la déduction maximale pour les jeunes enfants, on a augmenté le pouvoir d'équité horizontale de ce programme, quoique la non-indexation en réduira la valeur au cours des années.

Un régime moins généreux

Pour évaluer ces divers changements, examinons leurs répercussions globales sur les différents genres de familles, à divers niveaux de revenu. Comparons l'«ancien» régime fédéral de prestations pour enfants au «nouveau». L'ancien régime comprenait les allocations familiales, l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et la déduction pour frais de garde. Le nouveau régime comprend les allocations familiales avec récupération par l'impôt, le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et la déduction pour frais de garde; comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, les avantages des deux derniers types de prestations ont été rehaussés ces dernières années. Le nouveau régime de prestations est partiellement désindexé.

Les graphiques A à F illustrent les comparaisons de certaines caractéristiques du régime de prestations pour enfants en 1984 (l'ancien régime) et du régime réformé qui sera en vigueur en 1994. Nous avons choisi 1994 pour tenir compte des effets de quelques autres années d'inflation sur le régime de prestations pour enfants partiellement indexé. Tous les chiffres ont été convertis en dollars constants de 1990, afin de maintenir la comparabilité au cours de la période. L'un des enfants est âgé de six ans ou moins, et l'autre de sept ans ou plus.

Le Graphique A montre les prestations accordées par le fédéral à quatre couples comprenant deux enfants et un seul soutien. La famille pauvre assistée ne gagne pas de revenu d'un emploi et reçoit des allocations familiales et un crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants. La famille de «travailleurs pauvres» gagne 20 000 \$ en 1990 et reçoit trois types de prestations pour enfants: les allocations familiales, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et le crédit d'impôt non remboursable (ce dernier remplace une exemption depuis 1984). La famille à revenu moyen gagne 40 000 \$ et bénéficie aussi des allocations familiales ainsi que des crédits d'impôt, tant remboursable que non remboursable, pour enfants. La famille à revenu supérieur gagne 100 000 \$ et reçoit les allocations familiales (même si la récupération par l'impôt l'enlève au complet en 1994) et le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, mais pas le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants.

Les prestations fédérales à la famille pauvre assistée augmenteront à peine en 1994 (1 896 \$) par rapport à 1984 (1 855 \$). Ce que cette famille a perdu par suite de l'indexation partielle des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants sera plus que comblé par l'augmentation substantielle de ce type de prestation entre 1985 et 1989, comme on l'a expliqué plus haut.

Toutes les autres familles recevront des prestations pour enfants plus petites en 1994 qu'en 1984. La famille de «travailleurs pauvres» recevra 1 833 \$ en 1994, c'est-à-dire 241 \$ de moins qu'en 1984.

Comme les allocations familiales et le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, le crédit d'impôt remboursable et son seuil ne sont que partiellement indexés (sur un taux d'inflation dépassant 3 p. 100). La désindexation partielle affaiblira de deux façons le pouvoir de lutte contre la pauvreté que pourrait favoriser ce crédit remboursable. Premièrement, sa valeur ne cessera de décroître avec le temps. Deuxièmement, le seuil diminuera en termes réels, ce qui signifie que de moins en moins de familles à bas revenu auront droit à la prestation maximale: un avantage qui, de toute façon, perd de sa valeur avec le temps.

Par exemple, le montant maximal du crédit d'impôt remboursable accordé aux familles comprenant deux enfants (un enfant de six ans ou moins et un autre plus âgé) s'élève à 1 353 \$ en 1990, pour les familles dont le revenu net ne dépasse pas 24 769 \$; ce seuil représente 88 p. 100 du montant estimatif de 28 061 \$, établi pour une famille à faible revenu comprenant quatre personnes et vivant dans une région métropolitaine. Pour 1995, le montant maximal estimatif du crédit d'impôt remboursable accordé à une telle famille atteindra 1 102 \$ et le seuil aura descendu à 20 184 \$, c'est-à-dire 72 p. 100 du niveau de faible revenu (ces chiffres sont en dollars constants de 1990).

L'exemption et le crédit équivalant au montant de personne mariée

Les familles monoparentales ont droit à une réduction d'impôt plus considérable que la moyenne pour un enfant. Jusqu'en 1988, cette mesure fiscale consistait en une exemption équivalente au montant de personne mariée (3 700 \$ en 1987); la réforme fiscale de 1988 a transformé cette exemption en un crédit non remboursable permettant d'économiser 850 \$ en impôt fédéral. Toutefois, l'exemption de personne mariée est affectée d'un taux plus généreux que l'exemption pour enfants (23 p. 100 comparativement à 14 p. 100), ce qui en a amélioré le bénéfice. En 1990, le crédit équivalant au montant de personne mariée s'élève à 877 \$; lorsqu'on ajoute l'épargne moyenne d'impôt sur le revenu provincial, ce montant atteint 1 359 \$.

Les familles monoparentales — huit sur dix sont dirigées par des femmes — se retrouvent aux échelons inférieurs de revenu. Celles dont le revenu est plus bas que le seuil du revenu imposable n'avaient pas droit à l'ancienne exemption équivalant au montant de personne mariée; elles n'auront pas droit non plus au crédit, car ce dernier n'est pas remboursable. Comme ce crédit a été établi à 23 p. 100 de l'exemption (ce qui est plus élevé que le taux inférieur d'imposition de 17 p. 100), il apporte à la plupart des familles monoparentales qui paient de l'impôt une épargne plus considérable qu'avec l'exemption.

Cependant, comme les autres prestations pour enfants, le crédit équivalant au montant de personne mariée est partiellement désindexé, de sorte que sa valeur décroîtra avec le temps. Cette érosion va à l'encontre des objectifs de supplément du revenu et d'équité horizontale des prestations pour enfants.

La déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants

On ne s'entend guère sur la façon de classer ce programme social. Certains considèrent qu'il s'agit de prestations pour enfants, comme celles qui ont été examinées plus haut. D'autres croient qu'il constitue plutôt une aide fiscale relative aux dépenses encourues pour le travail.

Crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants

Le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants a été introduit en 1978. Il vise les familles avec enfant(s), à revenu faible et moyen, et il contribue à l'objectif de lutte contre la pauvreté en fournissant un supplément de revenu.

Ce crédit est une prestation «décroissante», ce qui signifie que le plein montant est accordé aux familles dont le revenu est inférieur à un seuil établi et qu'au-dessus de ce seuil, il est réduit graduellement jusqu'au point où il s'annule complètement pour les familles à revenu supérieur. Les familles qui doivent payer de l'impôt sur le revenu déduisent leur crédit pour enfants de l'impôt à payer. Les familles trop pauvres pour payer de l'impôt reçoivent un crédit sous forme de chèque du gouvernement fédéral, ce qui justifie le qualificatif «remboursable».

Le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants a été augmenté de façon substantielle ces dernières années. De 384 \$ par enfant en 1985, le crédit est passé à 454 \$ en 1986, à 489 \$ en 1987 et à 559 \$ en 1988; quant au seuil de revenu, il a été réduit de 26 330 \$ à 23 500 \$ en 1986. En 1988, on a ajouté un supplément de 100 \$ au montant maximum du crédit d'impôt remboursable, dans le cas des enfants de six ans et moins pour lesquels la famille ne réclame pas de déductions pour frais de garde; on a augmenté ce supplément à 200 \$ en 1989.

En 1990, le montant maximal du crédit d'impôt remboursable s'élève à 778 \$ pour les enfants de six ans et moins et à 575 \$ pour les enfants de sept à dix-sept ans, tandis que le seuil de revenu net familial à ne pas dépasser pour avoir droit au crédit maximal s'établit à 24 769 \$. Une famille comptant deux enfants — un de six ans ou moins et l'autre de sept ans ou plus — se voit créditer d'un montant maximal de 1 353 \$ si son revenu net est inférieur à 24 769 \$. Le crédit est réduit de 5 \$ pour chaque 100 \$ de revenu dépassant ce seuil. Par exemple, une famille qui comprend un enfant de moins de sept ans et un enfant plus âgé et dont le revenu atteint 40 000 \$, a droit à des crédits d'impôt remboursables de 591 \$; mais les familles qui comptent deux enfants et dont le revenu dépasse 51 828 \$ n'ont pas droit aux crédits.

Tandis que les diverses hausses du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants renforcent l'objectif de lutter contre la pauvreté par le supplément de revenu, un autre changement, en sens contraire, diminue chaque année la portée de ce crédit. Ce mécanisme est la désindexation partielle.

L'exemption d'impôt et le crédit non remboursable pour enfants

exact de désindexation partielle afin d'accentuer l'aspect négatif. Ce changement signifie que les avantages des allocations familiales subissent l'érosion continue de l'inflation. Les allocations familiales s'élèvent à 400 \$ par enfant en 1990; en vertu de l'ancien régime complètement indexé en vigueur de 1973 à 1984, ce montant aurait atteint 463 \$ par enfant en 1990. Dès 1995, dix ans d'inflation auront réduit les allocations familiales à 428 \$, comparativement à 573 \$ si l'on avait conservé l'ancien régime. (Ces chiffres sont en dollars courants.)

Au Canada, l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants constitue la plus ancienne prestation pour enfants, puisqu'elle date de 1918, l'année de la mise en place du régime d'impôt sur le revenu. L'objectif de l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants était d'assurer, grâce au régime d'impôt, une certaine équité horizontale, en reconnaissant que les parents qui élèvent des enfants doivent supporter un fardeau financier plus lourd que leurs homologues sans enfants.

Les groupes de pression sociaux ont critiqué l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants parce qu'elle bénéficiait principalement (sous forme de réduction de l'impôt sur le revenu fédéral ou provincial) aux parents à revenu supérieur. En partie pour calmer ces critiques et en partie pour épargner des fonds, le gouvernement fédéral a limité l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants à 710 \$ en 1984. Le budget de 1985 a signalé une réduction graduelle de cet avantage à 560 \$ en 1987, à 470 \$ en 1988 et à un montant égal aux allocations familiales en 1989 et après. En même temps, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants a graduellement été augmenté, de sorte que le budget de 1985 a réaffecté les ressources, les faisant passer d'un programme régressif à un programme progressif de prestations pour enfants. La réforme fiscale de 1988 est allée encore plus loin, en convertissant l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants en un crédit non remboursable de 65 \$ par enfant, ce qui équivaut à 100 \$ lorsqu'on y inclut l'épargne d'impôt provincial; le crédit est deux fois plus élevé (130 \$) pour chaque enfant après le deuxième.

Le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants est partiellement désindexé, comme les allocations familiales, en fonction d'un taux d'inflation dépassant les 3 p. 100. En 1990, le crédit est de 68 \$ pour le premier et le second enfant, et de 136 \$ pour tout enfant après le deuxième; si l'on y ajoute l'épargne moyenne d'impôt provincial, les avantages s'élèvent à 105 \$ et 211 \$ respectivement.

La conversion de l'exemption d'impôt pour enfants en un crédit non remboursable a marqué un tournant, puisque l'équité verticale y prenait le pas sur l'équité horizontale. Le crédit est plus équitable que l'exemption, si l'on mesure l'équité en terme de progressivité (c'est-à-dire que les avantages sociaux devraient varier en fonction du revenu, les bénéficiaires les plus importants allant aux pauvres). Même si le crédit non remboursable accorde un montant identique à toutes les familles qui doivent payer de l'impôt, cette mesure sociale est progressive, car elle aide davantage les contribuables à faible revenu.

En revanche, le crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants accorde des épargnes d'impôt plus petites aux familles à revenu moyen et supérieur. Comme le crédit a été établi à un niveau très bas (14 p. 100 du montant de l'exemption, ce qui est le plus bas pourcentage de toutes les conversions de déductions et d'exemptions personnelles en crédits), il se trouve même que de nombreuses familles de «travailleurs pauvres» ou à revenu faible-moyen obtiennent moins de crédit qu'avec l'exemption. Par exemple, une famille à revenu moyen (40 000 \$) comprenant deux enfants et un seul soutien réalisateur,

Par exemple, une famille pauvre recevant de l'aide sociale conserve le plein montant des allocations familiales (400 \$ par enfant en 1990), car elle ne paie pas d'impôt sur le revenu; une famille de «travailleurs pauvres» à l., seul soutien, dont le revenu se chiffre à 20 000 \$, remet en moyenne 26 p. 100 des allocations familiales par le biais du régime d'impôt sur le revenu, ce qui lui laisse un avantage net, après impôt, de 295 \$ par enfant, c'est-à-dire 74 p. 100 du montant brut; une famille à revenu moyen (50 000 \$) conserve 239 \$ par enfant, c'est-à-dire 60 p. 100 du montant brut; quant à une famille à revenu supérieur (par exemple 75 000 \$), elle conserve 220 \$, c'est-à-dire 55 p. 100 des allocations familiales.

Les familles à faible revenu et, de prime abord, la plupart des familles à revenu moyen qui reçoivent des allocations familiales, continueront à bénéficier des mêmes avantages après impôt. Toutefois, les familles à revenu supérieur voient maintenant les avantages de leurs allocations familiales plus fortement réduits par le biais d'une mesure supplémentaire de récupération fiscale.

Ainsi, pour les familles dont le revenu net du parent qui gagne le plus atteint ou dépasse 50 000 \$, l'État récupère les allocations familiales au rythme de 15 p. 100 de chaque dollar de revenu dépassant le seuil de 50 000 \$. Par exemple, les familles avec deux enfants perdent toutes les allocations familiales une fois que le revenu de l'un des parents dépasse 55 240 \$. (La récupération par l'impôt est mise en place graduellement : un tiers en 1989, deux tiers en 1990 et en entier en 1991; aux fins de l'exemple, nous supposons que le mécanisme était complètement en place en 1989.) Comme le seuil de 50 000 \$ n'est que partiellement indexé (sur un taux d'inflation supérieur à 3 p. 100), il diminuera graduellement en chiffres réels et s'appliquera à un nombre croissant de familles à revenus de plus en plus bas. En 1995, la récupération d'impôt s'appliquera à un seuil estimatif de 41 886 \$, calculé en dollars constants de 1990. (Le Conseil national du bien-être social, dans son rapport de 1989 intitulé *Le budget de 1989 et la politique sociale*, a examiné en détail la récupération par l'impôt des allocations familiales et des pensions de sécurité de la vieillesse.)

La récupération par l'impôt touche de deux façons les objectifs des allocations familiales. D'abord, on s'écarte du motif traditionnellement invoqué de reconnaissance parentale, puisque les familles à revenu élevé ne recevront plus de prestations; mais elles en jouiront seulement durant l'année en cours, puis continueront à recevoir les prestations, tandis qu'elles devront les rembourser à l'impôt. Toutefois, la récupération par l'impôt n'est pas seulement une façon d'attraper les riches : la désindexation partielle du seuil signifie qu'un nombre de plus en plus élevé de familles à revenu moyen subiront la récupération par l'impôt et, ainsi, ne recevront plus un transfert de revenu pour leur contribution parentale.

Par ailleurs, cette récupération fiscale sape passablement l'objectif d'équité horizontale des prestations pour enfants, puisque elle réduit les allocations familiales pour certaines familles à revenu supérieur et les élimine pour d'autres. Comme nous le verrons dans la prochaine section, le remplacement des exemptions pour enfants par un crédit non remboursable en 1988 avait déjà diminué l'équité horizontale des prestations pour enfants.

L'autre modification majeure aux allocations familiales s'est produite en 1986, lorsque les prestations sont passées d'une indexation complète — qui était en vigueur depuis 1973 — à une indexation partielle (sur un taux d'inflation supérieur à 3 p. 100). Peut-être pourrions-nous utiliser le terme plus

De fait, un grand nombre de Canadiens n'approuvent pas le versement universel des prestations pour enfants; ils croient plutôt que les fonds épargnés, en excluant du régime des allocations les familles à l'aise, devraient servir à la réduction du déficit budgétaire fédéral ou à l'accroissement des prestations versées aux familles à faible revenu. Dans ce débat, il est manifeste que deux des objectifs des allocations familiales — un revenu d'appoint aux familles à faible revenu et la reconnaissance de la contribution apportée par tous les parents, sans égard à leur revenu — sont difficilement compatibles.

Les tenants de l'universalité des allocations familiales ont recours à d'autres arguments, comme on a pu le voir dans le rapport intitulé «*Les allocations familiales : un régime à repenser?*», qu'a publié, en 1983, le Conseil national du bien-être social :

Ils considèrent les programmes universels tels que les allocations familiales, la sécurité de la vieillesse, le Régime de pensions du Canada... comme la base fondamentale et précieuse sur laquelle reposent les programmes sociaux sélectifs s'adressant aux familles et aux particuliers dans le besoin. Peu importe leur lieu de résidence ou leurs revenus, tous les Canadiens bénéficient de certains programmes universels à un moment donné au cours de leur vie. Laisser tomber le principe de l'universalité au sein d'un régime aussi important que celui des allocations familiales affaiblirait la base même du système canadien de sécurité sociale. Avec les années, les contribuables appuieraient de moins en moins les dépenses sociales, et les gens qui doivent recourir à des programmes sélectifs pour obtenir une aide financière en souffriraient.

Les programmes universels, par contre, viennent en aide à tous les Canadiens qui partagent une situation commune n'ayant rien à voir avec le besoin financier. Les allocations familiales sont accordées à toutes les familles avec enfants de moins de 18 ans, les prestations de sécurité de la vieillesse à tous les hommes et les femmes de 65 ans et plus, et les prestations d'assurance-chômage à tous les sans-emploi. Ces bénéfices universels sont répartis également entre les Canadiens de différents niveaux de revenu. Les programmes sociaux universels unissent donc les Canadiens et favorisent un esprit communautaire

On a aussi défendu l'universalité des allocations familiales sous prétexte qu'elles «appartiennent aux femmes». Selon cet argument populaire les allocations familiales, sont la seule source de revenu à laquelle toutes les mères canadiennes ont pleinement droit. Il arrive, même au sein de familles à l'aise, que le mari refuse de répondre adéquatement aux besoins de l'épouse et des enfants. Tant et aussi longtemps que les lois sur les biens matrimoniaux n'accorderont pas aux épouses la part des ressources financières familiales qui leur revient, il n'est pas raisonnable de les priver du droit acquis aux allocations familiales sous prétexte que le revenu du mari est aussi celui de l'épouse.

Le débat sur l'universalité a pris un tournant historique et théorique. Le budget fédéral de 1989 a effectivement supprimé l'universalité des allocations familiales et des pensions de sécurité de la vieillesse, en proposant une récupération, par l'impôt, de tous les avantages accordés aux parents et aux retraités à revenu élevé.

Pour comprendre cette récupération fiscale, il faut d'abord voir de quelle façon fonctionnaient autrefois les allocations familiales. Les opposants à l'universalité des allocations familiales ignorent souvent le fait que, même si les familles reçoivent le même montant par enfant sans égard à leur revenu, les familles pauvres finissent par en bénéficier plus que les familles à revenu moyen alors que les familles à l'aise en profitent le moins. Depuis 1973, les allocations familiales sont imposables au père (ce qui a été changé, il y a quelques années, pour le conjoint dont le revenu est supérieur, donc habituellement encore le père).

Les programmes sociaux changent souvent avec le temps, en fonction de conceptions nouvelles de leurs objectifs légitimes, des besoins et des ressources. De tels changements peuvent modifier ou parfois dénaturer les buts originaux, sans même que le public ou les bénéficiaires du programme en aient connaissance. Certains programmes sociaux demeurent en vigueur longtemps après qu'on ait oublié pourquoi on les avait promulgués, ou ils visent des objectifs qu'une partie importante de la population n'appuie pas.

Les programmes fédéraux de prestations pour enfants semblent se conformer largement à ce dernier énoncé. Néanmoins, nous tenterons de voir, pour chaque programme, l'effet des récents changements sur le(s) objectif(s) visé(s), ainsi que leurs répercussions sur le régime global de prestations pour enfants.

Les allocations familiales

Le régime d'allocations familiales fut adopté par le Parlement en 1944; les allocations furent versées pour la première fois au printemps 1945. Il s'agissait du premier programme universel de sécurité sociale au Canada, ainsi que la plus importante dépense de nature sociale de l'époque, son coût dépassant celui de tous les autres programmes sociaux mis en place par l'État.

Le gouvernement fédéral était motivé, en partie, par des considérations politiques immédiates, les allocations familiales pouvant potentiellement lui livrer le vote des parents et lui permettre de repousser les demandes d'abolition des contrôles sur les salaires établis durant la guerre. Cependant, les objectifs déclarés du programme étaient de reconnaître la contribution de tous les parents à la société, d'accorder un revenu d'appoint aux familles élevant des enfants et de prévenir une récession d'après-guerre en versant à chaque mois aux mères canadiennes, de l'argent qu'elles dépenseraient, stimulant ainsi l'économie.

Ce motif de stimulation économique des allocations familiales est rarement évoqué de nos jours. L'objectif initial de lutte contre la pauvreté s'est aussi noyé quelque part débats visant à déterminer si toutes les familles - y compris les familles aisées-devraient bénéficier des allocations. Les instigateurs du régime avait pourtant prévu que ce programme jouerait un rôle important dans la lutte contre la pauvreté puisqu'il fournirait un revenu d'appoint à la famille moyenne et qu'il pourvoierait aux besoins matériels de base des enfants. À l'époque, les revenus étaient beaucoup plus bas que maintenant : plus de la moitié des travailleurs canadiens ne gagnaient pas assez d'argent pour répondre aux besoins alimentaires fondamentaux de leur famille. Les allocations familiales devaient aider à combler l'écart entre les revenus et les besoins financiers de la famille moyenne.

La justification la plus controversée des allocations familiales est peut-être celle qu'on invoque le plus souvent pour défendre l'universalité du programme: la reconnaissance de la contribution que tous les parents, sans égard à leur revenu, apportent à la société en élevant leurs enfants. On pourrait réaliser cet objectif, mais tout en veillant à ce que la société reconnaisse la contribution des familles à l'aise autrement que par des paiements de transfert, car cet argent pourrait mieux servir les familles démunies. Au risque de passer pour frondeur, on pourrait imaginer que les concepteurs du programme auraient très bien pu restreindre le programme aux familles à revenu faible et moyen, et décerner aux parents aisés, un certificat de reconnaissance parentale à chaque naissance.

Le régime canadien de prestations pour enfants a subi des modifications importantes ces dernières années. Malheureusement, ces mesures sont complexes et mal comprises. Peu de Canadiens ont une idée exacte du fonctionnement des divers programmes de prestations, des avantages accordés et des bénéficiaires. Il n'y a pas non plus une perception nette des buts originaux des prestations pour enfants et de la pertinence actuelle de ces objectifs au moment où commence la dernière décennie du vingtième siècle.

Il est essentiel de bien comprendre le régime actuel de prestations pour enfants avant de tenter de le réformer. La première partie de ce document examine les buts des programmes fédéraux de prestations; il indique les changements que le gouvernement fédéral leur a apportés durant les cinq dernières années et évalue ces changements à la lumière des divers objectifs du régime. Le reste du document présente certaines options de réforme et examine leurs répercussions sur les divers objectifs du régime de prestations pour enfants.

Les objectifs des prestations pour enfants

Au delà des diverses raisons politiques, sociales et économiques qui ont amené l'établissement des programmes de prestations pour enfants au cours des années, on peut considérer que le régime poursuit quatre objectifs principaux:

a. **la reconnaissance du rôle des parents** — pour leur contribution envers la société, parce qu'ils élèvent de futurs citoyens, des travailleurs et des contribuables;

b. **l'équité horizontale** — parce que les parents doivent supporter un fardeau financier plus lourd que les couples sans enfants ou les célibataires dont le revenu avant-transfert est identique, le marché du travail ne rémunérant pas en fonction de la taille de la famille;

c. **la lutte contre la pauvreté** — pour aider les familles avec enfants, à revenu faible;

d. **la stimulation de l'économie** — pour verser de l'argent aux parents et stimuler ainsi la consommation et les activités économiques qui en découlent.

Les trois premiers de ces objectifs ne sont pas très différents; ils sont même interreliés jusqu'à un certain point. L'objectif d'équité horizontale constitue, en quelque sorte, une sous-catégorie de l'objectif plus général de reconnaissance du rôle des parents, en ce sens qu'il exprime, en termes financiers, la nature de ce rôle. Les objectifs de lutte contre la pauvreté et d'équité horizontale sont essentiellement identiques pour les familles à faible revenu.

Il est facile de dresser des listes d'objectifs, mais il l'est beaucoup moins de les consolider dans des programmes. En pratique, les programmes sociaux ne sont pas délimités de façon logique, comme on pourrait s'y attendre en théorie. Ils visent rarement un seul objectif; ils en poursuivent plusieurs, souvent de concert avec d'autres programmes. Parfois, les objectifs non mentionnés sont tout aussi importants que les buts officiels. Certains programmes sociaux sont établis en fonction d'objectifs qui vont à l'encontre d'autres programmes, ou visent des buts multiples qui s'intègrent mal.

Ce document a été préparé à la demande du Comité sénatorial des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie afin d'appuyer le rapport du comité sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance. Le but du document est d'examiner les objectifs du régime fédéral de prestations pour enfants, d'analyser les récentes modifications aux programmes fédéraux et d'évaluer certaines options de réforme.

Les opinions exprimées dans ce document sont celles des auteurs et n'engagent aucunement le Conseil national du bien-être social, sauf lorsque le document cite les rapports ou les positions de principe du Conseil. Les options examinées sont fournies à titre indicatif seulement et ne constituent pas des recommandations proposées par l'auteur ou par le Conseil national du bien-être social. Si le Comité sénatorial voulait proposer des solutions de rechange précises au régime actuel des prestations pour enfants, il faudrait entreprendre un travail supplémentaire d'ordre technique.

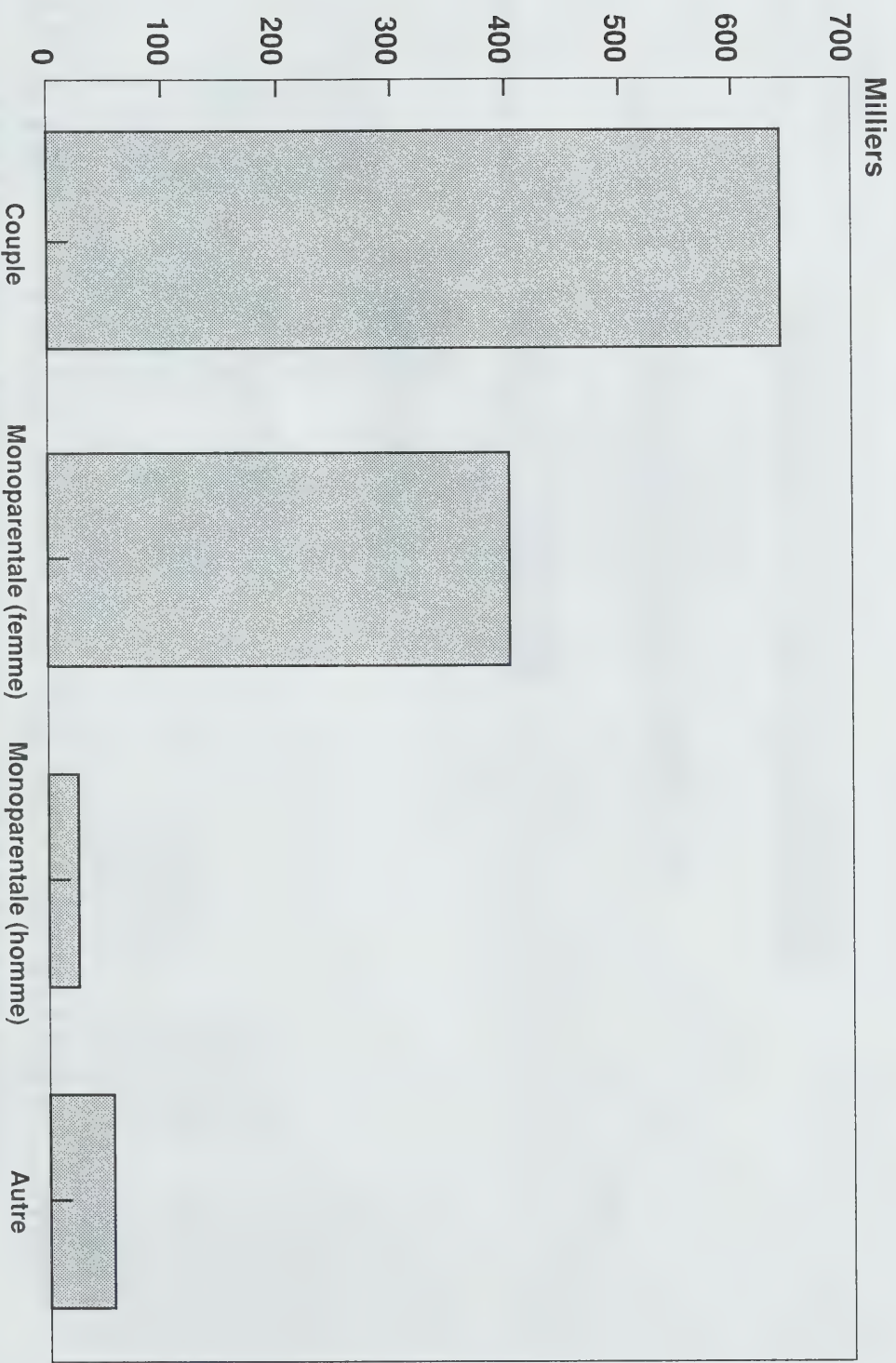
Richard Shillington, de Tristat Resources, a modélisé les options de prestations pour enfants et, avec l'aide de David Ross, m'a aidé à les élaborer.

RÉFORME DES PRESTATIONS POUR ENFANTS

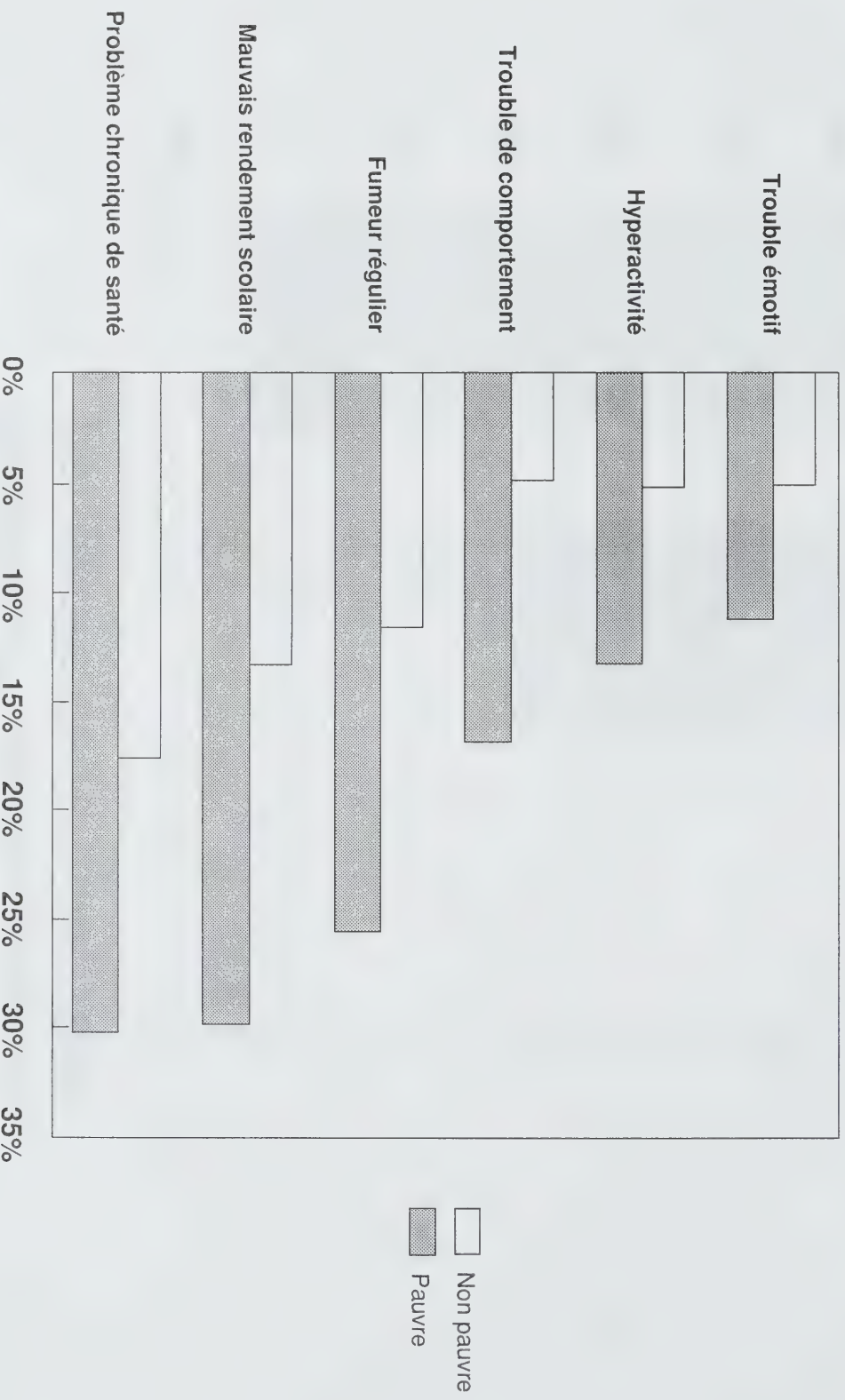
RAPPORT PRÉPARÉ À L'INTENTION DU
COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT DES AFFAIRES
SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES ET DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Ken Battle
Juillet 1990

Nombre d'enfants pauvres par genre de famille, 1986

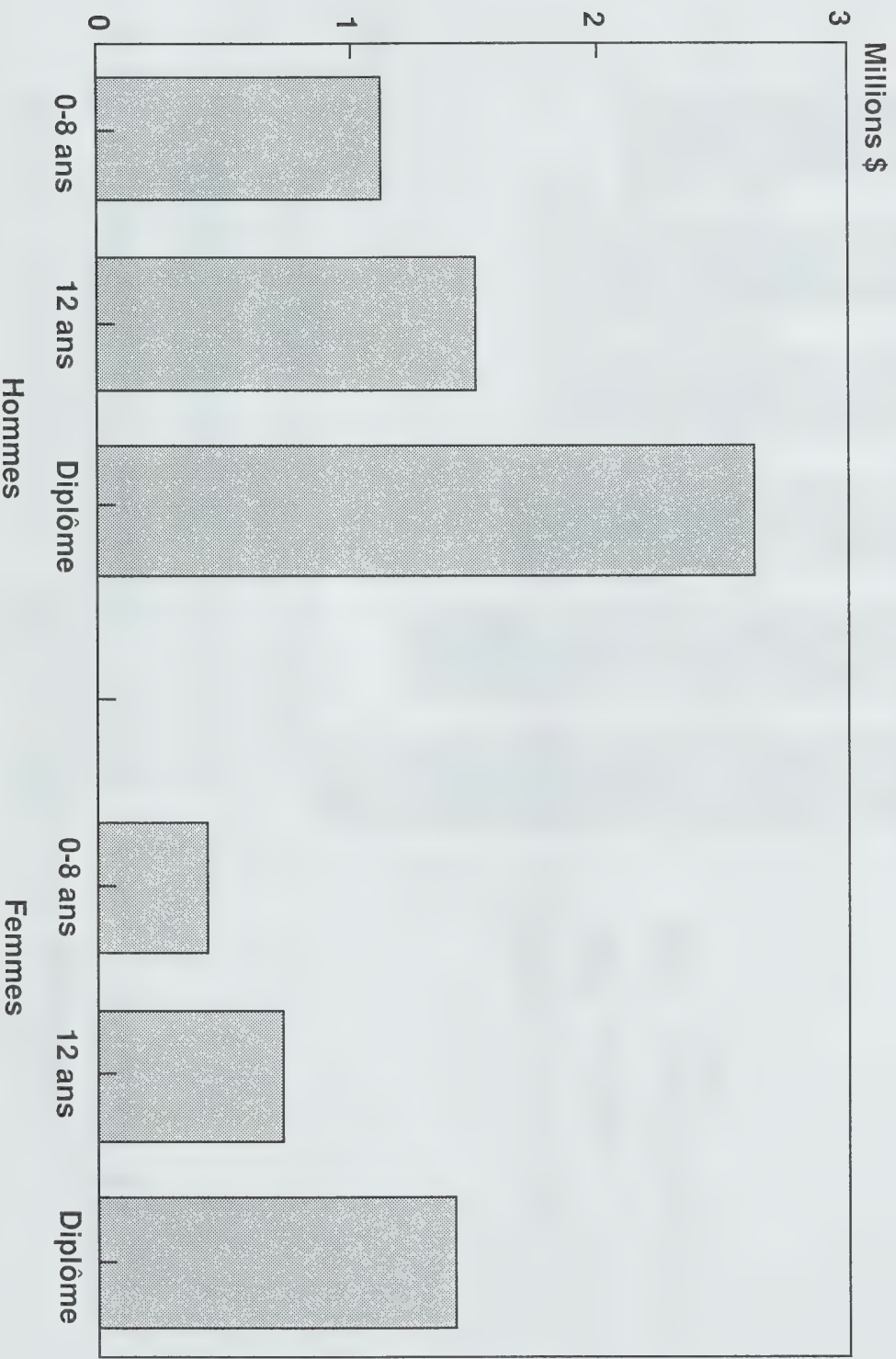


Fréquence de certaines caractéristiques chez les enfants pauvres et non pauvres, 1983

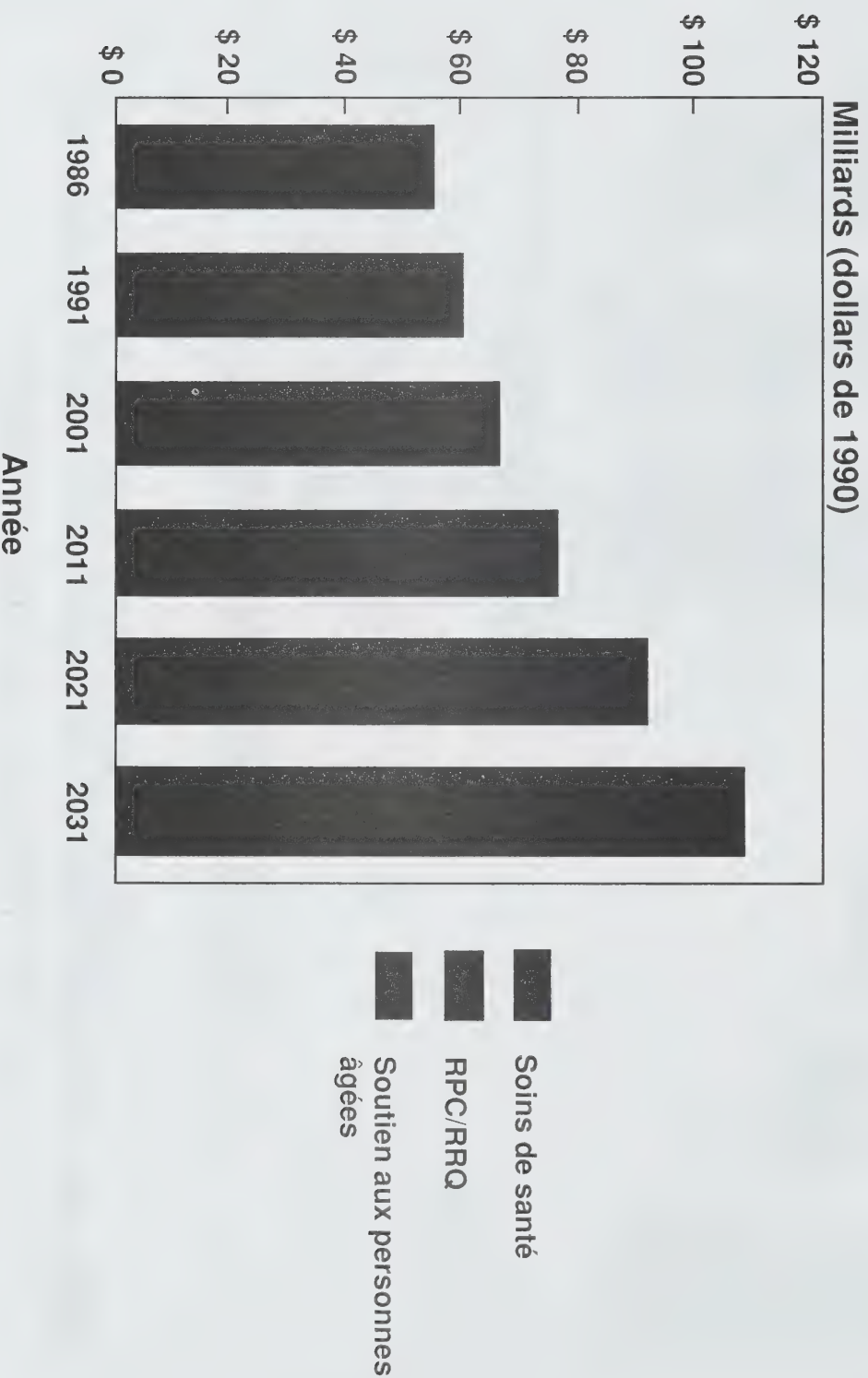


Source : Étude sur la santé des enfants en Ontario

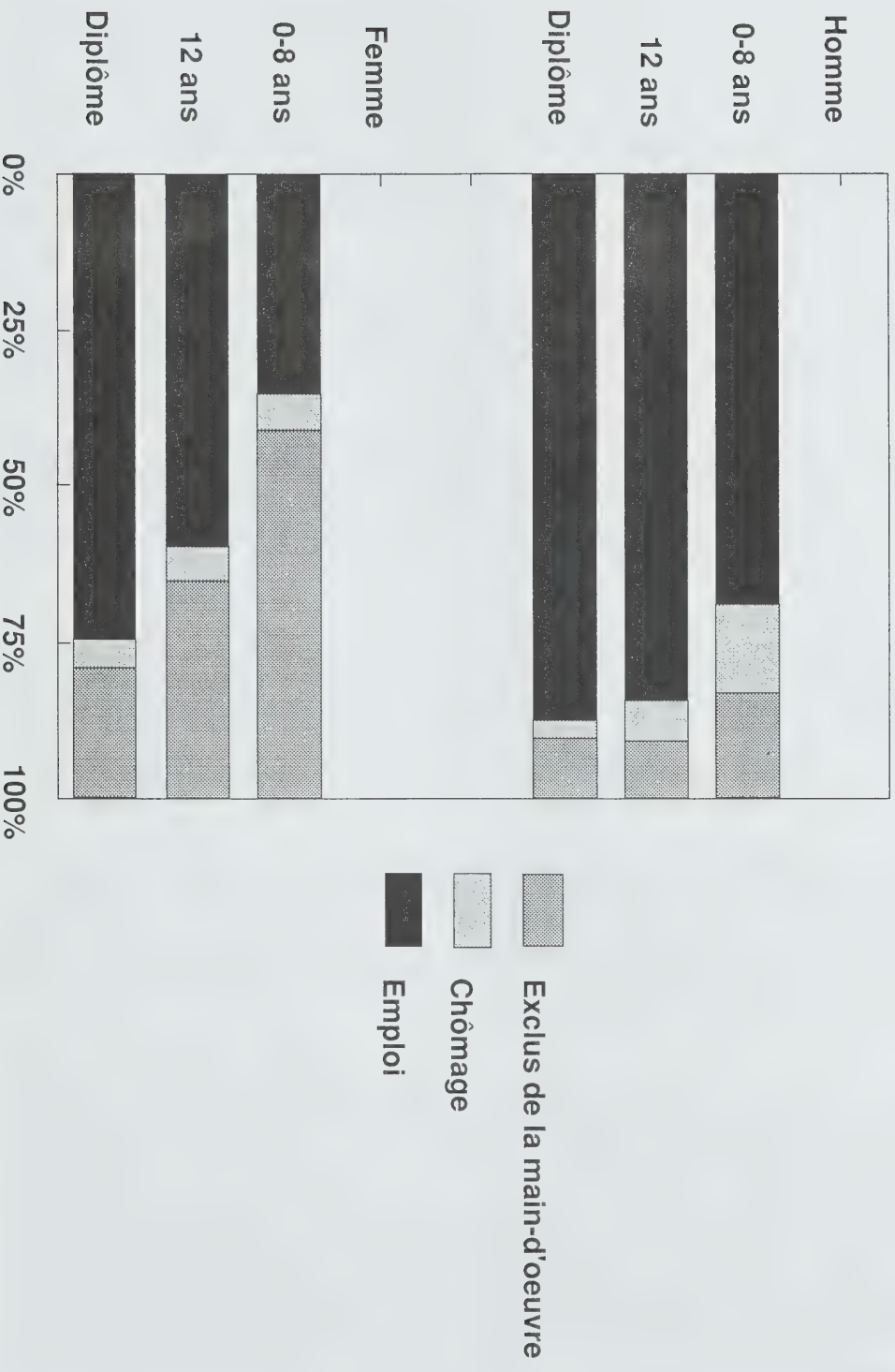
Évaluation du revenu à vie par degré de scolarité et sexe, dollars de 1990



Coût de certains programmes sociaux par membre de la main-d'oeuvre, 1986-2031



Pourcentage du temps passé dans les situations de main-d'oeuvre, 25-64 ans, par degré de scolarité et par sexe



29. En limitant la «durée de vie» à la période 25-65 ans, d'aucuns pourraient croire qu'on réduit ainsi indûment les revenus et la contribution publique des moins scolarisés, puisque ceux-ci passeront un peu plus d'années au sein de la main-d'oeuvre active que les plus scolarisés. En fait, c'est l'inverse qui est vrai, puisque les revenus supérieurs des plus scolarisés compensent largement pour le plus grand nombre d'années à revenus inférieurs que les moins scolarisés passent sur le marché du travail. Ainsi, la plupart des diplômés du secondaire arrivent sur le marché du travail entre 18 et 23 ans, comparativement aux décrocheurs qui cherchent du travail entre 16 et 18 ans. Cependant, les années supplémentaires de revenu potentiel du décrocheur (années marquées aussi par de plus grandes périodes de chômage) avant l'âge de 25 ans n'annulent pas les revenus supérieurs des diplômés du secondaire au cours des années où ils travaillent avant l'âge de 25 ans.

30. *Financial Post*, éditorial du 5 avril 1990.

31. Conseil économique du Canada, *Cinquième révision annuelle*, Imprimeur de la Reine, Ottawa, 1968, chapitre 6.

32. Sénat du Canada, *La pauvreté au Canada*, Information Canada, Ottawa, 1971.

16. M. McCormick, *ouvr. cit.*
17. Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities, *oeuvre citée*.
18. Agnes Higgins, Paul Pencharz, Denise Mikolainis et Sheila Dubois, «Impact of the Higgins Nutrition Intervention Program on Birth Weight: A Within-Mother Analysis», *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, août 1989.
19. *Ontario Child Health Study: Summary of Initial Findings*, 1986, publié par le ministère de la Communauté et des Services sociaux de l'Ontario, Queens Park, Toronto.
20. M.C. Lepage et coll. *La mortalité et la morbidité périnatales et infantiles*, gouvernement du Québec, ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, Québec, 1989.
21. Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities, «Low Birth Weight and Poverty», mémoire présenté au comité du Sénat étudiant la pauvreté chez les enfants, 3 avril 1990.
22. *A Choice of Futures: Canada's Commitment to its Children*, préparé par le Child Welfare Group, 1988.
23. Chiffres mis à jour fournis par les fonctionnaires de Santé et Bien-être social Canada.
24. G. Radwanski, *Ontario Study of the Relevance of Education, and the Issue of Dropouts*, ministère de l'Éducation de l'Ontario, 1987. Les deux évaluations de cette étude, limitée à l'Ontario, étaient de 30 et 33 p. 100 respectivement.
25. Radwanski, *ouvr. cit.*
26. L'enquête sur les finances des consommateurs est une importante enquête menée chaque année par Statistique Canada. Elle porte sur environ 37 000 ménages. Les principales conclusions en sont publiées chaque année dans *Distribution du revenu par tranche au Canada*, mais l'analyse plus détaillée qui suit est le résultat de calculs réalisés à partir des bandes de microdonnées.
27. Techniquement, le revenu gagné est la variable qui rend le mieux compte de la productivité, et non le revenu total. Cependant, au Canada, le revenu gagné représente pratiquement 90 p. 100 du revenu total. Par conséquent, le revenu total est un équivalent raisonnable du revenu gagné et de la productivité.
28. Une remarque importante concernant notre méthode d'évaluation : les estimations concernant l'emploi, le revenu, les contributions aux recettes publiques et aux prestations de sécurité du revenu reçu sont fondées sur la situation de l'emploi en 1986. Cette année-là, le taux de chômage s'établissait à 9,5 p. 100, ce qui se compare à une moyenne de 9,3 p. 100 pour les années 1980. Il est difficile de prévoir les taux de chômage au cours des 20 prochaines années. Sachant que les décrocheurs trouvent plus difficilement de l'emploi lorsque le chômage est élevé, si celui-ci est inférieur au taux de 9,5 p. 100 projeté pour les 20 prochaines années, nos évaluations de revenu, d'emploi et de contributions aux recettes publiques pour les décrocheurs seront alors relativement faibles. Par ailleurs, si le taux de chômage dépasse les 9,5 p. 100 au cours des 20 prochaines années, ces estimations seront exagérées par rapport aux travailleurs plus scolarisés.

NOTES ET RENVOIS

1. Pour les plus récentes évaluations par Statistique Canada, voir *Distribution des revenus par tranche au Canada 1988*, Statistique Canada, Ottawa, 1989.

2. Une certaine confusion a été créée par ceux qui ont utilisé la version 1978 des seuils de Statistique Canada. Ces seuils ont été révisés en 1986. Néanmoins, même en utilisant les seuils de 1978, le nombre d'enfants de moins de 16 ans en situation de pauvreté s'élève à 875 000; en ajoutant les enfants autochtones vivant sur les réserves, ce chiffre passe à environ 915 000. Si l'on additionne ensuite les enfants à charge âgés de 16 et 17 ans, le total dépasse aujourd'hui le million.

3. Ernest Akyeampong, «Working for the Minimum Wage», *Perspectives sur la main-d'oeuvre et le revenu*, Statistique Canada, hiver 1989.

4. Agriculture Canada, *Rapport sur le prix au détail des aliments*, 16 février 1990.

5. Denise Avaré et Louise Hanvey, *The Health of Canada's Children*, Canadian Institute of Child Health, Ottawa, 1989.

6. Nova Scotia Nutrition Council. Information contenue dans un mémoire présenté au Comité du Sénat sur la pauvreté chez les enfants, le 10 avril 1990.

7. Résultats d'une enquête menée par l'Inter-Agency Group, une coalition de personnes qui travaillent pour divers organismes de services sociaux, d'éducation et de loisirs à Winnipeg. Signalés dans le *Winnipeg Free Press*, décembre 1989.

8. Rapport sur les banques alimentaires préparé par le Comité permanent du Parlement de l'Ontario sur le développement social, publié le 23 avril 1990.

9. La plupart des renseignements sur les problèmes de santé des enfants sont tirés de deux abrégés de recherche : Avaré et Hanvey, *The Health of Canada's Children*, et le mémoire présenté au Comité du Sénat par la Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities, le 3 avril 1990.

10. Les données ici proviennent de l'*Enquête sur la santé et les limites d'activité*, 1986, de Statistique Canada. Les résultats mentionnés sont extraits de la présentation faite au comité de la Chambre des communes sur la pauvreté par M. Russell Wilkins, chercheur à Statistique Canada, le 21 février 1990.

11. Wilkins, *ouvr. cit.*

12. Wilkins, *ouvr. cit.*

13. C. Colin et H. Desrosiers, *Nature égale et en santé*, gouvernement du Québec, ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, Québec, 1989.

14. C. Colin et H. Desrosiers, *ouvr. cit.*

15. M. McCormick, «The Contribution of low birth weight to infant mortality and childhood morbidity», *New England Journal of Medicine*, p. 312, 1985.

Au cours des décennies 1960 et 1970, on a concentré les efforts pour réduire le taux très élevé de pauvreté chez les Canadiens âgés. Une bonne partie de ce mouvement fut enclenchée par le rapport annuel du Conseil économique du Canada en 1968, qui faisait ressortir toute l'étendue de la pauvreté chez les personnes âgées.³¹ En réaction à ce rapport, le Sénat créa un comité spécial sur la pauvreté présidé par le sénateur David Croll.³² Les conclusions largement divulguées de ce comité vinrent corroborer plus en détail les révélations du Conseil économique. Parmi les nombreuses améliorations proposées, le Comité du Sénat recommandait l'établissement d'une forme de revenu annuel garanti pour aider à résoudre le problème de la pauvreté au Canada.

Un revenu garanti pour tous les groupes d'âge n'a pu être établi au Canada, mais l'augmentation des prestations versées aux personnes âgées a permis de réduire le taux de pauvreté chez les ménages âgés de 37,8 p. 100 en 1973 à 29,4 p. 100 en 1988. Par contre, au cours de la même période, le taux de pauvreté pour l'ensemble des ménages canadiens ne s'améliorait guère, reculant même de 20,6 p. 100 à 20,0 p. 100. Les personnes âgées ont donc vu leur situation économique s'améliorer considérablement par rapport aux autres Canadiens.

Le Canada doit maintenant accorder aux enfants le même genre de soutien durable qu'il a offert aux personnes âgées. Si le sens de l'équité et de la justice ne suffit pas à motiver la plupart des Canadiens pour qu'ils appuient les efforts visant à éliminer la pauvreté des enfants, peut-être alors leur intérêt les poussera-t-il. Car on sait maintenant que si la pauvreté se maintient au niveau actuel chez les enfants, il nous sera extrêmement difficile de maintenir la compétitivité économique nécessaire en cette fin de siècle. Il deviendra alors impossible de conserver les régimes de retraite et de santé. Le Canada ne sera plus en mesure de gaspiller sa plus importante ressource économique : ses enfants. Si en 2010, le pays n'a pas encore réussi à tirer le maximum de sa population qui ne cesse de rétrécir, il pourrait bien se retrouver incapable de soutenir la concurrence mondiale. Et partant, incapable d'assurer aux retraités le niveau de vie auquel ils ont droit de s'attendre.

TABLEAU 15

COÛT DE CERTAINS AVANTAGES SOCIAUX,
CALCULÉ POUR CHAQUE MEMBRE DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE,
DOLLARS DE 1990, POUR LA PÉRIODE 1991-2031

Année	PV/SRG/Act	RPC/RRQ	Soins de santé	Total
1991	1 100	700	2 700	4 500
2001	1 300	900	2 900	5 100
2011	1 500	1 100	3 200	5 800
2021	2 000	1 300	3 700	7 000
2031	2 600	1 500	4 200	8 300

Source : Les calculs des auteurs se fondent sur les projections de la population et de la main-d'oeuvre tirées de Denton et Spencer, *ouvr. cit.*; les taux de cotisation au RPC/RRQ sont ceux prévus par la législation jusqu'en 2011 et sont augmentés par la suite de 11 p. 100, conformément aux recommandations des actuaire. Les coûts totaux de santé sont ceux prévus par H. Messenget et B. Powell, «The Implications of Canada's Aging Society on Social Expenditures», dans *Ageing In Canada*, édition V. Marshall, Markham: Fitzhenry et Whiteside, 1987.

**PROPORTION D'ENFANTS ET DE PERSONNES ÂGÉES
PAR RAPPORT À LA POPULATION ET À LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE
ACTIVE PRÉVUES AU CANADA, 1986-2031**

TABLEAU 14

0-19 ANS							65 ANS ET PLUS						
Année	Nbre	% de la population	% de la main-d'oeuvre	Nbre	% de la population	% de la main-d'oeuvre	Année	Nbre	% de la population	% de la main-d'oeuvre			
1986	7 392	28,9	57,3	2 738	10,6	21,2	1991	7 389	27,6	53,7			
2001	7 273	25,5	48,2	3 837	13,4	25,4	2001	7 273	25,5	48,2			
2011	6 717	22,7	43,6	4 578	15,4	29,7	2011	6 717	22,7	43,6			
2021	6 506	21,4	44,0	6 018	19,9	40,7	2021	6 506	21,4	44,0			
2031	6 262	20,7	44,5	7 383	24,5	52,4	2031	6 262	20,7	44,5			

Source : Adapté de Frank Denton et Byron Spencer, «Population Change and the Future Labour Force», janvier 1987. Document d'information pour l'étude réalisée récemment dans le cadre de l'examen de la démographie et de ses conséquences sur la politique économique et sociale, entreprise par Santé et Bien-être social Canada. Remarquer que les chiffres de la colonne «Pourcentage de la main-d'oeuvre» ne sont pas les proportions projetées de ces groupes d'âge au sein de la main-d'oeuvre, mais simplement les pourcentages qu'ils représentent par rapport à la main-d'oeuvre.

Cette évolution, combinée à une plus grande concurrence internationale et à notre inaptitude croissante à nous protéger contre les forces internationales, nous impose d'accorder priorité à la meilleure éducation possible de nos enfants et au développement des ressources humaines. Le Canada, notamment en ce qui touche ses régimes de santé et de retraite, ne pourra tout simplement pas se permettre de laisser 16 p. 100 de ses enfants dans la pauvreté, avec tout ce que cela entraîne de faible scolarisation et d'incompétence de la main-d'oeuvre.

Le tableau 15 présente les coûts prévus par travailleur de trois séries de programmes sérieusement touchés par le vieillissement de la population : la première comprend les prestations versées aux personnes âgées et financées par les impôts, soit la pension de viellissement (PV), le supplément de revenu garanti (SRG) et l'allocation au conjoint (ACT); la deuxième série comprend le régime de pension du Canada (RPC) et le régime des rentes du Québec (RRQ), dont les cotisations proviennent des employeurs et des employés; et la dernière, les programmes de santé publics.

Les sommes figurant au tableau 15 indiquent le coût prévu pour chaque travailleur en dollars constants de 1990. Le coût total supporté par chaque membre de la main-d'oeuvre, pour les trois séries de programmes, augmente de 4 500 \$ en 1991 à 8 300 \$ en 2031. Donc, si le travailleur d'aujourd'hui payait le même prix que devront payer ses enfants, il lui en coûterait 3 800 \$ de plus. En dollars d'aujourd'hui, le coût total des trois séries de programmes passera d'environ 59 milliards de dollars à quelque 109 milliards. Cet accroissement du fardeau souligne l'importance de s'assurer que tous les futurs membres de la main-d'oeuvre soient les plus productifs possible.

Dans un éditorial récent, le *Financial Post* citait l'économiste réputé de Harvard, Robert Reich :

«Tous les facteurs de production autres que la compétence humaine peuvent être reproduits partout dans le monde. Actuellement, le capital traverse librement les frontières internationales, à tel point que son coût dans les différents pays est de plus en plus semblable. On peut construire partout des usines ultra modernes. Les plus récentes technologies passent des ordinateurs d'un pays à ceux d'un autre. Tout est interchangeable...tout, sauf une chose, la partie la plus importante, l'élément unique d'une nation : sa main-d'œuvre.»³⁰

Avec sa population qui vieillit, quelle sera la place du Canada dans cette concurrence internationale? Des projections sur la population et la main-d'œuvre, réalisées pour le compte du gouvernement, indiquent que la proportion du groupe des 0-19 ans (nos futurs travailleurs), exprimée en pourcentage de la main-d'œuvre, chutera de 57,3 p. 100 en 1986 à 43,6 p. 100 en 2011, tandis que la proportion de personnes âgées augmentera de 21,2 p. 100 à 29,7 p. 100 (voir tableau 14). Et ce déséquilibre s'accroîtra dans les années subséquentes. Vers l'an 2025, le nombre de personnes âgées au Canada rattrapera celui des jeunes gens et le dépassera rapidement par la suite. En 2031, il y aura une personne âgée pour une traction seulement d'un futur travailleur (0,84), comparativement à 2,7 jeunes personnes pour chaque personne âgée il y a quelques années (1986).

Pour ce qui est de la situation actuelle, chaque personne âgée était soutenue en 1986 par presque cinq membres de la main-d'œuvre active, mais en 2011, ce chiffre tombera à quatre puis à deux en 2031. Cette spectaculaire évolution se réalisera en un laps de temps relativement court, soit 40 ans. L'impact structurel de ce phénomène sur l'économie future du Canada ne peut être surestimé.

Le tableau 13 montre les effets probables de l'élimination du décrochage pour cause de pauvreté sur la condition de la main-d'oeuvre. Si les décrocheurs atteignaient le niveau moyen de scolarité, le nombre d'années d'emploi des femmes augmenterait de deux ans environ, et le nombre d'années qu'elles passent hors de la main-d'oeuvre active diminuerait d'autant. Pour les deux sexes combinés, le gain d'emploi au cours des vingt prochaines années dépasserait un quart de million d'années (260 000), ce qui, pour fins de comparaison, équivaut au nombre de personnes employées au Nouveau-Brunswick.

TABLEAU 13

EVALUATION DE LA MODIFICATION INDIVIDUELLE ET TOTALE
DU COMPORTEMENT DE LA MAIN-D'OEUVRE,
ATTRIBUABLE À L'ÉLIMINATION DU DÉCROCHAGE POUR CAUSE DE PAUVRETÉ,
POUR LA PÉRIODE 1990-2010, PAR SEXE

Individu à vie		Total à vie		Total à vie	
Homme	Femme	Homme	Femme	Combiné	
Nombre d'années :					
0,9	1,8	88 000	172 000	260 000	Emploi
-0,6	-0,2	-56 000	-17 000	-73 000	Chômage
-0,3	-1,6	-32 000	-155 000	-187 000	Exclusion de la main-d'oeuvre active

Source : Voir tableau 9.

Le nombre total d'années de chômage diminuerait de 73 000. Nous avons calculé que tous les décrocheurs ajoutent 1,4 p. 100 au taux de chômage national lorsque ce dernier est de l'ordre de 7 à 8 p. 100. Quant aux décrocheurs pour cause de pauvreté, ils sont responsables d'environ 0,2 point de pourcentage de ce taux. L'élimination du décrochage pour cause de pauvreté réduirait donc en permanence de 0,2 point de pourcentage le taux de chômage national.

En conclusion, il faut noter que nous avons limité notre étude à l'examen des effets de la pauvreté sur le décrochage scolaire seulement. Nous n'avons pas examiné la possibilité que la pauvreté réduise les chances des enfants pauvres d'obtenir une éducation postsecondaire.

V. LA NÉCESSITÉ D'UNE MAIN-D'OEUVRE BIEN FORMÉE DANS UN CONTEXTE DE VIEILLISSEMENT DE LA POPULATION

Il est aisé de prévoir qu'au tournant du siècle la perpétuation du problème de la pauvreté chez les enfants, combinée au vieillissement de la population, exacerbera les problèmes structurels de l'économie canadienne. Parmi ces problèmes, mentionnons une main-d'oeuvre relativement restreinte et incomplètement formée; une baisse du niveau de vie et de graves préoccupations concernant l'intégrité des programmes de santé et des régimes de retraite au Canada. Ces conséquences seront inévitables si les tendances démographiques actuelles et le niveau de pauvreté chez les enfants se combinent à l'interdépendance et à la concurrence croissantes des économies mondiales.

d'assurance-chômage de 6 600 \$. En multipliant ces sommes individuelles par les 93 500 décrocheurs projetés de 1990 à 2010, on arrive à un total de 14 milliards de dollars qui pourraient être gagnés en revenus et à 620 millions de dollars qui pourraient être économisés en prestations d'assurance-chômage.

TABLEAU 12

ÉVALUATION DE CERTAINS GAINS ÉCONOMIQUES INDIVIDUELS ET TOTAUX RÉSULTANT DE L'ÉLIMINATION DU DÉCROCHAGE POUR CAUSE DE PAUVRETÉ POUR LA PÉRIODE 1990-2010, PAR SEXE, EN DOLLARS 1990

Total à vie	Individu à vie		Total à vie		Total à vie
	Homme	Femme	Homme	Femme	Combiné

En millions de dollars

Revenu	149 000	97 000	14 000	9 000	23 000
Impôt sur le revenu :					
Fédéral	33 000	17 000	3 100	1 500	4 600
Provincial	17 000	10 000	1 600	1 000	2 600
Taxe à la consommation :					
Fédérale	3 300	2 800	310	260	570
Provinciale	3 300	2 800	310	270	580
Assurance-chômage :					
Cotisations	900	1 500	80	140	220
Prestations	-6 600	-420	-620	-40	-660
Aide sociale	-3 800	-3 800	-350	-360	-710

Source : Voir le tableau 9.

La dernière colonne combine les avantages hypothétiques qu'une scolarité moyenne accorderait aux décrocheurs, hommes et femmes, au cours des vingt prochaines années. Les revenus (utilisés comme mesure approximative de la contribution à la production totale du Canada) seraient supérieurs de 23 milliards de dollars si les décrocheurs pour cause de pauvreté atteignaient un degré de scolarité moyen. Les impôts sur le revenu fédéraux et provinciaux augmenteraient de 7,2 milliards de dollars et les taxes à la consommation de 1,15 milliard de dollars. Les cotisations à l'assurance-chômage augmenteraient de 220 millions de dollars et les prestations diminueraient de 660 millions de dollars. Les paiements d'aide sociale diminueraient de 710 millions de dollars.

Les avantages perdus par la société sont importants. Si l'on ne considère que le solde du secteur public, les coûts sont considérables. En additionnant les recettes publiques ainsi obtenues par l'élimination des décrocheurs pour cause de pauvreté aux économies réalisées dans les programmes d'assurance-chômage et d'aide sociale, on arrive à un total de 9,9 milliards de dollars. En outre, on doit ajouter les 23 milliards de dollars de contributions à la production de la nation, mesurées en revenus perdus. Le coût pour la société s'élèverait donc approximativement à 33 milliards de dollars (pour fins de comparaison, il s'agit d'une somme équivalente au déficit budgétaire annuel du gouvernement).

cherche à déterminer le nombre d'enfants pauvres qui devraient décrocher d'ici à l'an 2010. La combinaison des données des deux étapes permet d'obtenir une évaluation de certaines des conséquences économiques du décrochage scolaire des enfants pauvres pour la société.

Pour réaliser ce genre d'évaluation, il faut avancer une série d'hypothèses. Vu l'absence de données d'orientation, certaines de ces hypothèses sont affaire de jugement. Le cas échéant, on a tenté d'établir à la baisse les coûts du décrochage pour la société afin de produire une évaluation plus prudente.

La méthode d'évaluation est assez simple. On a postulé des proportions de décrochage de 27 p. 100 globalement et de 45 p. 100 pour les enfants pauvres, en se basant sur les données établies. Ces taux ont ensuite été réduits de 15 p. 100, soit le pourcentage de ceux qui obtiendront un diplôme d'études secondaires ultérieurement. On ne présume pas que tous les décrocheurs pauvres quitteront l'école uniquement à cause de leur pauvreté, puisque des écoliers non pauvres décrochent aussi. En s'appuyant sur la différence connue des taux de décrochage chez les enfants pauvres et non pauvres, on a évalué le nombre de décrocheurs en excluant les enfants pauvres. La différence entre ce chiffre et le nombre réel de décrocheurs chez tous les enfants représente le nombre de décrocheurs pour motif de pauvreté seulement. Il s'ensuit que même si 23 p. 100 de tous les décrocheurs sont pauvres, on ne peut raisonnablement attribuer à la pauvreté que 11 p. 100 de ces décrochages. Les autres auraient probablement décroché quelles que soient leurs conditions de revenu. La dernière hypothèse, bien étayée, veut que les hommes et les femmes décrochent en proportion à peu près égale.

Les projections démographiques de Statistique Canada ont servi à obtenir le nombre d'enfants qui devraient être dans le groupe d'âge des 15-19 ans entre 1990 et 2010. Le nombre réel de ce groupe d'âge du niveau secondaire variera de 362 000 à 380 000 par année, au cours des vingt prochaines années. En se fondant sur les hypothèses indiquées dans le paragraphe précédent, on a évalué à 11 000 par année le nombre de décrocheurs pour motif de pauvreté seulement. Sur vingt ans, le nombre de décrocheurs s'élèverait donc à 220 000; en tenant compte des 15 p. 100 qui termineront plus tard leurs études secondaires, on obtiendrait un total net de 187 000 décrocheurs.

Afin d'évaluer les coûts économiques imputables à ces 187 000 décrocheurs, il est nécessaire de prévoir le degré de scolarité que devrait raisonnablement atteindre ceux qui n'ont pas grandi dans des familles pauvres. C'est-à-dire, s'ils ne décrochaient pas, quels seraient leurs revenus à vie, leurs dos-siers d'emploi, les impôts payés, les prestations de sécurité du revenu reçu, etc.?

A cette fin, on a supposé qu'ils atteindraient le degré moyen de scolarité des Canadiens non pauvres dans le groupe de référence des 25-34 ans (prendre un groupe de référence plus vieux au moment où l'on relève les normes d'éducation aurait établi un degré de scolarité trop faible pour les projections dans le futur). Le degré de scolarité moyen obtenu est légèrement supérieur à 13 années. Il s'agit du repère utilisé pour comparer le rendement économique des 187 000 décrocheurs prévus avec celui qu'ils auraient obtenu s'ils n'avaient pas décroché.²⁹ Les résultats sont présentés au tableau 12.

Le tableau 12 montre le revenu en dollars que les décrocheurs pour cause de pauvreté auraient probablement gagné s'ils avaient atteint le degré de scolarité moyen. Il est à noter que les deux premières colonnes qui concernent des individus sont en centaines et en milliers de dollars, tandis que les trois dernières colonnes se rapportant aux effets totaux sont en centaines de millions et en milliards de dollars. Dans les colonnes «Individu à vie», on peut voir notamment que les décrocheurs auraient augmenté leurs revenus à vie de 149 000 \$ et réduit leur dépendance à l'égard des prestations

TABLEAU II
ÉVALUATION DES PRESTATIONS DE SÉCURITÉ DU REVENU À VIE
INDIVIDUELLES REÇUES ENTRE 25 ET 65 ANS, PAR DEGRÉ
DE SCOLARITÉ ET SEXE, DOLLARS 1990

Scolarité	Hommes			Femmes		
	0-8 ans	12 ans	Diplôme	Aide sociale	Prestations d'AC	Prestations d'AC
	\$	\$	\$	47 000	60 000	41 000
	19 000	30 000	13 000	12 000	20 000	21 000
	15 000	14 000				

Source : Voir tableau 9.

Chez les travailleurs, l'effet de la scolarité sur les prestations d'assurance-chômage est encore plus marqué. Les décrocheurs obtiennent quatre fois plus de prestations que les diplômés. Ceux qui comptent 12 années de scolarité dépendent moins de l'assurance-chômage, et moins encore des prestations d'aide sociale. Chez les femmes, la scolarité a peu d'effet sur les prestations d'assurance-chômage reçues à vie. Cela s'explique surtout par le fait que les femmes peu scolarisées risquent quatre fois plus que les hommes (tableau 9) d'être exclues de la main-d'œuvre active et, par conséquent, de ne pas avoir cotisé à l'assurance-chômage.

IV. CE QUE COÛTE À L'ÉCONOMIE LE DÉCROCHAGE DES ENFANTS PAUVRES

Nous venons d'évaluer l'effet à vie que les différents degrés de scolarité risquent d'avoir sur le revenu, l'emploi, les contributions aux recettes gouvernementales et le versement de certaines prestations de sécurité du revenu. Ces évaluations concernaient l'effet sur les particuliers et ne tenaient pas compte de la pauvreté. On nous a demandé d'aller un peu plus loin et d'évaluer la proportion de recettes et de revenus perdus, ainsi que l'accroissement des coûts publics attribuables au décrochage dû à la pauvreté, puis de calculer les coûts totaux de ce décrochage et de l'évaluer jusqu'à l'an 2010. Cette projection se justifie, parce que les coûts d'une faible scolarité sont cumulatifs et durent toute la vie. Lorsqu'une personne a décroché, son avenir au sein de la main-d'œuvre et ses revenus futurs sont assez prévisibles.

On sait qu'extrapoler vingt ans à l'avance pose des problèmes. De nombreuses modifications peuvent survenir qu'on ne peut prévoir actuellement et qui invalideront les estimations. On doit donc ici s'attarder moins à la valeur absolue des chiffres qu'aux valeurs relatives associées aux différents degrés de scolarité. Cela signifie, par exemple, que l'évaluation des revenus à vie d'un scolarisé moyen sera moins fiable que la *différence* entre un revenu moyen et le revenu d'un décrocheur. Par conséquent, en interprétant ce qui suit, on doit mettre l'accent sur la grandeur relative et non absolue des estimations. La première étape de cet exercice de projection et d'estimation consiste à évaluer la proportion des effets économiques du décrochage scolaire provoqué uniquement par la pauvreté. La deuxième étape

TABLEAU 10
ÉVALUATION DES COTISATIONS ET IMPÔTS À VIE INDIVIDUELS VERSÉS
ENTRE 25 ET 65 ANS, PAR DEGRÉ DE SCOLARITÉ ET SEXE, DOLLARS 1990

Scolarité	0-8 ans		12 ans		Diplôme	
	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes	Hommes	Femmes
Impôt sur le revenu fédéral	133 000	447 000	220 000	195 000	26 000	195 000
Taxes fédérales à la consommation	56 000	93 000	66 000	48 000	20 000	48 000
Impôt sur le revenu provincial	92 000	281 000	134 000	134 000	18 000	134 000
Taxes prov. à la consommation	56 000	91 000	64 000	48 000	19 000	48 000
Cotisations à l'AC	14 000	22 000	19 000	22 000	4 000	17 000
Total	\$ 359 000	\$ 883 000	\$ 489 000	\$ 815 000	\$ 68 000	\$ 683 000

Source : Voir le tableau 9.

L'homme moyen comptant moins de neuf années de scolarité versera environ 14 000 \$ au régime d'assurance-chômage sur une période de 40 ans de travail, contre 22 000 \$ pour un diplômé universitaire. Pour une décrocheuse, la cotisation à vie à l'AC s'établit à 4 000 \$ contre plus de quatre fois cette somme pour une diplômée universitaire (17 000 \$).

c) L'ACCROISSEMENT DES PRESTATIONS DE LA SÉCURITÉ DU REVENU

Les personnes qui ont moins de neuf années de scolarité recevront davantage d'argent de l'aide sociale et de l'assurance-chômage au cours de leurs quarante années de vie active. Le tableau 11 montre que chez les hommes comme chez les femmes, les décrocheurs recevront au delà de trois fois plus de prestations d'aide sociale que les diplômés universitaires. En fait, une scolarité de 12 années réduit sensiblement la dépendance de l'aide sociale.

main-d'œuvre. Comme pour les données sur le revenu à vie, le degré de scolarité produit des différences plus importantes chez les femmes que chez les hommes. Cela est principalement attribuable au fait que les décrocheuses risquent plus que leurs homologues masculins d'être exclues complètement de la main-d'œuvre. Une décrocheuse passe en moyenne 23,2 (58,0 p. 100) de ses 40 années de travail à l'extérieur de la main-d'œuvre active, tandis qu'un décrocheur type n'en passe que 6,6 années (16,5 p. 100). Entre 25 et 65 ans, les femmes qui ont un diplôme universitaire travailleront 2,1 fois plus d'années que les décrocheuses. Chez les hommes, le coefficient de différence n'est que de 1,3 fois. Mais les hommes comme les femmes qui comptent moins de neuf années de scolarité passeront beaucoup plus de temps au chômage ou à l'extérieur de la main-d'œuvre active que les personnes qui comptent 12 années de scolarité ou sont diplômées d'université.

Il importe de souligner que le fait d'être hors de la main-d'œuvre active ne signifie pas que les personnes ne sont pas productives d'une autre façon, par exemple en élevant des enfants ou en travaillant comme bénévoles au sein de la collectivité. Cela signifie simplement que leur contribution monétaire directe à la production économique, mesurée par le produit intérieur brut (PIB), est égale à zéro.

b) LA DIMINUTION DES RECETTES PUBLIQUES

Le tableau 10 montre que les décrocheurs contribuent au trésor public dans une moindre mesure que ceux qui possèdent un degré de scolarité plus élevé, et la différence est davantage marquée chez les femmes. L'homme moyen comptant moins de neuf années de scolarité versera en impôts fédéraux et provinciaux moins du tiers du montant que verse le diplômé universitaire moyen. Chez les femmes, la différence est beaucoup plus marquée, parce que la femme moyenne comptant moins de neuf années de scolarité passe plus de temps sans emploi que sa contrepartie masculine. Les impôts fédéraux et provinciaux ne représentent qu'un peu plus de 10 p. 100 de la somme versée par la diplômée universitaire. La situation est quelque peu différente pour l'imposition plus régressive que constituent les taxes à la consommation (taxes d'accise et taxes de vente qui, proportionnellement, touchent davantage le pauvre que le riche). Le décrocheur moyen versera environ 60 p. 100 du montant d'un diplôme universitaire, et une décrocheuse environ 40 p. 100 du montant d'une diplômée.

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Source : Les calculs sont fondés sur la banque de données de simulation de politique sociale (modèle de Statistique Canada, BSSP/M). Cependant, les auteurs sont responsables de l'analyse. La BSSP/M est fondée sur la bande de microdonnées de l'Enquête sur les finances des consommateurs de 1986, l'Enquête sur les finances familiales de 1986 et les statistiques de Revenu Canada, Impôt de 1986. Les valeurs ont été rajustées pour les données non signalées et sont présentées en dollars 1990. Le fardeau fiscal est évalué en fonction du régime de l'impôt sur le revenu et de l'impôt à la consommation en vigueur en 1990. Les données sur le revenu à vie traduisent également la valeur économique de la productivité du travailleur (production) dans une économie de marché. La science économique traditionnelle soutient que les gains des travailleurs sont étroitement reliés à leur contribution à la production économique.²⁷ Par conséquent, les chiffres du tableau 9 peuvent représenter *grossso modo* la contribution monétaire à la production économique du pays, tout en traduisant les différences de productivité selon les degrés de scolarité.²⁸

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Scolarité		0-8 ans		12 ans		Diplôme	
		Hommes		Femmes			
Revenu	Années d'emploi	100 000 \$	27,6	400 000 \$	24,0	1 400 000 \$	29,6
	Années de chômage	5,8			2,8		1,9
	Années exclues de la main-d'oeuvre	6,6			13,8		8,4
Revenu	Années d'emploi	1 500 000 \$	33,6	700 000 \$	24,0	1 400 000 \$	29,6
	Années de chômage	2,7			2,3		1,9
	Années exclues de la main-d'oeuvre	3,6			13,8		8,4

faible dans les grandes villes, il demeure qu'un peu plus de la moitié (50,9 p. 100) de tous les décrocheurs habitent les grandes villes. En outre, le taux de décrochage dans les familles qui comptent moins de 49 semaines d'emploi n'est pas beaucoup plus élevé que dans les familles qui ont un emploi à l'année, mais plus des deux tiers (67,2 p. 100) des décrocheurs proviennent de familles comptant moins de 49 semaines d'emploi. Le taux de décrochage dans les familles pauvres où le chef n'a qu'une instruction primaire dépasse de beaucoup celui des familles où le chef a davantage d'années de scolarité, mais près de la moitié des décrocheurs sont issus de ces familles plus scolarisées.

En chiffres absolus, les décrocheurs pauvres viennent en majeure partie des régions urbaines; ils vivent dans des familles qui accumulent moins de 49 semaines d'emploi par année, et lorsqu'ils habitent avec un couple adulte (dont au moins un est un parent), la scolarité du conjoint se limite à l'instruction primaire. En fait, l'éducation du conjoint chez les familles pauvres (qui traditionnellement, dans ces enquêtes, sera le plus souvent inscrit comme l'épouse) semble avoir une association plus forte avec le décrochage. Cette association prédomine (mais de façon moins marquée) dans les familles non pauvres.

Les résultats doivent être nuancés en ce qui concerne les familles monoparentales dont le chef est une femme. Le taux de décrochage (14,8 p. 100) dans ces familles pauvres est inférieur à la moyenne de toutes les familles pauvres. En outre, les familles monoparentales dirigées par une femme ne constituent que 8,3 p. 100 de toutes les familles canadiennes, mais elles fournissent plus du tiers (34,3 p. 100) de tous les décrocheurs pauvres. La raison pour laquelle ce taux relativement petit de décrochage et cette faible proportion de population produisent un nombre élevé de décrocheurs tient au fait que pendant les années 1980, environ 30 p. 100 de toutes les familles pauvres étaient dirigées par une mère monoparentale. Par conséquent, bien que ces familles ne constituent pas une forte proportion du total des familles canadiennes, elles sont largement surreprésentées chez les familles pauvres, et les familles pauvres de tous genres affichent des taux de décrochage plus élevés.

Il faut rappeler que ces données sur l'étendue et la composition des décrocheurs scolaires ne concernent que les jeunes de 16 ou 17 ans vivant toujours à la maison. À partir des données de recensement présentées plus haut, on a évalué que le taux de décrochage de tous les enfants d'âge scolaire est d'environ 27 p. 100. Par conséquent, le taux de décrochage chez les jeunes de 18, 19 et 20 ans doit être beaucoup plus élevé qu'il ne l'est chez les 16, 17 ans; mais il est impossible d'établir avec exactitude la composition de ces décrocheurs plus âgés. Devant l'absence de renseignements complémentaires ou de preuves et de données indiquant le contraire, on doit supposer que le profil de tous les décrocheurs ressemblerait plus ou moins à celui des jeunes de 16 et 17 ans.

III. QUELQUES CONSÉQUENCES ÉCONOMIQUES DU DÉCROCHAGE

La présente partie examine certains coûts directs du décrochage scolaire : baisse des revenus à vie et de la productivité; diminution des impôts et des cotisations; accroissement des prestations versées en vertu de certains programmes de sécurité de revenu.

TABLEAU 8
Taux de décrochage scolaire des jeunes âgés de 16 et 17 ans
issus de familles pauvres et non pauvres — résultats
regroupés pour 1982, 1984, 1986 et 1987

Caractéristique	Pauvre		Non pauvre	
	Taux	Répartition	Taux	Répartition
Canada	16,0	100	8,5	100
Taille de la communauté 100 000 habitants ou plus	15,2	50,9	7,5	48,6
Autres régions urbaines	18,1	33,2	9,5	32,8
Région urbaine	15,5	15,8	9,7	18,6
Nbre de semaines travaillées* 0 — 48 semaines	17,6	67,2	14,3	16,7
49 semaines et plus	13,5	32,8	7,8	83,3
Genre de famille Couple/enfants	14,9	46,2	7,6	74,0
Femme/monoparentale	14,8	34,3	11,5	10,3
Autre	23,2	19,4	12,9	15,7
Scolarité du chef de famille 0 — 8 ans	21,5	50,7	15,0	42,8
Plus de 8 ans	12,8	49,3	6,4	57,2
Scolarité du conjoint 0 — 8 ans	23,9	64,7	15,4	37,8
Plus de 8 ans	9,3	35,3	6,1	62,2
Aide sociale** Oui	21,3	44,8	19,5	4,1
Non	13,3	55,2	8,3	95,9

* Total de semaines travaillées par un des adultes de la famille ou les deux.

** Lorsque la famille a reçu plus de la moitié de son revenu de l'aide sociale au cours de l'année.

Les familles pauvres ne constituent que 13 p. 100 des familles canadiennes avec enfants, mais elles produisent 23 p. 100 plus de décrocheurs âgés de 16 ou 17 ans. Le tableau 8 présente certaines des caractéristiques des familles de décrocheurs. Le *taux* de décrochage des enfants issus de familles pauvres (16,0 p. 100) est pratiquement le double de celui des enfants issus de familles non pauvres (8,5 p. 100). Deux caractéristiques sont associées au taux de décrochage particulièrement élevé chez les familles pauvres : le faible degré de scolarisation du chef de famille (21,5 p. 100) ou du conjoint (23,9 p. 100); et les revenus de la famille tirés de l'aide sociale (21,3 p. 100). Ces caractéristiques sont également associées au taux de décrochage plus élevé chez les familles non pauvres.

Pour ce qui est de la *répartition* de tous les décrocheurs pauvres du groupe d'âge 16/17 ans, le profil est quelque peu différent. Par exemple, même si le taux de décrochage des enfants pauvres est le plus

Toutefois, un certain nombre de décrocheurs terminent leurs études secondaires plus tard. Selon deux enquêtes ontariennes, le pourcentage en serait de 14 à 18 p. 100.²⁵ Par conséquent, en calculant le coût de la pauvreté et du décrochage, nous avons appliqué un rajustement de 15 p. 100 pour tenir compte de ce «rattrapage» ultérieur. Ainsi, le taux national rajusté de décrochage s'établit à 23 p. 100.

Malheureusement, les données de recensement ne mettent pas en rapport le revenu familial et le décrochage. On ignore donc dans quelle proportion les décrocheurs scolaires proviennent de familles pauvres. Cependant, à l'aide d'une autre source de données, il est possible d'évaluer la probabilité de décrocheurs pauvres et non pauvres parmi les Canadiens de 16 et 17 ans vivant à la maison avec leur famille. Il en ressort qu'environ 45 p. 100 des enfants de familles pauvres risquent de décrocher au moment des études secondaires.

b) LE NOMBRE ET LA COMPOSITION DE DÉCROCHEURS ISSUS DE FAMILLES PAUVRES

Comme nous l'avons mentionné, les données nationales sur le décrochage qui identifient les caractéristiques familiales des décrocheurs sont limitées. La meilleure source semble être l'enquête annuelle de Statistique Canada sur les finances des consommateurs.²⁶ Bien que cette enquête ne pose pas de questions directes sur la présence à l'école de tous les enfants d'âge scolaire, elle permet de déterminer le nombre de jeunes de 16 et de 17 ans vivant avec leurs familles et qui ne fréquentent pas l'école. L'enquête ne révèle pas le nombre d'enfants de 16 et 17 ans qui n'habitent pas avec leur famille et qui ont décroché; elle ne donne pas non plus de renseignements sur la scolarité des jeunes de 18 et 19 ans. Bien que l'enquête n'offre pas une évaluation exacte du nombre de décrocheurs au Canada (en chiffres absolus), elle permet tout de même d'établir une comparaison relativement fiable du taux de décrochage chez les familles pauvres et chez les non-pauvres. Le regroupement des résultats des enquêtes annuelles sur une période de quatre ans (1982, 1984, 1986 et 1987) permet d'obtenir certains détails sur les caractéristiques des familles pauvres des décrocheurs scolaires de 16 et 17 ans.

hospitalier sera de deux à huit fois plus long pour ces bébés. Les frais de ces séjours varient selon le poids à la naissance; ils sont de l'ordre de 9 500 \$ à 60 000 \$, comparativement à 5 500 \$ pour un bébé de poids normal.²¹

ii) **Le rattrapage et l'éducation spéciale** — Bien qu'on ne puisse fournir d'estimations précises, la pauvreté occasionne des coûts supplémentaire d'éducation pour ces enfants qui, selon les faits établis, présentent des retards de développement, des handicaps d'apprentissage, de la paralysie cérébrale et des troubles émotifs et comportementaux. Ces coûts supplémentaires prennent la forme d'écoles spéciales dans certains secteurs; de salles de classe dotées d'équipements spéciaux; de frais de transport; d'enseignants ayant reçu une formation particulière; de conseillers et psychologues; de classes réduites, avec un rapport maître-élèves plus élevé.

iii) **Les autres soins dispensés aux enfants** — Il existe d'autres coûts importants non reliés directement à la santé ou à l'éducation. En 1986, on comptait 49 000 enfants pris en charge par le système d'aide sociale au pays. Une série d'enquêtes locales a établi que, selon la localité, ces enfants venaient de familles pauvres dans une proportion de 54 à 75 p. 100.²² La situation est encore pire pour les enfants autochtones, car ils représentent 20 p. 100 de tous les enfants recevant des soins particuliers au Canada, bien qu'ils ne comptent que pour 2 p. 100 de la population enfantine canadienne.

La pauvreté accroît grandement la probabilité que des enfants aient besoin de soins particuliers coûteux. Au cours de l'exercice financier 1988-1989, le Programme d'assistance sociale a consacré 800 millions de dollars à des soins particuliers pour les enfants, soit environ 16 000 \$ par enfant par année.²³ Ces chiffres comprennent les frais directs des soins nourriciers, des foyers pour groupes et des centres de traitement en résidence, mais ils excluent les frais d'administration des soins particuliers.

f) CONCLUSION

Ce que nous avons fait ressortir ici ne représente qu'une partie des coûts associés à la pauvreté chez les enfants. Le fardeau économique le plus considérable, le plus constant et le plus difficile à réduire pour la société ne s'impose pas pendant l'enfance des enfants pauvres, mais lorsque ceux-ci deviennent adultes. Un des coûts les plus importants alors vient de la faible scolarité imputable au taux élevé de décrochage scolaire des enfants pauvres.

II. L'ENFANCE PAUVRE ET LE DÉCROCHAGE SCOLAIRE

Nous donnerons ici une évaluation de l'étendue du décrochage scolaire, en montrant ses liens avec la pauvreté et brossant un tableau de la composition des familles de décrocheurs pauvres.

a) L'AMPLEUR DU DÉCROCHAGE AU CANADA

Il n'a pas été possible de trouver des données statistiques à l'échelle nationale sur les décrocheurs. Cependant, on peut évaluer leur nombre en utilisant les données sur l'âge et l'éducation fournies par le recensement de 1986. La méthode utilisée consistait à examiner le groupe d'âge des 20-24 ans au Canada et à calculer le pourcentage parmi eux de ceux qui n'avaient pas terminé leurs études secondaires. Il s'élevait à 27,1 p. 100. Nous nous sommes donc servis de ce chiffre comme taux national de décrochage non rajusté. Cette proportion est d'ailleurs très proche de celle qu'ont donnée des études spéciales menées sur le décrochage en Ontario.²⁴

Même si l'on ne connaît pas d'études qui mettent en rapport direct le poids réduit à la naissance et le décrochage scolaire, les preuves présentées ci-dessus laissent fortement croire que les écoliers qui ont des problèmes de santé mentale et physique ainsi que des retards de développement, un QI plus bas et des handicaps d'apprentissage risquent de trouver leur expérience scolaire plus difficile, plus frustrante et moins enrichissante que les autres. Il est établi que les enfants en moins bonne santé sont plus souvent absents de l'école et risquent davantage d'accuser un retard. De plus, le manque régulier de nourriture saine et équilibrée prédispose mal l'enfant à être attentif en classe. Par conséquent, la tendance à quitter ce milieu inconfortable sera forte, d'autant plus que le manque d'argent pose des contraintes embarrassantes pour la participation aux activités scolaires.

Une grande enquête menée par le gouvernement de l'Ontario en 1983, auprès de 3 000 enfants d'âge scolaire, a fait nettement ressortir les rapports entre pauvreté et divers problèmes de comportement et de santé.¹⁹ Certains de ces problèmes sont en relation directe avec le rendement scolaire. Le tableau 7 résume les principaux résultats de l'enquête.

Il y est démontré notamment que les enfants pauvres ont plus de problèmes de santé et de comportement (ils fument davantage, par exemple, ce qui mine leur santé). Presque le tiers (29,7 p 100) des enfants pauvres ont des mauvais résultats scolaires ou des problèmes chroniques de santé (30,1 p. 100). Ces résultats tendent à corroborer des études et hypothèses antérieures voulant que les enfants de familles pauvres aient moins de chance de bien s'adapter et de réussir à l'école et, par conséquent, qu'ils soient davantage tentés de décrocher.

TABLEAU 7

RÉSULTATS DE L'ÉTUDE MENÉE EN ONTARIO SUR LA SANTÉ DES ENFANTS, 1983 : POURCENTAGE D'ENFANTS PAUVRES ET NON PAUVRES ÂGÉS DE 6 À 16 ANS, AYANT DIFFÉRENTS PROBLÈMES DE SANTÉ ET PROBLÈMES CONNEXES

Caractéristique	Condition du revenu familial	
	Pauvre	Non pauvre
Troubles émotifs	11,2	5,2
Hyperactivité	13,2	5,3
Troubles de comportement	16,9	4,8
Fumeur régulier	25,6	11,6
Faible rendement scolaire	29,7	13,3
Problèmes chroniques de santé	30,1	17,6

Source : Dan Offord, Mike Boyle et Yvonne Racine, *Ontario Child Health Study: Children at Risk*, juillet 1989; de même que le témoignage du docteur Offord au comité du Sénat, le 20 mars 1990.

e) CERTAINS COÛTS DE LA PAUVRETÉ PENDANT L'ENFANCE

La pauvreté chez les enfants impose à la société des coûts dans au moins trois secteurs durant l'enfance même.

i) **Les coûts de santé directs** — Les frais médicaux et hospitaliers sont plus importants pour les nouveau-nés de faible poids. Au Québec (1984-1985), on a évalué que le séjour type en établissement

émotionnellement désavantagée. Les enfants en mauvaise santé ne seront pas capables d'obtenir les mêmes résultats scolaires que les enfants en bonne santé.

Le lien entre la pauvreté et la santé de l'enfant pauvre est bien établi.⁹ En 1986, le taux de mortalité générale des moins de 20 ans au Canada était de 56 p. 100 plus élevé chez les enfants de familles pauvres que chez ceux de familles à revenu plus élevé. La mortalité infantile (première année de vie), au cours de la même année, était deux fois supérieure chez les pauvres.

Selon une étude nationale sur les handicaps des enfants (0 à 14 ans) vivant à la maison, les enfants pauvres étaient deux fois plus souvent frappés d'incapacité, mentale ou physique, que les enfants de familles à revenu élevé.¹⁰ Dans le cas des handicaps sérieux seulement, le taux était 2,7 fois plus élevé chez les familles pauvres. Les chercheurs de Statistique Canada en ont conclu que le nombre d'enfants handicapés au Canada (vivant à la maison) pourrait être réduit d'environ 89 000 si la faiblesse du revenu n'était pas en cause.¹¹

Les experts de la santé s'entendent pour affirmer que la cause principale de l'invalidité infantile est la faiblesse du poids à la naissance (moins de 2 500 g ou 5,5 lb) qui peut provoquer un certain nombre de problèmes de santé, notamment des handicaps dans le neuro-développement, des anomalies de naissance, des problèmes des voies respiratoires. Dans une étude nationale utilisant les données sur le revenu et les naissances en 1986, Statistique Canada a conclu que dans un contexte où les bébés de faible poids représentaient environ 6 p. 100 de toutes les naissances, ce pourcentage variait de 5 p. 100 dans les familles mieux nanties à 7 p. 100 dans les familles les plus pauvres.¹² On a évalué que le seul facteur de la faiblesse du revenu avait contribué à la naissance d'environ 2 900 bébés de poids insuffisant en 1986.

Des études locales ont aussi fait la preuve du lien entre pauvreté et faible poids à la naissance. À Montréal, une étude comparative des bébés nés avec un poids réduit et dont les mères provenaient d'un échantillon varié de quartiers a révélé des taux de poids réduits deux fois plus élevés dans les milieux défavorisés que dans les milieux à revenu plus élevé.¹³ Toujours au Québec, on a établi un lien étroit entre la faible scolarité de la mère et le poids réduit à la naissance. Il y a de fortes preuves statistiques reliant la faible scolarité au faible revenu. En 1985, chez les mères comptant moins de neuf années de scolarité, on constatait deux fois plus de bébés nés avec un poids réduit que chez les mères ayant une éducation de niveau universitaire.¹⁴

Chez les bébés de faible poids, il y a 40 fois plus de risques de mortalité néonatale (28 jours après la naissance) et cinq fois plus de risques de mortalité infantile (au cours de la première année).¹⁵ Les anomalies congénitales se retrouvent deux fois plus souvent chez les bébés nés avec un poids réduit et les handicaps liés au neuro-développement y sont trois fois plus fréquents.¹⁶ Le poids réduit à la naissance risque davantage de conduire à un QI plus bas, à des handicaps d'apprentissage, à des retards de développement et à la paralysie cérébrale.¹⁷

Le lien entre pauvreté, mauvaise nutrition et poids léger à la naissance a aussi été bien établi par une analyse menée à Montréal. À l'occasion d'une étude contrôlée des mères à faible revenu qui ont reçu des conseils de santé et de nutrition à une clinique de Montréal, on a montré qu'une meilleure alimentation donnée à leur deuxième enfant par les 500 mêmes mères a diminué de 50 p. 100 le nombre de bébés malades.¹⁸

De plus, comme l'indique le tableau 6, certaines familles travailleuses pauvres commencent la journée avec un déficit de 1,92 \$ par personne. De toute évidence, ces familles n'ont même pas le strict minimum. C'est la dépense alimentaire qui risque alors le plus d'être réduite, et les enfants se retrouvent mal nourris. En Nouvelle-Écosse, le Conseil de la nutrition estimait en 1988 qu'une famille de quatre avait besoin de 423,76 \$ par mois pour la nourriture seulement, mais à Truro, une famille dépendant de l'aide sociale ne recevait en tout que 270 \$ pour la nourriture et les vêtements.⁹

Le manque à gagner pousse de nombreuses familles vers les banques alimentaires. Une enquête menée en 1989 sur les banques alimentaires de Winnipeg a révélé que sur les 4 800 personnes qui les fréquentent en une semaine, 40 p. 100 étaient des enfants de moins de 12 ans.⁷ En outre, un comité parlementaire provincial qui a étudié les banques alimentaires en Ontario a découvert que cette province en comptait 50, lesquelles nourrissaient 200 000 personnes par mois, dont 45 p. 100 d'enfants.⁸ Dans ces milieux à faible revenu, il n'est pas surprenant de constater que les enfants sont en moins bonne santé, comme on le verra plus loin.

Le manque d'argent ne laisse aux enfants pauvres aucun choix ni possibilité quelconque. N'ayant pas les moyens de s'offrir des loisirs, des voyages, des sports, des vêtements, des soins personnels et même de la lecture, les enfants pauvres peuvent difficilement acquérir une bonne estime de soi, se sentir compétents, confiants, fiers et égaux face à leurs pairs. Ils ont peu de possibilités de loisirs ou de passe-temps qui puissent contribuer à un bon développement personnel. Devant la tristesse de cette vie, les enfants pauvres deviennent méfiant, et pratiquement tous, sauf les plus exceptionnels, souffrent d'un manque de sécurité. Ayant manqué de sécurité enfants, ils en manquent aussi une fois adultes.

Dans ce dénuement, il n'est pas surprenant de constater que le taux de décrochage scolaire est presque le double pour les enfants pauvres par rapport aux autres. Les familles pauvres peuvent rarement se payer le luxe d'une éducation publique qui devient de plus en plus chère, et les enfants pauvres sont constamment humiliés et rejetés parce qu'ils ne peuvent participer à des activités qui font de plus en plus partie de l'éducation publique. Ils butent toujours sur leur état de pauvreté. Se sentant coincés, ils peuvent devenir agressifs face à une situation qui les réduit à l'impuissance.

Au départ, les enfants pauvres pourront tenter de s'intégrer aux autres étudiants, mais avec le temps, ils se laisseront d'expliquer pourquoi ils ne peuvent participer aux mêmes activités que les autres. Peu à peu, ils se marginalisent, s'isolent et choisissent leurs amis parmi les autres enfants désavantagés avec qui ils se sentent plus à l'aise, moins sur la défensive. Cependant, ce groupe désavantagé mène un mode de vie différent, a moins d'expériences enrichissantes à partager, élabore une vision étroite de la vie et se fixe des attentes plus limitées et qui lui semblent plus réalistes. Chez ce groupe d'enfants pauvres, le désespoir se renforce et se propage. Bref, les enfants pauvres n'entretiennent plus les mêmes aspirations que les autres enfants, parce qu'ils s'aperçoivent de leurs handicaps et de leurs limites dans une société où les biens matériels comptent tant.

d) PAUVRETE, MAUVAISE SANTE ET ECHEC SCOLAIRE

REVENU QUOTIDIEN MINIMUM ET DÉPENSES ESSENTIELLES PAR PERSONNE DANS LES FAMILLES PAVRES DE QUATRE PERSONNES, 1990

TABLEAU 6

DÉPENSES QUOTIDIENNES						
Type	REVENU QUOTIDIEN	Loyer et services publics	Aliments	Vêtements	Dépenses du ménage et dépenses personnelles	SOLDE QUOTIDIEN
Pauvre moyen	11,35\$	4,61	3,92	0,85	0,64	+1,33
Aide sociale	11,15	4,61	3,92	0,85	0,64	+1,13
Salaire minimum	8,10	4,61	3,92	0,85	0,64	-1,92

Ces dépenses quotidiennes sont celles qui sont prescrites par le Département des services sociaux de la ville de Winnipeg pour les familles ayant droit à l'aide sociale.

Les dépenses présentées au tableau 6 constituent le minimum nécessaire pour maintenir un simple fonctionnement physique. Ce budget ne prévoit pas de superflus. Par exemple, les soins personnels ne comprennent que des articles comme les produits de rasage et les brosses à dent. L'entretien ménager ne tient pas compte des meubles, mais seulement des articles d'entretien comme le savon et les produits de nettoyage. Rien n'est prévu pour le téléphone, la radio, les transports, les journaux, les médicaments prescrits, les soins dentaires, les coûts de l'enseignement public ou l'assurance-incendie, ce que la plupart des Canadiens considéreraient comme des nécessités de base.

Le tableau 6 révèle à l'évidence qu'avec un solde quotidien de 1,33 \$ par personne, une fois payés les frais nécessaires à la survie physique, le mode de vie de l'enfant pauvre moyen est sérieusement limité. Aucune marge de dépenses n'est permise. Que peut-on faire avec 1,33 \$ quand les transports publics dans les villes canadiennes coûtent plus de 1 \$, un film 4 \$, l'accès à la piscine 1,25 \$ (ce qui pourrait expliquer pourquoi le taux de noyade chez les enfants pauvres est trois fois plus élevé que chez les enfants non pauvres)?, les leçons de musique 10 \$ par séance, une visite au musée 1,50 \$, un concert rock 15 \$ et une revue de loisirs 2 \$?

On voit qu'une allocation de 1,33 \$ par jour ne peut assurer une quelconque forme de loisirs ou de stimulation à un enfant en croissance. Il en coûte au minimum 25 \$ pour des chaussures de gymnastique, 50 \$ pour des patins, 5 \$ pour un cadeau d'anniversaire à un membre de la famille, 5 \$ pour une danse à l'école, 55 \$ pour une bicyclette d'occasion, 5 \$ pour une excursion scolaire à une ferme environnementale, 10 \$ pour un chandail supplémentaire, 75 \$ pour des lunettes prescrites et 60 \$ pour une obturation dentaire.

Il est en outre fort peu probable que les enfants pauvres puissent bénéficier de l'allocation maximale de 1,33 \$ par jour que nous avons calculée. On peut présumer que les parents ont déjà entamé cette allocation pour payer d'autres nécessités comme les aliments, les meubles, les médicaments, l'assurance de l'appartement, le téléphone, les fournitures scolaires, les cadeaux de Noël et le transport.

pauvre moyenne, la famille vivant de l'aide sociale et la famille dépendant d'un travailleur au salaire minimum. Les montants présentés au tableau 5 tiennent compte des prestations fédérales versées sous forme de crédit d'impôt pour enfants à charge, d'allocations familiales et de crédit remboursable sur les taxes de vente.

TABLEAU 5
MONTANT QUOTIDIEN DE REVENU DISPONIBLE PAR PERSONNE DANS LES
FAMILLES PAUVRES AVANT ET APRÈS LES FRAIS DE LOGEMENT,
SELON LE GENRE DE FAMILLE, 1990

Genre	Un adulte, deux enfants		Deux adultes, deux enfants	
	Total*	après logement**	Total*	après logement**
Pauvre moyen***	14,80	10,40	11,35	8,10
Aide sociale	13,10	8,70	11,15	7,85
Salaire minimum	10,65	6,30	8,10	4,80

* Le montant total de revenu doit être rajusté légèrement à la hausse dans quelques provinces en raison des prestations provinciales pour enfant, et à la baisse pour les familles pauvres moyennes et au salaire minimum en raison du paiement des impôts sur le revenu. Ces rajustements ne modifieront pas radicalement les montants quotidiens présentés.

** Un montant de 400 \$ par mois est estimé pour le coût moyen du logement.

*** Il s'agit d'une famille ayant un écart de pauvreté moyen selon le tableau 2. Le revenu de cette famille provient d'un revenu d'emploi et des transferts de gouvernement (y compris l'aide sociale).

Comme l'indique le tableau 5, selon le genre de pauvreté, une famille de quatre aura comme revenu «discrétionnaire» de 4,80 \$ à 8,10 \$ par jour par personne, une fois le logement payé (les familles pauvres moyennes et à salaire minimum devront également payer certains impôts sur le revenu). Agriculture Canada évalue le coût hebdomadaire d'un panier d'aliments nutritifs bon marché (sans gâteries) à 109,88 \$ en 1990, pour une famille de quatre, et à 78,39 \$ pour une famille de trois dirigée par une femme.⁴ Ces montants, une fois étalés, représentent des dépenses quotidiennes de 3,92 \$ et 3,73 \$ par personne, respectivement pour une famille de quatre et de trois. Cela signifie que les familles de quatre inscrites au tableau 5 ne disposent plus alors que de 0,88 \$ à 4,18 \$ par personne par jour, selon la source de revenu de la famille.

Mais il y a d'autres dépenses essentielles que les familles doivent faire. Pour ne pas étendre inutilement, nous nous concentrerons sur la famille plus représentative de deux adultes, puisque ce genre de famille a à sa charge 57 p. 100 de tous les enfants pauvres au Canada.

TABLEAU 4
COMPARAISON DU REVENU TIRÉ DU SALAIRE MINIMUM
AVEC LE SEUIL DE PAUVRETÉ POUR UN PARENT
AVEC UN ENFANT, 1990

Juridiction	Salaire minimum	Revenu annuel tiré du salaire minimum	Seuil de pauvreté	Revenu exprimé en % du seuil de pauvreté
Fédéral	4,00	7 904	19 200	41,2
Terre-Neuve	4,25	8 398	16 900	49,7
Î.-du-P.-É.	4,50	8 892	15 000	59,3
Nouvelle-Écosse	4,50	8 892	16 900	52,6
Nouveau-Brunswick	4,50	8 892	16 900	52,6
Québec	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5
Ontario	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5
Manitoba	4,70	9 287	19 200	48,4
Saskatchewan	4,75	9 386	16 900	55,5
Alberta	4,50	8 892	19 200	46,3
C.-B.	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5

Remarque : Salaire minimum en vigueur au 1^{er} avril 1990. Le revenu tiré du salaire minimum est fondé sur une semaine de travail de 38 heures et sur 52 semaines de travail. Le seuil de pauvreté correspond au seuil de faible revenu évalué par Statistique Canada pour la plus grande ville de chaque province.

On a souvent argué que le niveau du salaire minimum n'est pas étroitement relié à la pauvreté, parce que les travailleurs au salaire minimum sont de jeunes personnes à charge (des étudiants) ou apportent un revenu d'appoint à la famille (conjoint) et peuvent donc compter sur le soutien des autres membres du ménage. On ne sait pas exactement le nombre de familles pauvres qui dépendent exclusivement du salaire minimum pour le revenu tiré d'un emploi. Cependant, le tableau 1 indique que 37,4 p. 100 de tous les enfants pauvres vivent dans des familles où l'un des parents, ou les deux, travaillent à longueurs d'année mais ont tout de même un revenu inférieur au seuil de pauvreté. On ne peut que supposer que la plupart de ces travailleurs adultes travaillent au salaire minimum ou à un salaire proche du salaire minimum.

En outre, une étude récente de Statistique Canada établit qu'en 1986, un million de travailleurs canadiens, soit 9 p. 100 de l'ensemble, ont gagné 4,00 \$ de l'heure ou moins. La probabilité que ces travailleurs (dont 61 p. 100 étaient des femmes) recourent à l'aide sociale durant l'année était cinq fois plus élevée que pour les travailleurs payés au-dessus du salaire minimum.³ Et comme l'aide sociale est accordée seulement à ceux qui sont dans la pauvreté (mesurée selon le revenu familial), les salariés au minimum qui apportent un revenu d'appoint à la famille ne sont pas admissibles. Par conséquent, dans l'ensemble de tous les travailleurs pauvres, il y en a un nombre disproportionné qui travaillent au salaire minimum sans bénéficier du revenu d'appoint d'autres membres de la famille.

c) LE LIEN ENTRE MILIEU PAUVRE ET ÉCHEC SCOLAIRE

Ces chiffres sur l'écart de pauvreté, l'aide sociale et le salaire minimum mettent en lumière le dénuement dont souffrent les enfants des familles pauvres. Ces données sont résumées au tableau 5 pour faire ressortir le revenu quotidien dont chaque personne dispose dans trois types de familles: la famille

provenant d'un emploi stable. Le tableau 2 montre que les familles de travailleurs pauvres (dont la source de revenu principal provient d'un salaire) ont des revenus moyens inférieurs de 4 605 \$ au seuil de pauvreté.

Le revenu tiré de l'aide sociale

Les prestations d'aide sociale varient grandement d'une province à l'autre, mais la prestation moyenne nationale d'aide sociale en 1990 s'élève à 11 881 \$ (990 \$ par mois) pour une mère seule avec deux enfants, et à 13 649 \$ (1 137 \$ par mois) pour une famille de deux adultes et deux enfants. Les données du tableau 3 comparent les prestations d'aide sociale au seuil de pauvreté.

TABLÉAU 3

REVENU ANNUEL DE L'AIDE SOCIALE EXPRIMÉ EN POURCENTAGE DU SEUIL DE PAUVRETÉ, 1990

Province	Un adulte, deux enfants	Deux adultes, deux enfants
Terre-Neuve	47,7	45,5
Ile-du-Prince-Édouard	68,0	66,9
Nouvelle-Écosse	57,4	57,8
Nouveau-Brunswick	42,5	38,5
Québec	42,2	44,1
Ontario	71,3	69,8
Manitoba	45,4	48,6
Saskatchewan	58,3	60,5
Alberta	48,2	49,0
Colombie-Britannique	48,1	46,8
Moyenne nationale	52,9	52,8

Remarque : Depuis que Statistique Canada adapte la valeur de son seuil de faible revenu à la taille de la collectivité, le seuil de la ville la plus importante de chaque province sert de seuil de pauvreté.

La pauvreté et le salaire minimum

Le tableau 4 présente les salaires minimum en vigueur et le revenu annuel qu'on peut en tirer par un travail à plein temps, en comparaison avec le seuil de pauvreté de Statistique Canada. Les résultats indiquent qu'un parent seul ayant la charge d'un enfant, travaillant à plein temps et à l'année au salaire minimum, gagne environ la moitié du revenu équivalant au seuil de pauvreté.

TABLEAU 2

ÉCART DE PAUVRETÉ MOYEN DES MÉNAGES, 1986

Caractéristique	Montant de l'écart
Canada	4 469\$
Province	
Terre-Neuve	4 151
Ile-du-Prince-Édouard	2 945
Nouvelle-Écosse	3 732
Nouveau-Brunswick	4 077
Québec	4 310
Ontario	4 532
Manitoba	5 076
Saskatchewan	5 132
Alberta	4 839
Colombie-Britannique	4 405
Genre de famille (sauf personnes âgées)	
Couple avec enfant	6 162
Couple sans enfant	4 349
Monoparentale (femme)	6 365
Monoparentale (homme)	5 698
Source de revenu (sauf personnes âgées)	
Principalement salaires	4 605
Principalement transferts	5 452

Source : Même que le tableau 1, page 53.

Les données indiquent que la situation géographique d'un enfant pauvre permet de déterminer le degré de pauvreté de sa famille. En moyenne au Canada, les familles pauvres ont des revenus inférieurs de 4 469 \$ au seuil de pauvreté; c'est-à-dire qu'elles reçoivent environ 3 75 \$ de moins par mois que le revenu équivalent au seuil de pauvreté. Cependant, cette somme varie considérablement selon la province de résidence de la famille : par exemple, l'écart de pauvreté est 1,7 fois plus élevé en Saskatchewan qu'à l'Ile-du-Prince-Édouard.

Le genre de famille de l'enfant pauvre permet aussi de déterminer le manque à gagner pour atteindre le seuil de pauvreté. Ainsi, une famille monoparentale composée d'une femme et d'un enfant se trouve dans un écart de pauvreté supérieur de 203 \$ à celui d'une famille de deux adultes et d'un enfant; et supérieur de 667 \$ à celui d'une famille monoparentale dont le chef est un homme. La mère de famille monoparentale reçoit un revenu familial inférieur d'environ 530 \$ par mois à celui équivalant au seuil de pauvreté.

Les enfants se retrouvent bien au-dessous du seuil de pauvreté (454 \$ par mois en deçà) quand leurs familles ne comportent pas de personne âgée, n'ont pas d'emploi stable et ne bénéficient comme principale source de revenu que des allocations de l'État (aide sociale, assurance-chômage, prestations d'invalidité, etc.). Les enfants qui vivent dans des familles où il n'y a pas de personne âgée et où l'un ou les deux parents ont des revenus à l'année ne sont pas à l'abri de la pauvreté. En fait, les familles de ces enfants vivent légèrement mieux (70 \$ de plus par mois) que les familles qui n'ont pas de revenu

TABLEAU 1
ENFANTS PAUVRES À CHARGE, 0-17 ANS
GENRE DE FAMILLE ET EMPLOI FAMILIAL, 1986

Caractéristique		Répartition en pourcentage
Nombre	%	
('000)		
<hr/>		
Total	1 121	100,0
<hr/>		
Genre de famille		
Couple avec enfants	641	57,2
Monoparentale (femme)	402	35,9
Monoparentale (homme)	24	2,1
Autres	53	4,8
<hr/>		
Emploi		
Toute l'année	419	37,4
Aucun, ou partie de l'année	702	62,6
<hr/>		

Source : David P. Ross et Richard Shillington, *Données de base sur la pauvreté, 1989*, CCSD, Ottawa, 1989, page 50.

La majorité des enfants pauvres vivent dans des familles biparentales (ou avec deux adultes). Cependant, les enfants qui sont à la charge de mères monoparentales sont surreprésentés parmi les pauvres. Les mères monoparentales forment moins de 10 p. 100 de toutes les familles canadiennes, mais ont la charge de 35,9 p. 100 de tous les enfants pauvres. En outre, la majorité des enfants pauvres vivent dans des familles où les adultes ne disposent pas d'un emploi à longue durée et comptent principalement sur les allocations de l'État, comme l'aide sociale, l'assurance-chômage et les prestations d'invalidité. Cependant, plus du tiers (37,4 p. 100) vivent dans des familles dont un ou deux parents ou adultes ont des revenus combinés tirés d'un emploi à l'année. Ces genres de familles sont couramment désignées comme les «travailleurs pauvres».

b) LA DÉGRADATION DU MILIEU AMBIANT

Même si les seuils de faible revenu sont bas, ils ne représentent pas le revenu dont disposent la plupart des familles pauvres pour survivre. Au Canada, en effet, la majorité des familles pauvres se situent bien en deçà du seuil de faible revenu.

L'écart de pauvreté

Les évaluations détaillées des «écarts de pauvreté» (la somme d'argent nécessaire pour porter le revenu du ménage au seuil de pauvreté) des différents genres de ménages, et selon les provinces, sont présentées au tableau 2. Elles révèlent des manques à gagner importants par rapport au seuil de faible revenu ou pauvreté.

I. LES RAISONS DE L'ÉCHEC SCOLAIRE DES ENFANTS PAUVRES

a) ENFANCE ET PAUVRETE AU CANADA

Il est important de définir, au départ, ce qu'on entend par «pauvreté» au Canada dans les années 1990. Dans les sociétés industrialisées, la pauvreté se définit le plus souvent en rapport avec le niveau de vie dominant. Ainsi, la pauvreté est une carence — c'est-à-dire la privation d'un nombre défini minimum de biens et de services habituellement accessibles à la famille moyenne. La dépossession absolue — c'est-à-dire des conditions de vie qui présentent un risque de mort — est inhabituelle au Canada, bien que le nombre croissant de banques alimentaires et d'abris et la nécessité d'établir des programmes de repas à l'école témoignent de situations qui menacent des vies. Par ailleurs, on trouve dans certaines réserves autochtones des conditions de pauvreté absolue.

La mesure de la pauvreté

La mesure de pauvreté la plus communément acceptée comme seuil de pauvreté national officiel au Canada est fondée sur l'ensemble des échelons de faible revenu utilisés par Statistique Canada pour évaluer chaque année le nombre de personnes vivant dans la pauvreté.¹ Bien que Statistique Canada évite soigneusement d'employer le mot «pauvreté», ses échelons de faible revenu sont conçus pour évaluer le niveau où le revenu serait si inférieur à celui d'une famille canadienne moyenne qu'on vivrait, en comparaison, dans la «gêne». Les valeurs des échelons de faible revenu des personnes vivant dans des grandes villes sont évalués comme suit en 1990:

une personne.....	14 000 \$
deux	19 200 \$
trois	24 200 \$
quatre	27 900 \$

et l'échelle continue jusqu'à une famille de sept personnes ou plus.

L'étendue de la pauvreté chez les enfants

Le nombre précis d'enfants pauvres varie selon le seuil de pauvreté utilisé, selon l'âge limite employé et selon la prise en compte ou non des enfants autochtones vivant dans les réserves. Utilisant ses seuils de bas revenu les plus récents (1986), Statistique Canada a évalué qu'en 1988, 913 000 enfants à charge de moins de 16 ans vivaient dans la pauvreté. Cependant, ce chiffre ne comprend pas les enfants autochtones habitant les réserves. En s'appuyant sur les données du recensement de 1986, on évalue à environ 40 000 le nombre d'enfants autochtones en situation de pauvreté dans les réserves.

Par conséquent, le nombre total d'enfants de moins de 16 ans vivant dans la pauvreté en 1990 s'établit à environ 953 000. Lorsqu'on ajoute les enfants pauvres de 16 et 17 ans vivant avec leur famille, le total dépasse le million. En examinant ces tendances, le taux de pauvreté chez les enfants en 1973, 1980 et 1988 a été relativement stable, pour s'établir à environ 16 p. 100, mais les chiffres absolus sont légèrement en hausse.

Le tableau 1 présente le genre de famille où les enfants pauvres vivent et la condition d'emploi de leurs parents (ou des adultes qui en ont la garde).

La présente étude ne plaira pas à tous ceux qui se soucient de la lutte contre la pauvreté chez les enfants. En ne s'adressant qu'aux intérêts économiques des Canadiens, elle limite sa visée. Elle donne l'impression que les conséquences économiques pour le pays de la pauvreté chez les enfants sont la seule préoccupation importante. Mais tel n'est pas l'objectif visé par les auteurs ou par le Comité du Sénat. Nombre de problèmes et de conséquences sociales et humaines de la pauvreté chez les enfants sont traités dans le rapport final du Comité du Sénat, dont la présente étude ne constitue qu'un document d'appoint.

Cette étude nous a permis de constater qu'il fallait accorder plus d'attention au «coût» que représente pour l'économie canadienne la pauvreté chez les enfants, associée aux échecs scolaires, en particulier dans le contexte du vieillissement de la population. Si certains Canadiens s'aperçoivent que leur avenir économique et leur retraite sont menacés par la pauvreté endémique chez les enfants, ils seront peut-être portés à réagir. Par ailleurs, pour les nombreux Canadiens déjà épris de justice sociale, la présente étude (mises à part peut-être les parties I et II) ne sera sans doute que lieu commun.

Les enfants pauvres imposent à la société un coût élevé et qui dure le temps d'une vie, car ils réussissent mal à l'école, décrochent le plus souvent avant d'avoir terminé leurs études secondaires et sont condamnés aux emplois intermittents à faible productivité. La partie I de l'étude décrit les raisons de ce phénomène. On en relève deux principales : un milieu démuní qui ne peut répondre à de nombreux besoins et conduit à l'aliénation, ce qui n'offre pas une ambiance propice à l'apprentissage; et un mauvais état de santé physique et mentale résultant de la pauvreté et qui rend l'apprentissage difficile.

La partie II brosse un tableau du nombre et des caractéristiques des décrocheurs issus de familles à faible revenu, en s'attachant particulièrement aux antécédents et aux conditions de vie de leurs familles (un «décrocheur» est quelqu'un qui n'a pas terminé ses études secondaires). La partie III explore les conséquences économiques pour la société des mauvais résultats scolaires : vie à revenu et à productivité plus faibles, recours accru aux programmes publics de sécurité du revenu et contributions réduites à l'impôt et aux cotisations. La partie IV présente une évaluation des coûts économiques que la société devra assumer d'ici à l'an 2010 si les conditions de pauvreté chez les enfants ne s'améliorent pas radicalement. La partie V enfin explore les pressions supplémentaires exercées sur la main-d'oeuvre en raison du vieillissement de la population canadienne.

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ANNEXE I

LA PAUVRETE CHEZ LES ENFANTS ET LES MAUVAIS RESULTATS SCOLAIRES : COUTS ECONOMIQUES ET CONSÉQUENCES POUR LA SOCIÉTÉ

Rapport soumis au Comité permanent du Sénat sur les affaires sociales,
les sciences et la technologie par

David P. Ross et
Richard Shillington

Ottawa, mai 1990

LISTE DES MÉMOIRES

- L'honorable Alan Redway
- M. Alan Moscovitch
- Assemblée des Premières nations
- Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse
- Ministère des services sociaux et communautaires de l'Ontario
- Conseil canadien de développement social
- Institut canadien de la santé infantile
- M. Irving Waller
- M. Dan Offord
- British Columbia Social Planning and Research Council
- Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants
- Fondation Laidlaw
- Dispensaire diététique de Montréal
- Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement
- Service à la famille Canada Institut Vanier de la famille
- Conseil consultatif canadien sur la situation de la femme
- Nova Scotia Nutrition Council
- Child Poverty Action Group
- Organisation nationale anti-pauvreté (lettre)
- Edmonton Working Women

Le mardi 10 avril 1990
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M^{me} Susan Pigot, présidente

M^{me} Brigitta Kitcher, coordonnateur de la politique

M. Marvyn Novick, coordonnateur de la politique

Child Poverty Action Group

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Conseil national de l'aide sociale

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M. Bryan Hayday, président, Ontario Social Assistance Reform Network

M. Richard Volpe, Institute of Child Study, Université de Toronto

M. Marvyn Novick, Département des services communautaires, Institut Ryerson La Fondation Laidlaw

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diététicienne

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Mme Denise Avaré, vice-présidente, Recherche

M. Graham Chance, président

Mme Rebecca Last, directeur exécutif, Association canadienne de paralysie cérébrale

Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement

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M. Trevor Williams, président-directeur général, Service à la famille Canada

M. Gerry Gaughan, conseil d'administration, Service à la famille Canada

M. Robert Glossop, coordonnateur, Programmes et recherche, Institut Vanier de la famille

Service à la famille Canada

Institut Vanier de la famille

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Mme Norma Logan, présidente du Comité du développement économique

Mme Eily Silverman, directrice de la recherche

Mme Joan Scott, analyste de la recherche

Conseil consultatif canadien sur la situation de la femme

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Mme Sandy Dyer, nutritionniste communautaire,

Service de la planification sociale de la Ville de Halifax

Mme Elizabeth Shears, Département des arts ménagers, Université Mount St. Vincent

Nova Scotia Nutrition Council

Direction des services à l'enfance
Ministère des services sociaux et communautaires (Ontario)

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M. Terrence Hunsley, directeur exécutif
M^{me} Melanie Hess, recherchiste

M. Jean-Bernard
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M^{me} Denise Avard, vice-présidente,
Services de recherche et d'information
Institut canadien de la santé infantile

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M. Irving Waller
Département de criminologie
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Directeur de recherche
British Columbia Social Planning and Research Council

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M^{me} Kitty O'Callaghan, présidente
M^{me} Heather Jane Robertson, directrice, Services de perfectionnement
M. Stirling McDowell, secrétaire général
Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants

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M. Alan Moscovitch
École de travail social
Université Carleton

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M. Ovide William Mercredi
Chef régional (Manitoba)
Mme Karen Isaacs
Analyste politique
Assemblée des Premières nations

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Mme Claudette Bradshaw
Directeur exécutif
Moncton Headstart Program

Le mardi 6 mars 1990
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Mme Noreen Bell
Coordonnateur de projet, Campagne des femmes contre la pauvreté
Alberta Status of Women Action Committee

Le mardi 6 mars 1990
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M. Robin Walker, président
Mme Marion Dewar, directeur exécutif
Mme Michelle Clarke, agent de recherche
Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse

Le mercredi 7 mars 1990
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Mme Carol Russell
Coordonnateur, Conception de projets
Prévention primaire/Mesures d'intervention précoce

16. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral augmente son soutien financier aux programmes qui visent à faciliter l'accès à la propriété aux Canadiens à revenu faible et moyen. (p. 44)

b) un crédit d'impôt remboursable amélioré (et pleinement indexé) qui s'adresserait aux familles pauvres avec enfants. Il serait financé à même l'argent économisé par la suppression des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, auquel viendraient s'ajouter des fonds issus de l'actuel crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et des sommes dégagées du Régime canadien d'assistance publique. (p. 34)

9. Nous recommandons que les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux concluent un accord pour que les niveaux actuels de soutien du revenu assurés par les provinces en vertu du RAC soient maintenus et assujettis à un taux d'indexation comparable à celui qui s'applique à d'autres secteurs d'aide financés par le RAC. (p. 34)

10. Nous recommandons la mise en œuvre progressive, au cours des cinq prochaines années, d'une campagne nationale axée sur l'éducation prénatale et sur la prévention et le soin des grossesses à risque élevé, surtout chez les adolescentes. (p. 37)

11. Le Comité recommande de verser des allocations familiales aux futures mères dès le cinquième mois de grossesse, après confirmation médicale, et sous condition de contrôles réguliers de santé prénatale ou d'assistance régulière aux cours prénatals offerts par la communauté. (p. 37)

12. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral alloue les ressources nécessaires pour étudier le rôle qui devrait revenir aux banques alimentaires et à d'autres organisations du même genre au Canada, y compris l'opportunité de convertir ces banques alimentaires en coopératives de consommateurs appartenant aux personnes à revenus modestes et gérées par eux, et l'opportunité de créer des centres de distribution de repas nutritifs aux écoliers. (p. 38)

13. Nous recommandons que l'étude de la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants (*L'enfance, l'école et la pauvreté*) soit distribuée aux parlementaires fédéraux et provinciaux, et qu'elle serve de base de consultation et de discussion en prévision de la conférence nationale proposée sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance. (p. 39)

14. Nous recommandons que Santé et Bien-être social Canada alloue les ressources nécessaires pour la création d'un fonds destiné à soutenir « l'auto-assistance dans la lutte contre la pauvreté ». Les provinces seraient encouragées à se prévaloir de ce fonds; elles auraient la charge de coordonner et d'évaluer les demandes d'aide émanant des organisations locales. Une partie de l'argent serait réservée aux autochtones et aux besoins particuliers des mères seules. Le gouvernement fédéral veillerait à éviter le double emploi, évaluerait les projets et en ferait partager les résultats aux provinces et aux organisations. (p. 41)

15. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral envisage une solution de rechange au programme actuel de supplément du loyer administré par la SCHL, et que cette solution passe par un régime supplétif à frais partagés, offerts directement aux foyers qui consacrent plus de 30 p. 100 de leurs revenus au logement, jusqu'à concurrence d'une limite donnée basée sur les coûts locaux d'un logement convenable. (p. 43)

1. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral fasse sien l'objectif de réduire substantiellement la pauvreté des enfants au pays. À cette fin, nous proposons qu'il prenne l'initiative en mettant en œuvre, conjointement avec les autres niveaux de gouvernement et la population en général, des stratégies propres à répondre aux besoins des enfants vivant dans la pauvreté au Canada. (p. 14)
2. Nous recommandons de convoquer, dans les douze prochains mois, une conférence nationale où seraient représentés tous les niveaux de gouvernement et la population en général, afin de dégager des solutions conjointes au problème de la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada. (p. 14)
3. Nous recommandons que le ministre desormais chargé des questions de l'enfance accorde la plus haute priorité aux problèmes des enfants autochtones. Nous recommandons donc que le ministère dégage des crédits substantiels à cet effet, et qu'il entreprenne des consultations avec les organisations autochtones appropriées afin d'évaluer les besoins des enfants autochtones au Canada et d'établir un plan d'action pour combler ces besoins. (p. 15)
4. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral, en coopération avec les gouvernements provinciaux et territoriaux, établisse dans les meilleurs délais une politique nationale de garde d'enfants comportant une gamme de formules optionnelles de garde. (p. 20)
5. Nous recommandons de porter le salaire minimum fédéral à un niveau équivalant au seuil de la pauvreté calculé par Statistique Canada pour une personne, quel que soit son lieu de résidence au Canada. Une fois ce niveau atteint, le salaire minimum devrait être pleinement indexé sur le coût de la vie. (p. 23)
6. Nous recommandons d'appliquer le nouveau salaire minimum fédéral à tous les programmes et contrats financés ou cofinancés par le gouvernement fédéral. (p. 23)
7. Nous recommandons que les programmes actuels de soutien du revenu fassent preuve de plus de souplesse, de sorte que les bénéficiaires qui veulent se recycler ou améliorer leur formation pour augmenter leurs chances d'emploi ne soient pas pénalisés par une diminution d'aide sociale et de services complémentaires, comme la gratuité des médicaments sur ordonnance, etc. (p. 23)
8. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral examine attentivement les options de soutien du revenu que des experts ont élaborées pour le Comité à partir de modèles statistiques (voir l'Annexe II), et qu'il adopte:

- a) des prestations nationales pour enfants, comprenant le montant prévu au titre des allocations familiales (aux taux actuels, mais pleinement indexées et sans récupération fiscale). Ce régime serait financé par les économies réalisées avec la suppression du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, par les fonds du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada prévus pour les enfants et par de nouveaux crédits de 500 millions de dollars;

CHAPITRE VII : CONCLUSIONS

En préparant nos rapports intermédiaire et final, nous avons entendu de nombreux experts et praticiens, parmi les plus éminents au Canada, dans le domaine de la pauvreté en général et de celle des enfants en particulier. Le paradoxe devant lequel nous nous trouvons au Canada est qu'en dépit de sa richesse, notre pays continue d'afficher des taux de pauvreté de l'enfance inacceptables. Cela rend encore plus nécessaire la concentration des efforts et des moyens pour réduire autant que possible l'ampleur de cette misère enfantine. Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer, les mesures précises et fructueuses qui ont été prises pour alléger la pauvreté des Canadiens âgés peut servir d'exemple pour nous rappeler que les solutions au problème sont «à notre portée». Qui veut peut.

Cependant, le fait que des solutions existent ne nous dispense pas de reconnaître la complexité du problème. Les témoins n'ont cessé de souligner les diverses dimensions et conséquences de la pauvreté dans l'enfance, qui peut aboutir notamment à maints problèmes sociaux à l'âge adulte. Devant cet état de fait, le Comité est convaincu que les solutions adoptées devront comporter simultanément des programmes de soutien du revenu et des programmes de services.

Nous croyons que des négociations fédérales-provinciales/territoriales, menées de façon judicieuse et novatrice, s'imposent pour mener à bien ce projet. Dans le présent rapport, nous nous sommes efforcés d'énoncer un ensemble de recommandations portant sur le rôle du gouvernement fédéral. Nous tenons cependant à souligner l'importance de la recommandation sur la tenue d'une conférence nationale pour trouver des solutions communes au problème de la pauvreté dans l'enfance. Nous voyons dans une telle conférence l'occasion pour tous les paliers de gouvernement, et pour la population en général, de communiquer et de participer ensemble à la préparation d'une offensive à long terme contre la pauvreté.

par un régime supplétif à frais partagés, offerts directement aux foyers qui consacrent plus de 30 p. 100 de leurs revenus au logement, jusqu'à concurrence d'une limite donnée basée sur les coûts locaux d'un logement convenable.

16. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral augmente son soutien financier aux programmes qui visent à faciliter l'accès à la propriété aux Canadiens à revenu faible et moyen.

Dans les mesures que le pays a déjà prises pour alléger le fardeau de la pauvreté, la plus grande attention a été donnée au logement. Des témoins estiment qu'il faut déployer la même volonté pour assurer des logements abordables aux familles canadiennes à revenu faible et moyen qui ont des enfants.

L'enfant atteint le niveau secondaire, où il reçoit généralement une attention moins personnelle et où on s'attend à ce qu'il démontre plus de discipline devant les exigences du programme scolaire. Le pourcentage de ceux qui obtiennent de mauvais résultats scolaires entre 12 et 16 ans est de 42,2 p. 100, comparativement à 13,6 p. 100 pour les enfants de six à onze ans.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Ces faits témoignent de l'incidence des problèmes de logement sur la vie des enfants pauvres et de leurs familles au Canada. Nombre de témoins y voient la nécessité de nouveaux engagements plus soutenus de l'État en faveur du logement. Selon eux, il faut combiner des mesures provisoires à court terme avec des orientations à long terme pour fournir un plus grand nombre de logements accessibles aux gens dans le besoin. On s'inquiète du fait que les données actuelles n'indiquent aucune tendance dans cette direction.

Il y a environ 9,5 millions d'unités de logement au Canada. Or, les logements sociaux ne comptent que pour 5 p. 100 du parc immobilier et pour 3,8 p. 100 seulement des mises en chantier.⁽¹²⁰⁾

Le Comité a aussi appris que la Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement (SCHL) a subi une réduction de 15 p. 100 de ses fonds destinés à de nouveaux logements sociaux en 1989-90 et 1990-91. Cela prive déjà 6 000 nouveaux foyers de l'aide de la SCHL (42 000 foyers en 1988-89, contre 36 000 en 1989-90).⁽¹²¹⁾ Le Comité presse le gouvernement d'engager davantage de fonds dans les programmes de logement déjà établis.

En même temps que de nombreux témoignages venaient défendre la notion de logement accessible, on a prôné de nouvelles approches pour répondre aux besoins de logement. Il apparaît inopportun de compter sur de grands complexes d'habitation, étant donné l'abondance d'études qui montrent que de telles conditions de vie favorisent la multiplication des problèmes sociaux chez les enfants comme chez les adultes.

La SCHL administre couramment un programme de supplément de loyer, qui procède par entente entre un propriétaire et l'État. Ainsi, le propriétaire accepte de mettre un certain nombre d'unités de logement à la disposition du programme. L'entente fixe le loyer que le propriétaire recevra pour chaque unité, loyer basé sur les prix du marché pour des logements comparables dans la même communauté. La différence entre le loyer convenu et le paiement du locataire est alors subventionnée conjointement par la SCHL et la province (selon une échelle loyer/revenu).

Les problèmes que pose ce système ont été exposés par plusieurs témoins, qui ont mentionné notamment le stock limité des logements à loyers subventionnés dans la plupart des communautés. Le programme doit faire preuve de plus de souplesse.

RECOMMANDATIONS

15. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral envisage une solution de rechange au programme actuel de supplément de loyer administré par la SCHL, et que cette solution passe

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Ibid., p. 12.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Conseil canadien de développement social, *Mémoire au Comité*, p. 10.

⁽¹²¹⁾ *Délibérations*, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 19.

L'un des problèmes des assistés sociaux est le grand écart qui existe entre les montants alloués pour le logement dans le calcul des taux d'aide sociale et le coût réel du logement. Un ancien administrateur du gouvernement régional d'Ottawa-Carleton a déclaré à cet égard :

... de plupart des assistés sociaux vivent dans des logements privés ... Environ 89 pour cent des résidents de la municipalité d'Ottawa-Carleton demeurent dans des logements privés...Étant donné l'augmentation des loyers, un grand nombre d'assistés sociaux consacrent au logement plus de 50 pour cent de leur revenu. Autrement dit, il ne leur reste que 50 pour cent d'un revenu très limité pour couvrir leurs autres dépenses...ce qui a pour conséquence le spectacle que vous voyez dans la rue...vers la fin du mois, quand les gens manquent d'argent, vous les voyez faire la queue (devant les banques d'alimentation).⁽¹¹⁶⁾

Ces problèmes ne sont pas propres aux assistés sociaux. Une étude basée sur les données de 1985 a trouvé une forte corrélation entre faible revenu et problèmes d'accessibilité au logement. Neuf foyers à très faible revenu sur dix dépensaient au moins 30 p. 100 de leur revenu pour l'habitation. Dans les foyers qui avaient des revenus inférieurs à 20 000 \$ en 1985, les locataires étaient plus que les propriétaires susceptibles de consacrer 30 p. 100 ou plus de leur revenu au logement.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

Au sein de ce groupe, il y en a certains qui sont plus susceptibles que d'autres de connaître des problèmes d'accessibilité. Les familles monoparentales, les jeunes familles et les foyers à une personne, par exemple, rencontrent de plus grandes difficultés de logement, et ces problèmes sont plus aigus dans les villes. En 1986, 56 p. 100 des familles monoparentales habitant des villes consacraient plus de 30 p. 100 de leur revenu au logement, comparativement à 51 p. 100 en 1981. La situation est plus grave pour les jeunes familles. En 1986, 72 p. 100 des foyers identifiés à des personnes de 15 à 19 ans faisaient face à des problèmes d'accessibilité du logement, comparativement à 62 p. 100 en 1981. Parmi les foyers identifiés à des personnes de 20 à 24 ans, 46 p. 100 éprouvaient des difficultés analogues en 1986, contre 37 p. 100 cinq ans auparavant.

Mais il n'y a pas que l'accessibilité. On a aussi exposé devant le Comité les problèmes de conditions de logement et leurs effets éventuels sur les enfants; les rapports entre un logement inadéquat et l'état de santé et le dénuement des enfants; l'attention immédiate que la situation exige. Les enfants qui vivent dans des habitations mal chauffées, mal isolées et mal aérées courent plus de risques que les autres d'attraper des gripes, des infections et d'autres maladies plus graves. Le manque d'espace sûr et agréable pour jouer met aussi ces enfants en plus grand danger d'accidents et de blessures.

Une étude ontarienne (*Ontario Child Health Study*) a trouvé un rapport entre le logement et des problèmes de santé plus graves, tels que des désordres psychiatriques comprenant des troubles de comportement et de l'hypermotivité chez les enfants. Selon cette étude, les enfants habitant des logements sociaux ou subventionnés, particulièrement dans les grands immeubles, affichent un taux plus élevé de problèmes psychiatriques. Ces troubles touchent presque un tiers des enfants, surtout entre six et onze ans.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Outre ces troubles psychiatriques, l'étude a découvert un plus grand risque de mauvais rendement scolaire chez les enfants habitant des logements subventionnés. Ce risque augmente fortement quand

(116) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 31.

(117) Tom Bird, [Shelter Costs], *Canadian Social Trends*, n° 16, 1990, p. 9.

(118) Dr Dan Offord et al., *Ontario Child Health Study: Children At Risk*, Queens Printer, Toronto, 1990, p. 12.

érodent leur confiance et leur estime d'eux-mêmes, ce qui ne peut manquer d'avoir des conséquences à long terme pour toute la famille.

RECOMMANDATION

14. Nous recommandons que Santé et Bien-être social Canada alloue les ressources nécessaires pour la création d'un fonds destiné à soutenir «l'auto-assistance dans la lutte contre la pauvreté». Les provinces seraient encouragées à se prévaloir de ce fonds; elles auraient la charge de coordonner et d'évaluer les demandes d'aide émanant des organisations locales. Une partie de l'argent serait réservée aux autochtones et aux besoins particuliers des mères seules. Le gouvernement fédéral veillerait à éviter le double emploi, évaluerait les projets et en ferait partager les résultats aux provinces et aux organisations.

En outre, il y aurait lieu d'envisager sérieusement une plus grande intégration au système éducatif des services de soutien social pour les familles. Dans la mesure du possible, l'école du quartier pourrait à la fois servir de centre d'information et accueillir toute une gamme de programmes de soutien.

D. Le logement

De nombreux témoins ont soulevé la question du logement, notamment son accessibilité, sa disponibilité et sa qualité.

Chaque jour au Canada, selon une étude réalisée par le Conseil canadien de développement social en 1987, au moins 10 000 personnes vivent dans des abris de secours. Chaque année, de 130 000 à 250 000 personnes font appel aux refuges d'urgence, et près de 20 p. 100 d'entre elles appartiennent à des familles qui comptent des enfants.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Les familles qui dépendent d'abris de secours se retrouvent dans cette situation pour diverses raisons. Les difficultés économiques que connaissent les parents des enfants pauvres sont parmi les facteurs qui influencent le plus la qualité de vie des enfants. Les familles qui vivent au niveau du seuil de pauvreté, ou légèrement au-dessus, ont peine à supporter les coûts actuels du logement et peuvent être forcées de vivre dans des conditions qui compromettent gravement le mode de vie de leurs enfants. Le problème de l'accessibilité de l'habitation se trouve accru pour les familles qui dépendent de l'assistance sociale, et particulièrement pour les familles monoparentales (en grande majorité maternelles).

L'accessibilité joue un rôle majeur dans le choix du logement. Le prix des diverses formes d'habitation a monté en flèche ces dernières années. Ni le salaire minimum, ni les programmes de soutien du revenu n'ont emboîté le pas de cette augmentation. Cela signifie que le coût du logis grève considérablement les budgets domestiques, en particulier chez les familles pauvres, petits salariés ou bénéficiaires de l'aide sociale. De fait, il peut représenter de 40 à 60 p. 100 du budget de ces familles. Le problème est particulièrement aigu dans des grandes villes comme Toronto, Ottawa et Vancouver.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

(114) Conseil canadien de développement social, *Mémoire au Comité*, p. 10.
(115) *Délibérations*, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 26.

Voici ce qu'en dit le docteur Offord :

En résumé, s'il y a un domaine au Canada où les enfants pauvres sont désavantagés, c'est bien celui des activités récréatives et de l'apprentissage d'un sport ou d'un art... s'il y a un groupe au Canada qui pourrait tirer parti des programmes mis en œuvre à l'extérieur des foyers, ce sont bien les enfants pauvres, mais ce sont au contraire eux qui en profitent le moins⁽¹¹¹⁾.

Ce témoignage laisse entendre qu'une coopération interprovinciale et interministérielle sera essentielle à l'établissement de pareils services. Le ministère des Services sociaux et communautaires de l'Ontario s'est déjà engagé dans un vaste projet d'intervention précoce, mené dans quatre à six milieux défavorisés, représentant chacun un type de pauvreté. On compte suivre sur vingt ans le cheminement des enfants qui auront participé au programme. Cette étude peut être considérée comme un modèle qui intègre nombre de principes dont nous avons traité au début du présent chapitre. Le Comité estime qu'il s'agit d'un exemple à suivre. Il encourage d'autres provinces à étudier des moyens semblables d'offrir des services aux enfants pauvres.

C. Troubles de comportement et délinquance juvénile

Les troubles de comportement (agressivité chronique et refus de respecter les règles établies) sont plus fréquents chez les enfants pauvres. Dans les familles pauvres, 4 p. 100 des parents rapportent des troubles de comportement, comparativement à 1,8 p. 100 dans les familles plus favorisées. Selon l'étude sur la santé des enfants ontariens, ces différences sont encore plus frappantes si l'on se fie aux rapports des enseignants. La probabilité est, en effet, sept fois plus grande qu'un enseignant identifie un trouble de comportement chez un enfant pauvre que chez un autre.⁽¹¹²⁾ Les troubles de comportement sont au cœur du débat sur les liens qui existent entre la pauvreté dans l'enfance, la délinquance juvénile et le comportement criminel à l'âge adulte. Des études récentes, en Grande-Bretagne et aux États-Unis, ont montré que les comportements associés chez les adultes peuvent souvent se rattacher aux difficultés qu'ils ont éprouvées dans la petite enfance (entre un et cinq ans) — notamment l'inconséquence et la négligence des parents —, à leurs problèmes à l'école et à la pauvreté. Il en ressort aussi que les programmes d'éducation préscolaire s'avèrent très prometteurs face à ces difficultés.⁽¹¹³⁾ Le Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse estime qu'il faut absolument consacrer plus d'énergie et de ressources à la recherche et à la mise sur pied de méthodes efficaces de prévention précoce :

Si nous faisons fi des problèmes auxquels sont confrontés les enfants qui risquent de devenir des contrevenants, nous ne pourrions qu'en subir les conséquences. Si nous abandonnons ces enfants à leur existence marquée de promesses insatisfaites et de possibilités limitées, nous le paierons plus tard en argent, par l'aliénation de notre population et par des pertes de productivité et de créativité.

Des témoins ont insisté sur l'importance d'intégrer les programmes de soutien des parents et des enfants comme moyen de traiter les problèmes de comportement. L'indigence entrave la capacité des parents de bien encadrer la vie de leurs enfants et la leur. Des sentiments d'impuissance et d'incapacité

⁽¹¹¹⁾ *Délibérations*, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 12.

⁽¹¹²⁾ *Délibérations*, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 10.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Le Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse, *Pour des lendemains plus sûrs, agissons dès aujourd'hui*, Ottawa, 1989, p. 1.

comme membres de famille ayant un revenu inférieur à 10 000 \$) risquent trois fois plus que les autres d'avoir de mauvais résultats scolaires (redoubler ou bien être inscrit à temps partiel ou à temps plein dans des classes d'éducation de l'enfance en difficulté).⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

L'étude fait aussi ressortir que les difficultés à l'école varient selon le sexe. Chez les fillettes de six à onze ans dont la famille bénéficie de l'assistance sociale, 28 p. 100 ont de mauvais résultats scolaires, contre 6 p. 100 pour les filles des autres familles. On constate par ailleurs que les mauvais résultats scolaires sont beaucoup plus fréquents chez les filles que chez les garçons.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Un document de recherche préparé pour le Comité souligne la nécessité d'offrir des services qui tiennent compte des problèmes des enfants pauvres à l'école.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Même si l'éducation est de compétence provinciale, le Comité se sent obligé de souligner l'importance des services éducatifs dans certains aspects de la lutte contre la pauvreté dans l'enfance. À cet égard, la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants a posé des jalons importants avec son rapport intitulé *L'enfance, l'école et la pauvreté*.

RECOMMANDATION

13. Nous recommandons que l'étude de la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants (*L'enfance, l'école et la pauvreté*) soit distribuée aux parlementaires fédéraux et provinciaux, et qu'elle serve de base de consultation et de discussion en prévision de la conférence nationale proposée sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance.

Les programmes d'intervention dans la petite enfance contribuent à donner aux enfants pauvres un départ dans la vie qui les rapproche de leurs camarades plus favorisés. Parlant du cheminement qu'ils doivent suivre, un témoin a dit :

...grandir au Canada, c'est comme participer à une course. Tout le monde en est conscient. Il y a cependant deux aspects importants dans cette course. D'abord, elle doit être juste. Cela suppose que les services comme les soins prénatals, les garderies, etc. doivent être les mêmes pour tous les enfants de façon que tous aient une chance égale... Ensuite, il y a tout l'aspect relatif au sentiment de rejet que ressentent les perdants. Il faut donc, d'une part, s'assurer que la course est juste et, d'autre part, atténuer ce sentiment de rejet.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Les enfants pauvres tirent avantage d'un accès précoc au système éducatif, tout comme de la participation à des programmes préscolaires et parascolaires de qualité qui sont offerts par l'école ou par la communauté. Selon l'étude sur la santé des enfants ontariens, la participation à ce genre de programmes offre un «facteur de protection», qui tend à mettre les enfants pauvres à l'abri de certains problèmes inhérents aux familles marginales.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ *Délibérations*, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 11.
⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ *Délibérations*, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 14.
⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Ross, David P. et Richard Shillington. Voir Annexe 1.
⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ *Délibérations*, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 20.
⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Dan Offord et al., *Ontario Child Health Study: Children at Risk*, Queen's Printer, Toronto. Cette étude révèle qu'il faudra pousser plus loin les recherches pour déterminer les rapports de cause à effet entre les facteurs de protection et l'amélioration des résultats scolaires et la réduction des troubles psychiatriques chez les enfants pauvres.

Le lien entre revenu et alimentation est évident. Sur la foi de certains témoignages, il appert que dans les familles démunies le budget alimentaire est souvent puisé à même le budget «fourre-tout». Autrement dit, les dépenses non alimentaires qui surviennent sont financées par l'enveloppe alimentaire.⁽¹⁰³⁾ tion, ce qui signifie que les besoins nutritifs se trouvent souvent sacrifiés, par la force des choses.

Comme plusieurs témoins l'ont fait ressortir, ces insuffisances du budget alimentaire sont particulièrement graves pour les assistés sociaux. Les allocations pour la nourriture et le vêtement sont loin d'être suffisantes. En Nouvelle-Écosse, par exemple, les assistés sociaux recevaient un montant équivalent à 60 p. 100 de ce qu'il en coûte pour acheter les produits alimentaires prévus dans le panier de la ménagère d'Agriculture Canada.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Les établissements d'enseignement secondaire et post-secondaire offrent, depuis de nombreuses années, des services alimentaires aux étudiants. Très souvent, ces services proposent des repas nutritifs et bon marché. Des témoins ont affirmé qu'en offrant des services semblables dans les écoles élémentaires, on pourrait pallier la fréquente insuffisance des allocations alimentaires.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Le Comité sait que de nombreux programmes alimentaires à l'école sont en vigueur à travers le pays. Ces programmes réussissent fort bien, pour la plupart, autant sur le plan éducatif que sur celui de la lutte à la pauvreté. Leur double vocation procède de leur volonté de lier l'apport de nourriture (déjeuner et dîner, ainsi que collations nutritives) avec l'éducation à l'alimentation et à la santé chez les écoliers. Une telle perspective mobilise les écoliers, les enseignants, les parents et la collectivité en général dans un projet commun, qui vise à la fois à prévenir et à atténuer les problèmes associés à la pauvreté et à la malnutrition. Le Comité appuie l'expansion de programmes semblables, afin que les enfants aient accès, au sein du système d'éducation public, à du lait et à des repas subventionnés. Ces dernières années, la faim est devenue un phénomène plus apparent au Canada, en partie à cause de la prolifération de banques alimentaires, de soupes populaires et d'autres services de distribution de nourriture aux personnes nécessiteuses. Certains de nos témoins ont dit craindre que ces services deviennent institutionnalisés dans notre société.

RECOMMANDATION

12. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral alloue les ressources nécessaires pour étudier le rôle qui devrait revenir aux banques alimentaires et à d'autres organisations du même genre au Canada, y compris l'opportunité de convertir ces banques alimentaires en coopératives de consommateurs appartenant aux personnes à revenus modestes et gérées par eux, et l'opportunité de créer des centres de distribution de repas nutritifs aux écoliers.

B. L'éducation

Les rapports entre la pauvreté dans l'enfance et le niveau d'instruction méritent qu'on s'y penche tout particulièrement. L'étude sur la santé des enfants ontariens révèle que les enfants pauvres (définis

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Délivrations, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 23-24.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Délivrations, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 25.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ L'enfance, l'école et la pauvreté, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants, juin 1989.

RECOMMANDATION

10. Nous recommandons la mise en œuvre progressive, au cours des cinq prochaines années, d'une campagne nationale axée sur l'éducation prénatale et sur la prévention et le soin des grossesses à risque élevé, surtout chez les adolescentes.

Rendre les allocations familiales disponibles dès la grossesse serait une mesure qui permettrait l'accès à des soins de santé plus tôt et l'achat de suppléments nutritifs. En France, les femmes reçoivent des allocations mensuelles à partir du cinquième mois de grossesse et jusqu'à ce que le nourrisson atteigne quatre mois, sans égard au revenu familial. Quand le bébé a quatre mois accomplis, le revenu familial est évalué et l'allocation est prolongée ou ajustée en conséquence. Un programme analogue a permis de réduire la mortalité infantile en Finlande dans les années trente. Aujourd'hui, l'allocation finlandaise ne s'applique pas si la future mère ne se rend pas dans une clinique avant le cinquième mois de grossesse.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

RECOMMANDATION

11. Le Comité recommande de verser des allocations familiales aux futures mères dès le cinquième mois de grossesse, après confirmation médicale, et sous condition de contrôles réguliers de santé prénatale ou d'assistance régulière aux cours prénatals offerts par la communauté.

Des témoins ont fait remarquer que ces programmes de distribution de suppléments nutritifs à certaines mères, plus particulièrement les adolescentes et les jeunes, ne devraient pas entraver la pro-motion et la mise en œuvre de programmes visant à empêcher les grossesses non désirées. L'un d'eux a même dit, dans le cadre d'une discussion sur la prévention de l'insuffisance pondérale :

...un enfant désire à de meilleures chances que celui qui ne l'est pas. Autrement dit, les grossesses qui sont vraiment voulues, et non pas simplement accidentelles, pourraient être un moyen efficace de résoudre le problème du faible poids à la naissance.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Tout laisse croire qu'un appui soutenu aux agences et organismes non gouvernementaux qui offrent une information sûre et accessible sur la planification des naissances et la contraception, contribuera à la lutte contre la pauvreté dans l'enfance. Le Comité estime qu'il faut fournir à ces services l'appui financier nécessaire à leur survie et à leur efficacité.

Outre la question de l'insuffisance pondérale à la naissance, le Comité a été saisi d'un certain nombre d'autres problèmes et préoccupations liés à l'alimentation. Celle-ci est souvent perçue comme un dossier de santé plutôt que d'affaires sociales. Or, pareil cloisonnement masque le fait que des facteurs comme l'éducation, la capacité de lire et d'écrire, le logement, les transports, le soutien social et la situation économique, entre autres, exercent une influence profonde sur le comportement nutritionnel de l'individu ou de la famille⁽¹⁰²⁾.

(100) Informations obtenues des ambassades de France et de Finlande.
(101) Délibérations, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 19.
(102) Délibérations, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 23.

Les enfants pauvres risquent davantage d'être en mauvaise santé que les enfants de familles à revenu plus élevé. Le taux de mortalité infantile est près de deux fois plus élevé chez les pauvres que chez les riches.⁽⁹¹⁾ L'Association médicale canadienne constate qu'en milieu pauvre, le taux de mortalité infantile résultant de maladies infectieuses est 2,5 fois plus élevé que la moyenne nationale et les décès accidentels, deux fois plus nombreux.⁽⁹²⁾

L'insuffisance de poids à la naissance, principale cause de mortalité infantile et prodrome de mauvaise santé dans l'enfance et à l'âge adulte, est aussi plus fréquente en milieu pauvre. L'Association médicale ontarienne a relevé plusieurs facteurs qui y contribuent, dont la mauvaise alimentation et la consommation de cigarettes chez les adolescentes et les femmes célibataires pauvres.⁽⁹³⁾ Plusieurs témoins ont insisté sur l'importance d'une saine alimentation pour les femmes enceintes ou qui allaitent. On sait, par exemple, que les enfants nés de familles pauvres pèsent généralement de 200 à 300 grammes de moins que les bébés des milieux favorisés.⁽⁹⁴⁾

L'insuffisance pondérale rend l'enfant plus vulnérable à une série de problèmes dans l'enfance et plus tard dans la vie. D'autre part, la mortalité périnatale est beaucoup plus forte chez les bébés de poids insuffisant à la naissance. Chez les enfants dont le poids à la naissance est inférieur à 2,5 kilogrammes, le taux de mortalité dans le premier mois est 40 fois supérieur à celui des enfants nés à terme et pesant davantage.⁽⁹⁵⁾

À plus long terme, ces enfants risquent beaucoup plus de souffrir de déficiences mentales, de handicaps physiques, de retards de développement et de problèmes neuromoteurs.⁽⁹⁶⁾ D'autre part, les soins qu'exigent les nouveau-nés de poids insuffisant coûtent cher.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Les frais hospitaliers, par exemple, varient de 9 500 \$ à 60 000 \$ pour les bébés trop légers, comparativement à environ 5 500 \$ pour les bébés normaux.⁽⁹⁸⁾

La prévention de l'insuffisance pondérale à la naissance doit faire partie de la lutte contre la pauvreté dans l'enfance. Parmi les initiatives prises dans ce sens et qui ont donné de bons résultats, mentionnons certains programmes de distribution de suppléments nutritifs aux femmes enceintes (vitamines, lait, œufs et jus d'orange).⁽⁹⁹⁾

- (91) Russell Wilkins, Owen Adams et Anna Brackner, *Changes in Mortality by Income in Urban Canada from 1971 to 1986: Diminishing Absolute Differences, Persistence of Relative Inequality*, Division de la politique de santé, Santé et Bien-être Canada et Division de la santé, Statistique Canada, Ottawa, juin 1989 (données présentées à la Conférence des sous-ministres de la Santé du gouvernement fédéral, des provinces et des territoires).
- (92) Leslie Fruman, «Growing Up Poor: Disadvantaged in Every Way», *Toronto Star*, 29 septembre 1987.
- (93) Mémoire au Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, 9 janvier 1987.
- (94) Delibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 27.
- (95) Delibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 8.
- (96) Delibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 27.
- (97) Delibérations, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 11.
- (98) Delibérations, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20.
- (99) Delibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 32.

CHAPITRE VI : LES OPTIONS DU CÔTÉ DES SERVICES

Dans le présent rapport et dans le *Rapport provisoire*, nous avons plusieurs fois souligné que la pauvreté des enfants au Canada exige une approche à double volet, si l'on veut atténuer le problème à court terme et le résoudre à long terme. Prises isolément, des mesures en matière de revenu et d'emploi n'iront pas assez loin pour corriger les effets de la pauvreté dans l'enfance, pas plus qu'elles n'amèneront les changements qu'il faut à long terme. Comme l'a dit un témoin, il est impératif que les Canadiens comprennent l'envergure et la profondeur des réformes qui s'imposent :

Ce serait induire le public en erreur que de lui dire qu'une ou deux mesures ponctuelles permettraient de résoudre à peu près le problème. Nous devons tirer des leçons de cette expérience. On avait dit aux Américains qu'avec des programmes comme «Bon Départ» et en concentrant des prestations supplémentaires sur certaines collectivités en particulier, on éliminerait la pauvreté. L'expérience américaine a échoué pour diverses raisons. Elle ne pouvait réussir. Elle était politiquement indéfendable et elle a sombré après six ans.⁽⁸⁵⁾

De nombreux témoins, forts de leur expérience de la lutte contre la pauvreté en général et contre celle des enfants en particulier, ont parlé du besoin d'offrir des services. Ils ont souligné qu'il faut offrir ces services en tandem avec des réformes de niveau macro-économique, dans le domaine de l'emploi et des revenus. À ce propos, d'aucuns ont affirmé que la meilleure prestation de services possible devrait être conçue et élaborée à partir des principes les mieux fondés du développement de l'enfant⁽⁸⁶⁾ et de la nécessité reconnue de coopération entre les paliers fédéral, provincial et municipal⁽⁸⁷⁾ ainsi qu'entre les ministères.⁽⁸⁸⁾ Pareille approche permettrait d'éviter les problèmes de fragmentation et de double emploi, qui accompagnent la mosaïque de services qui existe à l'heure actuelle.

Une façon d'aborder la question est de la considérer selon ce qu'un témoin appelle «l'optique des chances d'accomplissement». Cette approche consiste essentiellement à «faire en sorte que chaque enfant puisse cheminer, depuis la gestation, en passant par l'enfance et l'adolescence, jusqu'à un statut d'adulte positif»⁽⁸⁹⁾. Elle suppose qu'on reconnaisse que les enfants ont besoin d'une vaste gamme de services. Elle sous-entend en outre que la nature des services peut varier d'un enfant à l'autre, au long de son développement, selon divers facteurs comme le sexe, le patrimoine culturel et l'environnement communautaire. Un témoin a souligné la nécessité de prévoir des services intégrés :

... les écoles sont importantes mais ne peuvent faire tout le travail elles-mêmes; les services professionnels sont importants mais ils ne suffisent pas, et même les écoles et les services professionnels ensemble ne suffisent pas...il faut édifier une chaîne continue conjuguant mesures de soutien du revenu et initiatives de développement communautaire...⁽⁹⁰⁾

Il importe de garder à l'esprit ce principe général d'une chaîne continue de services intégrés, lors de l'élaboration et de la prestation des services décrits ci-dessous.

(85) Délibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 24.
(86) Délibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 13.
(87) Délibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 20.
(88) Délibérations, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 18.
(89) Délibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 17.
(90) Délibérations, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 22.

RECOMMANDATION

8. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral examine attentivement les options de soutien du revenu que des experts ont élaborées pour le Comité à partir de modèles statistiques (voir l'Annexe II), et qu'il adopte:

a) des prestations nationales pour enfants, comprenant le montant prévu au titre des allocations familiales (aux taux actuels, mais pleinement indexées et sans récupération fiscale). Ce régime serait financé par les économies réalisées avec la suppression du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, par les fonds du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada prévus pour les enfants et par de nouveaux crédits de 500 millions de dollars;

OU

b) un crédit d'impôt remboursable amélioré (et pleinement indexé) qui s'adresserait aux familles pauvres avec enfants. Il serait financé à même l'argent économisé par la suppression des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, auquel viendraient s'ajouter des fonds issus de l'actuel crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et des sommes dégagées du Régime canadien d'assistance publique.

Le Comité est conscient que la mise en œuvre de l'une ou l'autre de ces options nécessitera l'adhésion des provinces, qui devront accepter de maintenir aux niveaux actuels leur participation fiscale au Régime d'assistance du Canada; et cela comprend le maintien des services actuels du RAC.

9. Nous recommandons que les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux concluent un accord pour que les niveaux actuels de soutien du revenu assurés par les provinces en vertu du RAC soient maintenus et assujettis à un taux d'indexation comparable à celui qui s'applique à d'autres secteurs d'aide financés par le RAC.

années, les contribuables appuieraient de moins en moins les dépenses sociales, et les gens qui doivent s'adresser à des programmes sélectifs pour obtenir une aide financière en souffriraient.⁽⁸²⁾

Selon d'autres, les programmes sociaux universels favorisent chez les Canadiens un sentiment d'unité, d'appartenance à une même communauté; et l'abandon de ce principe, qui a été entériné dans les orientations politiques, serait un sujet de divisions et de diatribes :

Une des conséquences de l'érosion des prestations versées aux familles à revenu faible et moyen — et c'est ce qui est prévu au programme, c'est que cela divise les gens et crée des conditions qui ne soient intéressantes ni pour les pauvres ni pour les personnes à revenu modeste ou moyen... lorsqu'un gouvernement commence à s'attaquer aux prestations prévues pour les familles à revenu modeste et moyen, il fait intervenir la lutte des classes dans le système des politiques sociales et empêche les deux groupes d'en tirer quoi que ce soit. Si le ciblage fonctionnait, alors l'assistance sociale serait la forme de paiement la plus généreuse au pays. Mais, historiquement, elle ne l'est pas, car l'assistance sociale ne s'appuie sur aucun fondement politique.⁽⁸³⁾

Les partisans des allocations familiales apprécient tout particulièrement ce régime parce qu'il distribue de l'argent directement aux femmes. Et bien que le montant ne puisse être qualifié de considérable, les défenseurs des allocations prétendent que la définition du terme « considérable » est relative. Le fait que les femmes pauvres et les travailleuses pauvres aient pu jusqu'ici compter sur un chèque mensuel leur a donné une certaine indépendance, aussi limitée soit-elle. D'aucuns disent que même au sein des familles à revenu moyen ou élevé, les femmes n'ont, dans certains cas, aucune emprise sur l'argent du ménage; elles peuvent alors bénéficier au moins du chèque mensuel d'allocations familiales.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Il faut souligner de plus que, même si les allocations familiales sont égales pour tous, le régime fiscal fait que les familles pauvres reçoivent, en fin de compte, plus que les familles à revenu moyen et bien plus encore que les familles aisées, qui en bénéficient le moins. Car les allocations familiales sont traitées comme des revenus et imposées en conséquence. Comme l'explique l'Annexe II, une famille de travailleurs pauvres qui ne paie aucun impôt sur le revenu touche le montant maximal, tandis qu'une famille de travailleurs pauvres à soutien unique, avec un revenu de 20 000 \$, conserve 74 p. 100 des prestations qu'elle touche, soit 295 \$ sur le paiement par enfant de 400 \$. Une famille à revenu moyen disposant d'un revenu de 50 000 \$ ne conserve que 60 p. 100 des allocations, soit 239 \$ par enfant, tandis qu'une famille à revenu élevé ne peut garder que 55 p. 100 des prestations reçues, soit 220 \$ par enfant. Il ressort, à la lumière de ces chiffres, que même si les allocations sont qualifiées d'universelles, elles ne le sont plus dans les faits après impôt.

De toute façon, quelle que soit l'option retenue, il faudra l'indexer pleinement pour qu'elle soit efficace à long terme. Comme nous l'avons vu, l'indexation partielle a gravement miné l'efficacité des programmes actuels de prestations pour enfants. Pour que les programmes de soutien du revenu ne soient pas de vains instruments de lutte contre la pauvreté, il faudra rétablir la pleine indexation. Sinon, les prestations continueront de s'amenuiser jusqu'à devenir insignifiantes.

⁽⁸²⁾ Conseil national du Bien-être social, *Les allocations familiales : un régime à repenser?*, ministère des Approvisionnements et Services, Ottawa, 1983.

⁽⁸³⁾ *Délibérations*, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 50.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Conseil national du Bien-être social, 1983, *Les allocations familiales*.

allocations familiales, mais elle postule que celles-ci seront imposées au même titre que les revenus ordinaires.

3. Évaluation des options

De façon manifeste, les deux options simplifient le système actuel de prestations pour enfants, en se fondant sur la nécessité d'augmenter le soutien assuré aux familles avec enfants. De même, en récupérant l'argent consacré aux enfants en vertu du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada et en le transférant à un crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, les deux options soustraient les enfants à l'assistance sociale. Comme le souligne le rapport final du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, pareille mesure marquerait un pas en avant dans la réforme du bien-être social. Sous le système actuel, en effet, les assistés sociaux voient leurs revenus accusés un grand recul (avec la perte des prestations pour enfants) dès qu'ils commencent à travailler. Le fait d'offrir aux familles de travail-leurs pauvres des prestations semblables à celles de l'aide sociale supprimerait la « désincitation à tra-vailer » et faciliterait la transition du « bien-être » à la vie active.

Avec les prestations sélectives comme avec les mixtes, les familles assistées pauvres toucheraient les mêmes prestations pour enfants. Sous l'option mixte, ces familles recevraient toutefois 100 dollars de plus (2 775 \$ en crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, et 400 \$ en allocations familiales). Par ailleurs, les familles assistées ne perdraient rien par rapport à ce que leur offre le régime actuel. Le Tableau 1 de l'Annexe II compare chacune des deux options avec le régime actuel. Les deux auraient pour effet d'augmenter notablement les prestations des familles de travailleurs pauvres et des familles à revenu faible et moyen. Par exemple, avec l'option mixte, une famille à deux soutiens gagnant 20 000 \$ toucherait 5 064 \$. Sous le système actuel, la même famille ne reçoit que 2 153 \$.

De fait, les changements qu'entraînerait l'une ou l'autre de ces options donneraient lieu à des augmentations considérables pour les familles canadiennes. La principale différence est qu'une seule option prévoit le maintien des prestations pour toutes les familles avec enfants, quel que soit le niveau de revenu. Différents arguments sont avancés pour ou contre l'universalité des allocations familiales.

Ceux qui s'y opposent prétendent que les conditions économiques ne permettent plus cet idéal qui tient davantage de l'utopie que du réalisme. Dans le même ordre d'idées, ils disent que l'argent consa-cré au maintien d'un régime universel serait utilisé à meilleur escient s'il était distribué aux familles dans le besoin, en vertu d'un régime de prestations mieux ciblé. D'autres maintiennent que l'argent destiné aux allocations familiales pourrait financer la pleine indexation des crédits d'impôt rembour-sables pour enfants. Il est impossible de savoir dans quelle mesure ces différentes théories devien-draient réalité si l'on choisissait une option de prestations uniquement sélectives.

De leur côté, les tenants de l'universalité avancent, entre autres arguments, que des programmes sociaux universels ont toujours été la pierre angulaire de la politique sociale canadienne, les fondations sur lesquelles reposent des programmes sociaux plus sélectifs. Le Conseil national du bien-être social l'explique ainsi :

Tous les Canadiens bénéficient de certains programmes universels à un moment donné au cours de leur vie. Laisser tomber le principe de l'universalité au sein d'un régime aussi prestigieux que celui des allocations familiales affaiblirait la base même du système canadien de sécurité sociale. Avec les

Avec l'option des prestations sélectives, les prestations pour enfants seraient remplacées par un seul crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants. Les familles gagnant moins de 16 500 \$ recevraient 3 075 \$ par enfant. Au delà de ce seuil, on prélèverait sur ce montant 25 p. 100 de chaque dollar de revenu supplémentaire. Cette formule s'appuie sur le régime consolidé de prestations pour enfants recommandé par le Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, en 1988. Comme le montre le tableau J à l'Annexe II, aucun montant ne serait versé aux familles biparentales de deux enfants dont le revenu dépasse les 41 100 \$.

L'absence d'une composante universelle (pas d'allocations familiales) dans cette proposition signifie que les familles qui disposent d'un revenu supérieur à 41 100 \$ ne recevraient aucune compensation pour l'argent qu'elles doivent dépenser pour élever leurs enfants. Cela reviendrait à abandonner le principe, établi de longue date, qui veut que l'on assure une certaine équité sur le plan financier entre les ménages avec ou sans enfants, quel que soit le revenu. Autre facteur important ici, on reconnaît que le revenu moyen des familles canadiennes en 1990 s'élève à environ 45 000 \$. Or, le seuil de revenu utilisé pour décider de l'admissibilité à l'ensemble des prestations est bien en-deçà de ce chiffre.

2. L'option mixte : prestations sélectives avec composante universelle

L'option précédente est une formule «sans incidence budgétaire», mais le Comité a examiné aussi une option qui suppose de nouveaux crédits. Il serait opportun de rappeler ici que des recherches menées pour le Comité ont révélé que, de 1986 à 1991, près de 3,5 milliards de dollars auront été retirés du régime des prestations pour enfants. Les représentants du Child Poverty Action Group l'ont d'ailleurs signalé :

Le retrait des prestations aux familles à revenu faible et moyen n'a pas débouché sur un soutien accru pour les pauvres du pays... Entre 1984 et 1988..., la richesse réelle en dollars constants s'est accrue de 15 p. 100, mais les prestations pour enfants versées aux familles pauvres n'ont augmenté que de 6,6 p. 100. Par conséquent, l'on retire ces prestations des familles à revenu faible et moyen, mais l'on ne redistribue pas la très grande richesse du pays aux familles nécessiteuses, alors que c'était là le motif invoqué au départ pour justifier la suppression de ces prestations.⁽⁸¹⁾

L'option des prestations mixtes que nous avons étudiée prévoit la redistribution d'une fraction du montant retiré de l'enveloppe des prestations pour enfants : environ 500 millions de dollars.

Cette option s'aligne essentiellement sur le même principe que les prestations sélectives, en ce sens qu'elle prévoit combiner les prestations existantes et les convertir en un crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants. Avec l'option mixte, le crédit s'élèverait à 2 775 \$ et le seuil pour la récupération fiscale et le taux de récupération (16 600 \$ et 25 p. 100, respectivement) seraient les mêmes qu'avec les prestations sélectives.

Ce qui différencie surtout cette option de la précédente, c'est qu'on y prévoit le maintien des allocations familiales pour toutes les familles avec enfants, quel que soit leur revenu. La dépense supplémentaire de 500 millions de dollars conserverait au régime son taux actuel, qui correspond à environ 400 \$ par enfant par an. Cette option ne tient pas compte de la récupération projetée pour les

(81) Délibérations, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 46.

2. Familles à deux soutiens

L'étude fait aussi ressortir l'incidence qu'auront ces changements sur les familles à deux revenus et sur les familles monoparentales. Les résultats sont assez semblables. Les plus gros perdants, chez les familles où les deux conjoints touchent un revenu, sont les familles à revenu moyen (gagnant 55 000 \$). En effet, leurs prestations diminueront de 45 p. 100, passant de 2 312 \$, soit 4,2 p. 100 de leur revenu, en 1984, à 1 272 \$, soit 2,4 p. 100 de leur revenu, en 1994.

3. Familles monoparentales

Du côté monoparental, la famille du travailleur pauvre (gagnant 15 000 \$ et bénéficiant de l'équivalent de l'exemption de personne mariée, de la déduction des frais de garde pour l'enfant le plus jeune, du régime des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants) subit une réduction de prestations sur dix ans. Celles-ci passent de 3 046 \$, ou 20,3 p. 100 du revenu en 1984, à 2 862 \$, ou 19,7 p. 100 du revenu, en 1994. Quant aux familles monoparentales à revenu moyen (gagnant 25 000 \$, auxquels viennent s'ajouter les mêmes prestations que celles dont bénéficie la famille du travailleur pauvre monoparentale), elles voient leurs prestations, qui se chiffraient à 3 184 \$ en 1984 (12,7 p. 100 de leur revenu) régresser à 2 413 \$ en 1994 (10 p. 100 de leur revenu).

Ces réductions montrent jusqu'à quel point les changements apportés aujourd'hui aux prestations pour enfants auront une incidence négative à long terme. Particulièrement lourds à cet effet seront le projet de récupération fiscale et le passage de la pleine indexation à une désindexation partielle. Ces changements ont déjà gravement miné les objectifs traditionnels des prestations pour enfants, et les changements à venir laissent présager une érosion encore plus marquée.

D. Propositions de solutions de rechange

En tenant compte de tous ces facteurs et de l'importance de fournir un revenu supplémentaire aux familles avec enfants, le Comité envisage deux solutions de rechange: des prestations sélectives ou une option mixte. Si l'une ou l'autre de ces propositions était adoptée, la situation des familles avec enfants changerait pour le mieux et le système, qui est de plus en plus complexe et inefficace, s'en trouverait simplifié. Nos deux propositions se distinguent dans la mesure où elles visent certaines familles seulement (les plus nécessiteuses), au lieu d'adopter une approche plus universelle. La deuxième formule exigerait de nouveaux crédits (environ 500 millions de dollars), tandis que la première serait sans incidence budgétaire.

1. L'option des prestations sélectives

Se fondant sur les dépenses actuelles en prestations pour enfants et en programmes d'aide destinés aux familles avec enfants, l'étude publiée à l'Annexe II établit des versements globaux d'environ 5,7 milliards de dollars en 1990. Il ressort cependant qu'en 1991, le système fédéral de prestations pour enfants distribuera près de 1,7 milliard de dollars de moins qu'il ne l'aurait fait sous l'ancien régime (avant 1985). Rappelons que ce total comprend l'ensemble des prestations pour enfants existantes ainsi que les sommes consacrées aux enfants dans le cadre actuel du Régime d'assistance publique du Canada.

de soutien du revenu, mis en œuvre simultanément et avec vérification continue de leur efficacité. Il importe de souligner que les programmes de soutien du revenu que nous proposons plus loin sont nécessaires, mais non suffisants. Le lecteur ne devra pas oublier que les programmes d'aide matérielle ci-dessous ne sont que l'un des deux volets de l'action que nous-mêmes, d'accord en cela avec les témoins, envisageons pour remédier à la pauvreté des enfants. Nous traitons du second volet, les solutions axées sur les services, dans un chapitre ultérieur du présent rapport.

C. Options de soutien du revenu: l'incidence des changements récents

Les programmes de soutien du revenu en vigueur à l'heure actuelle (allocations familiales, crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et Régime d'assistance publique du Canada) sont en train de perdre de leur efficacité comme instruments de lutte contre la pauvreté. En effet, une étude jointe au rapport (Annexe II) fait un examen approfondi de l'incidence des changements intervenus dans le système depuis 1984 sur différents types de familles avec des niveaux de revenu différents, en comparant l'«ancien» système de prestations pour enfants, tel qu'il existait en 1984 (allocations familiales, exemption d'impôt au titre des enfants, crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants) avec le «nouveau» système tel qu'il existera en 1994 (allocations familiales avec disposition de récupération, crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants, crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants, avec désindexation partielle). Le choix de 1994 se justifie pour faire ressortir les effets que quatre années d'inflation auront eus sur le système partiellement désindexé. Les prévisions ont été établies pour une «famille modèle» comprenant un enfant de moins de sept ans et un autre plus âgé. Les calculs portent sur trois catégories de familles: à soutien unique, à deux soutiens et monoparentales.

1. Familles à soutien unique

Chez les couples où un seul conjoint touche un revenu, il ressort que toutes les familles, sauf les plus pauvres, subiront une baisse de prestations au cours des prochaines années. Même la famille assis-tée pauvre (qui n'a aucun revenu de travail mais qui bénéficie d'allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants), la seule qui verra ses prestations pour enfants augmenter, ne cons-tatera qu'une très légère amélioration (41 \$ de plus), comparativement aux niveaux de 1984. La fa-mille de travailleurs pauvres (gagnant 20 000 \$ en 1990 et bénéficiant d'allocations familiales, et de crédits d'impôt pour enfants remboursable et non remboursable) perdra 241 \$ sur la période projetée de 10 ans, la part des prestations (sur l'ensemble du revenu) passant de 10,4 p. 100 en 1984 à 7,8 p. 100 en 1994. Toujours avec le même régime, la famille à revenu moyen (gagnant 40 000 \$ et bénéficiant d'allocations familiales et de crédits d'impôt pour enfants remboursable et non rembour-sable) verra elle aussi ses prestations fléchir sensiblement. Celles-ci passeront, en effet, de 2 066 \$, soit 5,2 p. 100 de son revenu en 1984, à 806 \$, ou 1,7 p. 100 de son revenu, en 1994. Quant à la famille à revenu élevé (gagnant 100 000 \$ et bénéficiant d'allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt non remboursable pour enfants), ses prestations tomberont de 1 408 \$ en 1984, soit 1,4 p. 100 de son revenu, à 180 \$, soit 0,2 p. 100 de son revenu, en 1994.

programmes d'incitation à la formation, compléments d'aide, etc.) sont indispensables si l'on veut que les parents puissent tirer parti des programmes visant à réduire leur dépendance.⁽⁷⁶⁾

On commence à inventorier les mauvais effets de l'assistance sociale chez les enfants. Ainsi, une enquête sur la santé des enfants ontariens a comparé la fréquence de maladie chez les enfants assistés et non assistés de quatre à seize ans. On constate que les premiers sont deux fois plus susceptibles de souffrir de troubles psychiatriques, d'éprouver des difficultés scolaires et de fumer. De plus, ils sont 1,5 fois plus nombreux à présenter des problèmes chroniques de santé et peu enclins à participer aux activités parascolaires.⁽⁷⁷⁾

On n'a pas réussi à déterminer précisément pour quelle raison la situation d'assisté, en tant que forme distincte de pauvreté, exerce une influence négative sur les enfants. Parmi les explications possibles figurent l'opprobre associé à l'aide sociale par suite de l'attitude de la société à l'égard des assistés, ainsi que les méthodes inquisitrices de vérification du revenu des prestataires. On connaît la forte corrélation entre pauvreté, d'une part, et troubles psychiatriques et difficultés scolaires, d'autre part; mais il existe en outre une corrélation indépendante (abstraction faite du revenu) entre la situation d'assisté social et cet ensemble de problèmes.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Le Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario en a tiré la constatation suivante :

Nous pensons que l'on peut raisonnablement conclure que l'explication réside en partie dans la ténacité durable produite par l'état d'assisté, qui marque également les enfants. Le public tend à voir d'un meilleur œil les travailleurs démunis que les bénéficiaires de l'aide sociale. Ces attitudes, bien entendu, ne différencient pas les adultes et les enfants.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Devant cet état de fait, le Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario a recommandé de soutenir entièrement les enfants au système d'aide sociale et de faire appel à un autre programme pour répondre à leurs besoins matériels.

Nos témoins ont été unanimes à dire que le système actuel de soutien du revenu des familles pauvres avec enfants est inadapté et, dans certains cas même, néfaste. [Voir Recommandation 7, p. 23.] Le rapport publié par notre Comité en juin 1987, *Les prestations pour enfants : Proposition d'un système de revenu familial garanti*, jugeait notre régime fiscal et notre régime de sécurité sociale injustes, en raison du déséquilibre qui existe entre les prestations que nous offrons à nos enfants et les avantages concédés à d'autres secteurs de notre société.⁽⁸⁰⁾ En 1990, cette iniquité subsiste toujours.

Il paraît évident que pour abolir la pauvreté chez les enfants, il faut trouver un moyen plus efficace, moins inquisiteur et moins culpabilisant de distribuer l'aide sociale. Ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, la solution à long terme au dénuement des enfants devra faire appel à une combinaison de services et

⁽⁷⁶⁾ Mémoire au Comité, 3 avril, p. 10.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ Dan Offord et Michael H. Boyle, *Morbidity Among Welfare Children in Ontario*, mémoire au Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, 12 décembre 1987.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Direction des services à l'enfance, ministre des Services communautaires et sociaux de l'Ontario (avec l'aide de David P. Ross), *Low Income and Child Development: A Case for Prevention Strategies*, document de travail pour l'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, juin 1987 (cité ci-après comme Rapport du MSSC).

⁽⁷⁹⁾ *Transition*, Rapport du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale en Ontario, rédigé pour le ministre des Services sociaux et communautaires de l'Ontario, Toronto, Imprimerie de la Reine pour l'Ontario, septembre 1988, p. 115.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Sénat du Canada, Ottawa, p. 39.

ainsi que des ressources dont elle dispose pour satisfaire ces besoins. Certains biens et revenus personnels ne sont pas inclus dans le calcul des ressources.

Des témoins ont relevé un certain nombre de raisons pour lesquelles le RAC n'a pas réussi à instaurer un filet de sécurité sociale approprié pour tous les Canadiens. La principale est l'insuffisance du revenu que le Régime assure aux prestataires partout au pays.

Le professeur Moscovitch a fait remarquer que, si le préambule du RAC précise bien que les prestations doivent être adéquates, cette adéquation, par contre, n'est définie par aucune législation ni administration fédérale ou provinciale:

Il existe des barèmes de taux dans chaque province diversement reliés au taux de pauvreté dans chaque région, mais aucune de ces relations n'est-elle publiquement énoncée. Il n'existe non plus aucun semblant d'uniformité des taux entre les régions du pays. Ce qui importe le plus dans le contexte de la pauvreté des enfants, c'est que aucune famille avec enfants qui dépend de l'aide sociale ne parvient à un niveau de revenu brut avant impôt supérieur au seuil de la pauvreté de Statistique Canada.⁽⁷³⁾

De même, on peut lire dans la seule étude disponible actuellement sur le réseau complexe de régimes provinciaux qui constitue le «système d'aide sociale» canadien :

Les mots manquent pour décrire l'effet dévastateur de taux d'aide sociale d'une insuffisance absolue. Nulle relation écrite ne peut même effleurer les dégâts physiques et les cicatrices psychologiques engendrés par la vie à un niveau de dénuement inférieur aux normes jugées absolument minimales pour la subsistance élémentaire.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Les témoins s'inquiètent également de la tendance de certains prestataires de l'aide sociale à tomber dans le «piège de l'assistance», qui confine plusieurs générations de certaines familles dans une vie d'indigence. Selon certains, cela serait dû, en partie du moins, aux règles d'admissibilité et aux restrictions sur les biens que peuvent posséder les bénéficiaires du RAC. On peut arguer, à cet égard, que le peu de biens qu'un prestataire est autorisé à posséder pour avoir droit aux prestations garantit que seuls les «plus pauvres d'entre les pauvres» touchent l'aide sociale, et uniquement lorsqu'ils ont épuisé tous les autres moyens de subsistance.⁽⁷⁵⁾ Et ainsi, selon cet argument, on réduit grandement les chances de ces personnes de s'attacher un jour à l'indigence.

Autre sujet de préoccupation: la faible possibilité laissée aux assistés de s'affranchir de l'aide publique en gardant le revenu d'un travail. Certains témoins estiment que le taux élevé de récupération fiscale sur les gains d'un assisté décourage les prestataires de compléter leur revenu et de se libérer de la pauvreté par le travail. Voici ce qu'en dit la National Coalition on Child Poverty :

La dépendance pendant une longue période à l'égard de l'aide sociale peut être aussi débilissante qu'elle est utile. Un grand nombre des désincentifs à s'affranchir de l'aide sociale sont inhérents au système lui-même (telles la réduction des chèques d'aide mensuels d'un montant équivalent au revenu gagné, calcul du montant de l'aide mensuelle par déduction des allocations familiales). Toutes les mesures qui encouragent et facilitent l'initiative de la part des assistés (par ex., garde d'enfants,

⁽⁷³⁾ Mémoire au Comité, 6 mars 1990, p. 5.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ Conseil national du bien-être social, novembre 1987, p. 82.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Social Planning and Research of British Columbia, Mémoire au Comité, 20 mars 1990, p. 5.

Depuis 1984, le gouvernement fédéral a quelque peu amélioré le système des prestations pour enfants. Il a remplacé la déduction d'impôt au titre des enfants par un crédit non remboursable et accru le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants. Toutefois, d'autres changements vont en sens contraire. Le gouvernement fédéral a doublé la déduction pour frais de garde d'enfant, laquelle est régressive (la portait d'un maximum de 2 000 \$ à 4 000 \$ pour un enfant de moins de six ans), introduit la récupération fiscale des allocations familiales dans le cas des parents ayant un revenu net supérieur à 50 000 \$, et partiellement désindexé les prestations pour enfants, ce qui érode leur valeur au fil du temps.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Il est clair que les revenus du travail, augmentés des allocations familiales et du crédit d'impôt remboursable, ne suffisent pas à de nombreuses familles qui ont des enfants à charge. Les familles sont donc amenées à se tourner de plus en plus vers les prestations du RAC, considérées généralement comme le «dernier recours». Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, près de 680 000 enfants vivent dans des familles qui bénéficient de l'aide sociale. Les *Données de base sur la pauvreté* mentionnent que le pourcentage des «autres familles pauvres» (celles dont les adultes sont inactifs) est en hausse et que 62,6 p. 100 des enfants à charge démunis y vivent. En outre, 86 p. 100 de ces enfants appartiennent à une famille monoparentale dirigée par une femme.⁽⁷¹⁾

3. Le Régime d'assistance du Canada

Le Régime d'assistance du Canada (RAC) constitue le fondement législatif de ce que nous connaissons sous le nom d'«aide sociale». Introduit en 1966, il visait à regrouper divers régimes répondant à des besoins spécifiques (chômage, âge, invalidité) sous un système d'aide sociale plus global. Le RAC assure un revenu minimum aux Canadiens dans le besoin, quelle que soit la cause de leur indigence. Le Conseil national du bien-être social a qualifié ce système de «filet de sécurité» :

Il [le filet de sécurité] entre en jeu lorsque les autres sources de revenu, comme l'épargne personnelle, sont presque épuisées; lorsque des particuliers ne sont pas admissibles aux bénéfices d'autres programmes; lorsqu'il faut des revenus supplémentaires pour faire face à des besoins urgents ou spéciaux.⁽⁷²⁾

Les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux se partagent à égalité le coût des postes fondamentaux de dépenses tels que la nourriture, le logement, l'habillement, les services publics, les fournitures domestiques, les soins de santé, les transports et les nécessités individuelles (soins personnels et corporels, loisirs). Chaque province décide du montant qu'elle alloue aux divers postes de dépenses et, par conséquent, du montant total de l'aide.

Les programmes d'aide sociale du RAC varient beaucoup d'une région à l'autre. Toutefois, la plupart des provinces appliquent un programme d'aide sociale aux personnes qui ont besoin d'aide à long terme (par exemple, les «inemployables» pour cause d'invalidité) et aux personnes sans emploi, mais considérées comme capables de travailler.

Le principal critère d'admissibilité à tous les programmes d'aide sociale est le «besoin». On le détermine par un «examen des besoins» qui tient compte des nécessités budgétaires de la personne,

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Mémoire au Comité, 2 mars 1990, p. 12.

⁽⁷¹⁾ Ross et Shillington, Ottawa, 1989, p. 50.

⁽⁷²⁾ *Le bien-être social au Canada : Un filet de sécurité trouvé*, Conseil national du bien-être social, Ottawa, novembre 1987, p. 1.

plutôt qu'à 33,33 \$. On estime que d'ici à 1995, dix années d'inflation auront amené les allocations familiales à 35,65 \$ seulement, alors que l'indexation complète les aurait haussées à 47,75 \$.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Selon le Conseil national du bien-être social, la récupération fiscale prévue grèvera lourdement les allocations familiales, à longue échéance.⁽⁶⁷⁾ On veut notamment imposer les allocations familiales au taux de 15 p. 100 pour chaque dollar de revenu supérieur à 50 000 \$. Et quand le revenu d'un des parents atteindrait 55 240 \$, une famille avec deux enfants perdrait la totalité de ses allocations. Vu la politique de désindexation partielle, ce seuil devrait s'abaisser progressivement avec le temps et tout cher de ce fait un nombre croissant de familles. En 1995, par exemple, on estime qu'il serait tombé à 41 886 \$ en dollars constants de 1990.⁽⁶⁸⁾

2. Le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants

Le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants, instauré en 1979, est conçu comme une aide supplémentaire pour les familles à revenu moyen. Tout parent ou tuteur touchant les allocations familiales peut demander ce crédit remboursable dans sa déclaration d'impôt. L'admissibilité est fonction du revenu familial annuel net, et les prestations varient selon le montant de ce revenu et le nombre d'enfants admissibles. Dans le cas des familles ayant un revenu imposable, le crédit réduit le montant de l'impôt à payer. Quant aux familles dont l'impôt est inférieur au montant du crédit, ou qui ne paient aucun impôt sur le revenu, le gouvernement fédéral leur verse un montant global non imposable. Le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants est la seule prestation fédérale pour enfants qui soit uniforme dans tout le pays.

En 1989, ce crédit se montait à 565 \$ par enfant admissible. Il était payable intégralement aux familles dont le revenu annuel net n'atteignait pas 24 769 \$. A cela s'ajoutait un crédit supplémentaire de 200 \$ au titre des enfants âgés de moins de sept ans. Mais comme les allocations familiales, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants a fait l'objet d'une désindexation partielle. Ainsi donc, l'aide aux familles à revenu faible et moyen se détériore au fil du temps. A long terme, la valeur du crédit continuera à diminuer, de même que le seuil de revenu y donnant droit, si bien que les familles à revenu faible et moyen seront de moins en moins nombreuses à le toucher. Cette évolution sème le doute dans nos esprits sur les objectifs de cette prestation, qui devait servir à lutter contre la pauvreté et à redistribuer les revenus. Ainsi qu'on peut le voir à l'Annexe II, une famille avec deux enfants (dont l'un a moins de sept ans et l'autre plus) et un revenu de 24 769 \$ touche la prestation maximale de 1 353 \$. Or, on estime qu'en 1995, la prestation maximale sera tombée à 1 102 \$ et ne sera plus versée qu'aux familles gagnant moins de 20 184 \$.⁽⁶⁹⁾

Des témoins se sont dits préoccupés par les répercussions de la désindexation partielle et de la récupération fiscale des allocations familiales. Le Conseil canadien de développement social a déclaré notamment:

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Ken Baille, *Réforme des prestations pour enfants*, rapport rédigé pour le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, juillet 1990, p. 5. A noter que ces chiffres sont exprimés en dollars courants et non constants.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ Conseil national du bien-être social, *Le budget de 1989 et la politique sociale*, ministère des Approvisionnements et Services, 1989.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Ken Baille, *Réforme des prestations pour enfants*, 1990, p. 5.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Ken Baille, *Réforme des prestations pour enfants*, 1990, p. 8.

Les fluctuations de l'économie de marché, de même que les circonstances propres à chaque individu, feront que toutes les familles ne disposeront pas d'un revenu suffisant. Par exemple, lorsqu'un travailant à temps plein voit ses heures réduites en période de restructuration économique d'une entreprise. Un autre exemple serait l'évolution de la situation familiale, telle que maladie soudaine, grossesse ou divorce. Tous les rapports sur la pauvreté montrent à l'évidence que les familles à un seul soutien sont plus nombreuses à connaître le dénuement.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Le gouvernement fédéral possède trois programmes de redistribution des revenus dont bénéficient les familles pauvres avec enfants : les allocations familiales, le crédit d'impôt remboursable pour enfants et le Régime d'assistance du Canada (RAC). Les allocations familiales sont versées à toutes les familles comptant des enfants. Le crédit d'impôt pour enfants, administré par le biais du système d'impôt sur le revenu, offre un revenu complémentaire aux familles à revenu faible et moyen, et le RAC est destiné aux familles «nécessiteuses».

1. Les allocations familiales

Le Programme des allocations familiales vit le jour en 1944 et les premières prestations furent versées aux parents en 1945. Ainsi qu'on peut le lire à l'Annexe II, une combinaison de motifs politiques et économiques avait présidé à son introduction. Dans une large mesure, cependant, le programme procédait du fait reconnu que les salaires ne tenaient pas compte de la taille de la famille et de ce qu'il en coûtait d'élever des enfants. Le rapport de 1987 de notre Comité, intitulé *Les prestations pour enfants : Proposition d'un supplément de revenu familial garanti*, affirmait :

Étant donné que les allocations familiales sont assimilées à un revenu imposable, ce programme contribue, par définition, à la redistribution des ressources, en ce sens que les familles les plus pauvres touchent des prestations nettes par enfant plus importantes. Cet effet de redistribution est tout de même relativement modeste et le programme reste fondamentalement de nature universelle. Sa principale caractéristique est de n'aider que les familles qui ont des enfants, et non celles qui n'en ont pas. Il confère ainsi au régime fiscal un certain degré d'équité horizontale. En outre, on en est venu à considérer les allocations familiales comme une mesure symbolique destinée à aider toutes les familles à défrayer les coûts liés à l'éducation des enfants, quelle que soit leur situation financière.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Les provinces peuvent faire varier le montant que le gouvernement fédéral paie à leurs administrés, selon l'âge ou le nombre des enfants d'une famille, ou les deux. L'Alberta et le Québec ont choisi cette option. Le montant des allocations familiales, en 1990, est de 33,33 \$ par mois et par enfant à charge de moins de 18 ans. De 1974 à 1982, les allocations familiales ont augmenté en général en même temps que l'indice des prix à la consommation. Cependant, en janvier 1976, les allocations ont été gelées à leur niveau de 1975 pour un an, puis indexées de nouveau en 1977. En 1978, les prestations ont été «restructurées» et les revenus réduits en conséquence de six dollars par mois pour chaque enfant. En 1979, les prestations se trouvaient encore réduites avec l'introduction du crédit d'impôt pour enfants. De 1983 à 1984, l'indexation tombait aussi sous le coup de la réduction de 5 et 6 p. 100, conformément à la politique fédérale de restrictions financières. Enfin, en 1986, on désindexait partiellement les allocations familiales. Cette désindexation partielle signifie que les allocations sont maintenant indexées sur le taux d'inflation annuel moins 3 p. 100. Si l'indexation intégrale avait été établie en 1986, les allocations familiales s'élèveraient aujourd'hui à environ 38,58 \$ par enfant par mois,

(64) Mémoire au Comité, 20 mars 1990, p. 4.

(65) Rapport du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, juin 1987, p. 8-9.

RECOMMANDATIONS

5. Nous recommandons de porter le salaire minimum fédéral à un niveau équivalant au seuil de pauvreté calculé par Statistique Canada pour une personne, quel que soit son lieu de résidence au Canada. Une fois ce niveau atteint, le salaire minimum devrait être pleinement indexé sur le coût de la vie.

6. Nous recommandons d'appliquer le nouveau salaire minimum fédéral à tous les programmes et contrats financés ou financés par le gouvernement fédéral.

Par ailleurs, l'emploi à temps partiel constitue un autre sujet de préoccupations. Car les familles dont le chef travaille à temps partiel sont cinq fois plus susceptibles de connaître le dénuement que celles dont le chef travaille à temps plein.⁽⁶³⁾

Dans ce contexte, il est clair que la majeure partie des programmes actuels de soutien du revenu comme l'assurance-chômage et l'assistance sociale devrait servir à aider les personnes qui sont capables, avec une formation appropriée, de réintégrer le plus tôt possible la main-d'œuvre salariée à plein temps.

7. Nous recommandons que les programmes actuels de soutien du revenu fassent preuve de plus de souplesse, de sorte que les bénéficiaires qui veulent se recycler ou améliorer leur formation pour augmenter leurs chances d'emploi ne soient pas pénalisés par une diminution d'aide sociale et de services complémentaires, comme la gratuité des médicaments sur ordonnance, etc.

Le Comité pense que les meilleurs moyens d'éliminer les sources de pauvreté dans l'enfance consistent à freiner la baisse de valeur du salaire minimum et à encourager la formation professionnelle en vue de la création d'emplois à long terme.

B. Les transferts de l'État (soutien du revenu)

Les témoins semblaient s'accorder pour dire que des programmes gouvernementaux de soutien du revenu resteraient nécessaires pour éliminer la pauvreté des enfants, même une fois réalisés le plein emploi, l'égalité en matière d'emploi, la hausse des salaires minimums et l'accessibilité universelle à la garde d'enfants. Dans son mémoire au Comité, le Social Planning and Research Council de la Colombie-Britannique, en a donné certaines raisons :

⁽⁶²⁾ Mémoire au Comité, 6 mars 1990, p. 67.

⁽⁶³⁾ Joan Vance, *La pauvreté au Canada*, Bulletin d'actualité 88-14F, Service de recherche, Bibliothèque du Parlement, Ottawa, 12 décembre 1989, p. 5.

Statistique Canada. En 1990, ce même travailleur ne gagnait plus que 42,4 p. 100 du seuil de la pauvreté. De fait, même si les deux conjoints travaillaient à temps plein au salaire minimum, ils ne gagneraient ensemble que 84,8 p. 100 du revenu équivalant au seuil de la pauvreté.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Le tableau 4 ci-dessous, tiré de l'Annexe I du présent rapport, montre les écarts considérables qui existent entre le salaire annuel minimum et le seuil de pauvreté dans chaque province. Le salaire minimum à plein temps qui se rapproche le plus du seuil de la pauvreté est à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, où un travailleur peut gagner jusqu'à 59,3 p. 100 de ce seuil. Le plus grand écart, par ailleurs, se trouve au niveau fédéral où le salaire minimum n'équivaut qu'à 41,2 p. 100 du seuil de pauvreté. Puisque les *Données de base sur la pauvreté* indiquent que 37,4 p. 100 des enfants pauvres à charge vivaient au sein de familles de travailleurs pauvres en 1986,⁽⁶¹⁾ il est impérieux de s'attaquer au problème du salaire minimum.

TABLEAU 4
COMPARAISON DU REVENU TIRÉ DU SALAIRE MINIMUM
AVEC LE SEUIL DE PAUVRETÉ
POUR UN PARENT AVEC UN ENFANT, 1990

Juridiction	Salaire minimum	Revenu annuel tiré du salaire minimum	Seuil de pauvreté	Revenu exprimé en % du seuil de pauvreté
Fédéral	4,00	7 904	19 200	41,2
Terre-Neuve	4,25	8 398	16 900	49,7
I.-du-P.-É.	4,50	8 892	15 000	59,3
Nouvelle-Écosse	4,50	8 892	16 900	52,6
Nouveau-Brunswick	4,50	8 892	16 900	52,6
Québec	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5
Ontario	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5
Manitoba	4,70	9 287	19 200	48,4
Saskatchewan	4,75	9 386	16 900	55,5
Alberta	4,50	8 892	19 200	46,3
C.-B.	5,00	9 880	19 200	51,5

Remarque : Salaire minimum en vigueur au 1^{er} avril 1990. Le revenu tiré du salaire minimum est fondé sur une semaine de travail de 38 heures et sur 52 semaines de travail. Le seuil de pauvreté correspond au seuil de faible revenu évalué par Statistique Canada pour la plus grande ville de chaque province.

Le professeur Allan Moscovitch a déclaré, dans son mémoire au Comité :

Il faut donner des emplois aux parents des enfants démunis, des emplois rapportant un salaire suffisant pour que la famille puisse dépasser le seuil de la pauvreté. Les montants des salaires minimums,

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Conseil canadien de développement social, *Mémoire au Comité*, 2 mars 1990, p. 8.
⁽⁶¹⁾ Ross et Shillington, Ottawa, 1989, p. 50.

autochtones n'auront qu'en 2010 une présence sur le marché du travail proportionnelle à leur population (2,1 p. 100). Quant aux femmes autochtones, elles ont vu leur représentation dans la population active (en proportion de tous les autochtones) reculer au cours de la même période.⁽⁵³⁾

Il n'est pas étonnant de constater une forte corrélation entre les taux de pauvreté et de chômage des autochtones. Près de 75 p. 100 des familles autochtones comptant moins de 26 semaines d'emploi vivent près ou en dessous du seuil de pauvreté, contre 40 à 50 p. 100 chez les non-autochtones.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Le taux de pauvreté des familles autochtones varie de 56 p. 100 au Nouveau-Brunswick à 32 p. 100 au Québec.⁽⁵⁵⁾

c. L'équité en matière d'emploi

La Loi sur l'équité en matière d'emploi est l'un des mécanismes possibles pour combattre l'inégalité sur le marché du travail dont souffrent les femmes, les autochtones, les handicapés et d'autres groupes minoritaires. Cette loi a donc ici une importance stratégique. Divers témoins ont souligné que les solutions à la pauvreté des enfants devront nécessairement comporter des remèdes concrets à la pauvreté de ces groupes.⁽⁵⁶⁾ À cet égard, le respect de l'équité en matière d'emploi et de salaire est la condition sine qua non d'amélioration de la situation de ces groupes et de leurs enfants.

La Loi contraint toute société privée ou d'État, relevant de la compétence fédérale et comptant 100 employés ou plus, à prendre des mesures pour assurer l'égalité et à soumettre à ce sujet des rapports annuels réglementaires. Selon des témoins, il faudrait rendre cette loi encore plus coercitive, dans sa portée et dans ses mécanismes de surveillance et de déclaration.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Car le manque de ressources pour enquêter vite et bien à la suite des plaintes la rendrait éventuellement inefficace.

La Loi doit être révisée en 1991. Sur la foi des témoignages qu'il a reçus, le Comité exhorte le gouvernement fédéral à réfléchir aux avantages à long terme que présenterait l'accès des femmes à de meilleurs emplois et à de meilleurs revenus. Toute disposition qui renforcerait cette loi contribuerait à un recul de la pauvreté des enfants.

Divers témoins ont parlé de la nécessité de relever le salaire minimum, payé aux «travailleurs pauvres». Le salaire minimum actuel ne procure pas un revenu suffisant pour prévenir le dénuement, même chez ceux qui travaillent à temps plein. Certains évaluaient qu'en 1990, un salaire minimum d'environ 6,85 \$ serait nécessaire pour hausser le revenu du travailleur pauvre au niveau du seuil de pauvreté,⁽⁵⁸⁾ et un salaire de 7,50 \$ pour lui redonner un pouvoir d'achat équivalant à celui du salaire minimum du milieu des années soixante-dix.⁽⁵⁹⁾

En 1975, un travailleur rémunéré au salaire minimum travaillant à temps plein, qui assumait la charge d'un conjoint et d'un enfant dans une grande ville, gagnait 81 p. 100 du seuil de la pauvreté fixé par

⁽⁵³⁾ *Rapport 1989 de la Commission canadienne des droits de la personne*, ministère des Approvisionnements et Services Canada, Ottawa, 1990, p. 16.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ *Délibérations*, 27 mars 1990, fascicule 19, p. 19.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ E. Richard Shillington, 1990, p. 5.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ *Délibérations*, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 8.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ *Mémoire au Comité du Conseil national du bien-être social*, p. 36.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Conseil canadien du développement social*, *Mémoire au Comité*, 2 mars 1990, p. 8.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *Social Planning Council and Research Council of British Columbia*, *Mémoire au Comité*, 20 mars 1990, p. 3.

faible et modéré. Or, c'est là un impératif si les familles monoparentales et biparentales veulent trouver et occuper un emploi. Le rapport *Transition** a conclu que la pénurie de garderies est le principal obstacle à l'autonomie des familles monoparentales bénéficiant de l'aide sociale.

Le mémoire poursuivait :

L'absence de garderies contraint maints parents à faible revenu à recourir à des solutions laissant à désirer pour faire garder leurs enfants, tandis que d'autres abandonnent toute idée de travail à l'extérieur et restent au foyer pour s'occuper de leurs enfants, avec les graves conséquences économiques qui peuvent en résulter.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Des témoins ont fait valoir que la déduction pour frais de garde d'enfants, telle qu'elle existe aujourd'hui, est une mesure rétrograde car elle représente une économie d'impôt plus importante pour les familles à revenu élevé que pour celles à faible revenu. Par exemple :

Un parent ayant un revenu imposable de plus de 55 000 \$ demandant une déduction de 2 000 \$ économisera en moyenne 1 209 \$ d'impôt sur le revenu fédéral et provincial, alors qu'un parent ayant un revenu imposable inférieur à 27 500 \$ n'économisera que 527 \$ d'impôt sur le revenu fédéral et provincial pour une déduction de même montant. Les familles pauvres sans revenu imposable ne retirent aucun avantage de ce programme.⁽⁵¹⁾

Autre problème associé à la garde des enfants et cité par un certain nombre de témoins : les salaires des employés de garderies sont généralement inférieurs au seuil de la pauvreté. Le Comité reconnaît que ces salariés sont de juridiction provinciale, mais il se sent obligé de souligner l'importance d'une réévaluation de ces salaires au niveau provincial. Il convient de les rehausser conformément à la valeur que la société attribue au travail de garderie, afin d'y attirer et retenir un personnel qualifié, avec un revenu décent.⁽⁵²⁾

RECOMMANDATION

4. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral, en coopération avec les gouvernements provinciaux et territoriaux, établisse dans les meilleurs délais une politique nationale de garde d'enfants comportant une gamme de formules optionnelles de garde.

b. *Les autochtones*

Selon le Rapport annuel 1989 de la Commission canadienne des droits de la personne, la relation des autochtones avec le marché du travail est particulièrement troublante. Les chiffres montrent qu'ils sont énormément sous-représentés dans la population active du Canada. En dépit de la Loi sur l'équité en matière d'emploi (adoptée en août 1986), leur pourcentage dans la population active est passé, entre 1987 et 1988, de 0,66 à 0,77 p. 100 seulement. À ce rythme de progression, le rapport prévoit que les

* Rapport du Comité d'examen de l'aide sociale de l'Ontario, George Thomson, président, rédigé pour le ministère des Services communautaires et sociaux de l'Ontario, Toronto, septembre 1988.
⁽⁵⁰⁾ « *A National Strategy to End Child Poverty in Canada* », 2 mars 1990, p. 6.
⁽⁵¹⁾ Conseil canadien de développement social, *Mémoire au Comité*, 2 mars 1990, p. 7.
⁽⁵²⁾ Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia, *Mémoire au Comité*, 20 mars 1990, p. 4.

3 heures du matin et veulent que leur famille perdrait cette source de revenu.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Les statistiques nationales sont d'importants indices des changements actuels de l'économie canadienne, mais le Conseil économique nous prévient qu'elles cachent aussi un certain nombre de différences régionales à travers le pays. Sur la base des chiffres dessaisonnalisés de septembre 1990, la région atlantique continue d'enregistrer un taux de chômage au-dessus du 10 p. 100, avec un minimum de 11 p. 100 en Nouvelle-Écosse et un maximum de 16,9 p. 100 à Terre-Neuve. Le Nouveau-Brunswick et l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, pour leur part, enregistrent des taux de 12,3 p. 100 et de 13,5 p. 100 respectivement. Par comparaison, l'Ontario affichait un chômage de 6,4 p. 100 en 1989.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Nos témoins ont fait ressortir que, de même que tous les emplois ne sont pas « créés égaux », les employés marginaux, les chômeurs et les travailleurs pauvres ne forment pas un groupe homogène. De fait, a-t-on dit au Comité, il faut distinguer les divers groupes qui composent cette population et examiner leurs problèmes cruciaux, spécialement dans le contexte de solutions axées sur l'emploi. Parmi les chômeurs ou les travailleurs pauvres, les femmes et les autochtones exigent une attention particulière.

3. Les besoins particuliers

a. Les femmes

Comme l'a signalé le Conseil consultatif canadien sur la situation de la femme, les femmes continuent de gagner beaucoup moins que les hommes et d'être surreprésentées dans les emplois mal rémunérés, hautement vulnérables aux fluctuations économiques, non syndiqués et à temps partiel. Il en résulte que les femmes connaissent un taux de pauvreté notablement plus élevé. Ainsi, en 1986, le taux de pauvreté des femmes adultes était nettement supérieur à celui des hommes, avec 16 p. 100 contre 11,7 p. 100 respectivement.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Entre le début des années soixante-dix et le milieu des années quatre-vingt, la proportion de la population féminine démunie est passée de 45,6 p. 100 (base de données de 1969) à presque 60 p. 100 (base de 1978).⁽⁴⁸⁾ Le fait qu'elles conservent la responsabilité de l'éducation des enfants, la multiplication des divorces et la hausse relativement récente du nombre de mères seules, tout cela montre assez que les femmes ont des besoins particuliers en fait d'emploi et en fait de solutions axées à la fois sur l'emploi et sur la nécessité de soulager la pauvreté des enfants.⁽⁴⁹⁾

La pénurie de bonnes garderies à prix abordable, au Canada, est considérée par plusieurs témoins comme un obstacle majeur pour les parents, particulièrement les femmes, qui veulent se hisser au-dessus du seuil de la pauvreté. Le Conseil canadien du développement social déclarait, dans son mémoire au Comité :

Peut-être la plus grande barrière à l'activité professionnelle est le manque d'options abordables, accessibles et flexibles pour la garde des enfants auxquelles pourraient recourir les familles à revenu

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Délibérations, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 63.
⁽⁴⁶⁾ Statistique Canada, Catalogue no 71-001, 1990.
⁽⁴⁷⁾ Morley Gunderson et Leon Muszynski, *Vivre ou survivre?*, Conseil consultatif canadien sur la situation de la femme, Ottawa, 1990, p. 7.
⁽⁴⁸⁾ Ibid., p. 8.
⁽⁴⁹⁾ Délibérations, 10 avril 1990, fascicule 21, p. 8.

On a fait remarquer au Comité que le ministre Michael Wilson, dans son budget le plus récent, avait déclaré que le taux de chômage devrait probablement atteindre 8,5 p. 100 ou plus pour mater l'inflation.⁽⁴²⁾ Des témoins ont signalé que cette orientation gouvernementale ne pouvait manquer de faire grimper la proportion des adultes et enfants pauvres au Canada. Pour éviter cette misère, il faudra mettre en œuvre des programmes d'emploi qui permettront à tous les Canadiens de gagner assez d'argent pour leurs besoins.

2. Le marché du travail canadien : travailler et rester pauvre

Plusieurs témoins ont signalé qu'il convient d'examiner la nature des emplois créés ces dernières années, dans le contexte de la pauvreté des enfants. De nombreux travailleurs qui ont des enfants à charge se retrouvent dans des emplois peu lucratifs. La plus grande partie des emplois créés l'ont été dans les catégories professionnelles suivantes : gestion, administration et professions connexes; médecine et santé; distribution et services. Ces quatre catégories ont représenté 97 p. 100 du plus d'un demi-million de nouveaux emplois créés de 1981 à 1986.⁽⁴³⁾

Malgré la croissance du nombre d'emplois, le Conseil économique du Canada a constaté que les revenus de 1987 étaient inférieurs de 2 p. 100 à leur niveau de 1977. Cette tendance s'accompagne de la diminution en nombre absolu intervenue dans les catégories d'emploi des secteurs industriels et des ressources. Ces emplois de « cols bleus » sont en recul, confirmant la crainte que le marché canadien du travail engendre une plus grande polarisation des emplois et des richesses. Cette tendance, révélée par le Conseil économique du Canada et citée par plusieurs témoins, est celle d'un « rétrécissement par le milieu » du marché du travail dans notre pays. La récente création d'emplois se caractérise, en effet, par la diminution du pourcentage des salaires moyens (passé de 47,4 p. 100 de la population active, en 1967, à 21,5 p. 100 en 1986) et par l'expansion des catégories de faibles et hauts revenus.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Les emplois dans le secteur des services et de la distribution au détail, qui ont représenté 74 p. 100 du total créé entre 1977 et 1987, sont généralement peu qualifiés, mal rémunérés, non syndiqués, hautement vulnérables aux fluctuations économiques et souvent saisonniers ou à temps partiel. On fait souvent valoir que ces emplois n'offrent pas la gamme des avantages sociaux, ni le degré de stabilité nécessaire pour assurer aux individus et à leur famille une sécurité matérielle élémentaire. Ces données font écho à la constatation que, pour maints Canadiens, le fait de travailler ne met pas nécessairement un terme à la pauvreté ou au délabrement. Des chiffres comme ceux du Conseil économique confirment le fait que les salaires ne suivent pas le rythme des dépenses.

Nous avons déjà vu que le mécanisme de compensation le plus courant en ce cas, pour les ménages, consiste à se procurer un deuxième salaire, souvent féminin. Toutefois, les représentants de la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants ont indiqué que les ménages pauvres sont aussi amenés à faire appel au travail des enfants :

En tant qu'enseignante, j'ai toujours déploré de voir mes élèves — et je viens juste de quitter une école — se précipiter chez eux parce qu'ils doivent garder des enfants ou travailler chez MacDonald : je parle d'écopiers de 6^e et de 7^e années. D'autres travaillaient dans des boîtes de nuit jusqu'à

⁽⁴²⁾ Délibérations, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, p. 37.
⁽⁴³⁾ Conseil économique du Canada, 1989, p. 37.
⁽⁴⁴⁾ Conseil économique du Canada, 1989, p. 37.

Les conditions de vie des enfants démunis comportent un ensemble complexe de facteurs de risque qui contribuent à créer des problèmes à l'âge adulte. Mais, dans presque tous les cas, c'est le manque de moyens financiers qui prédomine. Les sources de revenu dont peuvent disposer les familles pauvres sont principalement le travail et les paiements de transfert de l'État (soutien du revenu). Ces derniers viennent des programmes de soutien du revenu, comme les allocations familiales, ou par l'entremise du système fiscal, comme le crédit d'impôt pour enfants.

A. L'emploi

Les recherches entreprises et les témoignages entendus associent nettement la pauvreté des enfants à la situation professionnelle des parents.⁽³⁸⁾ M. Robert Glossop, de l'Institut Vanier de la famille, a souligné la hausse sensible du nombre d'enfants démunis par suite de la récession du début des années quatre-vingt, période où le taux de chômage était élevé.

1. La recherche de niveaux plus élevés d'emploi.

Comme l'ont mentionné plusieurs témoins, la volonté canadienne de pratiquer une politique de plein emploi a fléchi considérablement au cours des six dernières années. On a vu se produire un changement de valeurs en ce qui concerne le rôle et les devoirs prioritaires de l'État, plus particulièrement sur le plan de l'emploi. La volonté de réduire le déficit, d'éponger la dette nationale et de renforcer la capacité de concurrence internationale du Canada puise ses racines dans l'idéologie qui veut limiter l'intervention de l'État et les dépenses publiques en faveur du libre jeu du marché. Un témoin a résumé ainsi cette tendance :

En deux mots, l'entreprise privée et le gouvernement ont cherché à remplacer la politique libérale de l'après-guerre, fondée sur les théories économiques de J.M. Keynes, par une politique conservatrice axée sur l'individualisme et le marché privé dans lequel le rôle du gouvernement consiste principalement à assurer la stabilité des marchés, et surtout du marché monétaire. Ce changement dans la conception du rôle du gouvernement s'est traduit par une dégradation constante des programmes sociaux depuis 15 ans, ce qui a eu des conséquences particulièrement désastreuses pour les enfants.⁽³⁹⁾

En admettant que le plein emploi demeure utopique, on constate que la proportion des sans-emploi au Canada n'a pas dépassé 7 p. 100 jusqu'à la fin des années soixante-dix ou début des années quatre-vingt, où le chômage s'est mis à grimper en flèche.⁽⁴⁰⁾ En dépit d'un recul modeste du nombre de sans-emploi, ces dernières années, la comparaison du taux de chômage canadien avec celui des pays de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE) ne nous est pas favorable. Le taux de chômage canadien est resté «constamment supérieur, tout au long des années quatre-vingt, tant à la moyenne de l'OCDE qu'à la moyenne des sept grands pays industrialisés».⁽⁴¹⁾

(38) Délibérations, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 29.

(39) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 24.

(40) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 26.

(41) Conseil économique du Canada, *Parimômes*, 26^e exposé annuel, 1989, ministère des Approvisionnement et Services, Ottawa, p. 38.

3. Nous recommandons que le ministre désormais chargé des questions de l'enfance accorde la plus haute priorité aux problèmes des enfants autochtones. Nous recommandons donc que le ministre dégage des crédits substantiels à cet effet, et qu'il entreprenne des consultations avec les organisations autochtones appropriées afin d'évaluer les besoins des enfants autochtones au Canada et d'établir un plan d'action pour combler ces besoins.

tandis que les services sont principalement du ressort des provinces et des municipalités. Ce partage exige qu'on accorde la plus haute priorité aux communications inter-gouvernementales. Les coûts seront élevés à court terme. Mais les informations fournies dans ce rapport et les estimations produites à l'Annexe I déjà citée, et à l'Annexe II, sous le titre *La réforme des prestations pour enfants*, indiquent clairement que les coûts immédiats seront compensés par les avantages humains et économiques que rapportera à long terme le recul de la pauvreté chez les enfants.

Pour bien gérer la pauvreté enfantine, il faut savoir qu'avec l'évolution structurelle de l'économie, la pauvreté augmente ou diminue dans divers groupes sociaux. Certains groupes sont particulièrement vulnérables, dont les personnes âgées (les femmes surtout), les mères seules et leurs enfants. On a enregistré des progrès encourageants dans la lutte contre l'indigence des personnes âgées. Ainsi, le taux de pauvreté des ménages dirigés par une personne de 65 ans ou plus est tombé de 21,9 p. 100 en 1979 à 9,5 p. 100 en 1986 (base de 1978).⁽³⁶⁾ Le fait qu'il reste si élevé chez les personnes âgées célibataires (38,8 p. 100 en 1988, avec la base de 1978)⁽³⁷⁾ montre que, malgré l'amélioration du régime de retraite, notamment avec le supplément de revenu garanti versé aux personnes âgées à faible revenu et le développement des régimes de retraite du Canada et du Québec, il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Mais même si la pauvreté chez les aînés continue d'exiger une vigilance continue, on peut dire désormais qu'on a obtenu des résultats majeurs dans la lutte pour la réduire. Il nous faut maintenant faire de même pour nos enfants.

RECOMMANDATIONS

1. Nous recommandons que le gouvernement fédéral fasse sien l'objectif de réduire substantiellement la pauvreté des enfants au pays. À cette fin, nous proposons qu'il prenne l'initiative en mettant en œuvre, conjointement avec les autres niveaux de gouvernement et la population en général, des stratégies propres à répondre aux besoins des enfants vivant dans la pauvreté au Canada.
2. Nous recommandons de convoquer, dans les douze prochains mois, une conférence nationale où seraient représentés tous les niveaux de gouvernement et la population en général, afin de dégager des solutions conjointes au problème de la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada.

Si le présent rapport porte sur la gravité de la pauvreté chez les enfants à travers le pays, il entend aussi souligner la diversité des situations d'un groupe social à l'autre, et notamment la condition spéciale des enfants autochtones.

Le 1^{er} octobre dernier, les membres du Comité ont été encouragés d'apprendre que le ministre fédéral de la Santé et du Bien-être social aurait la responsabilité de soumettre au Cabinet des recommandations, suite à la Déclaration et au Plan d'action entérinés par le Canada lors du Sommet mondial sur l'enfance à New York. Ils sont aussi réconfortés par le fait que le ministère de la Santé et du Bien-être social élaborera de nouveaux mécanismes pour fournir la coordination et la cohérence voulues dans les domaines touchant l'enfance. Devant ces nouvelles perspectives:

⁽³⁶⁾ Ross et Shillington (1989), *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, p. 44. Santé et Bien-être social Canada, 1990, *Répercussions des bas revenus pour les personnes et les unités familiales*, Données inédites.

⁽³⁷⁾ Santé et Bien-être Canada, 1990, données non publiées.

CHAPITRE IV : DES REVENUS ET DES SERVICES, UNE DOUBLE NÉCESSITÉ

Les témoignages devant le Comité ont fait ressortir que les familles démunies ne possèdent pas de ressources suffisantes pour élever et nourrir leurs enfants. C'est pourquoi il importe de leur assurer en premier lieu des revenus. Mais il est clair également que le revenu, seul, ne suffit pas. Le docteur Dan Offord, responsable de l'étude sur la santé des enfants en Ontario, a mentionné au Comité :

Il est clair que des réformes économiques sont nécessaires. Il est clair aussi que les enfants pauvres ont besoin de plus que cela, qu'ils vont rester des laissés-pour-compte, peu importe ce que nous faisons pour augmenter le niveau de revenu... il faut à la fois des réformes économiques et des programmes non économiques pouvant remédier aux manques dont souffrent ces enfants.⁽³⁴⁾

Il convient donc, en sus de programmes économiques destinés à améliorer les ressources des ménages avec enfants, de mettre en œuvre des programmes de services. Les objectifs de ces derniers doivent comporter des logements abordables et décents, des services intégrés et appropriés, disponibles de manière continue au long de l'enfance, soit : programmes de soins prénataux, de garde d'enfants, d'alimentation, d'éducation, de loisirs et de besoins spéciaux.

Les programmes, d'ordre économique ou non, doivent être adaptés. C'est dire qu'ils ne doivent pas stigmatiser les enfants et leurs familles et leur créer de nouveaux problèmes. Ce n'est pas toujours le cas des programmes actuels. Ceux qui critiquent le Régime d'assistance du Canada, par exemple, soulignent l'espèce d'infamie attachée au fait de vivre de l'aide sociale⁽³⁵⁾. Les témoignages des participants à l'étude sur la santé des enfants ontariens indiquent que l'opprobre de l'assistance sociale entraîne une plus grande fréquence de problèmes sociaux à l'âge juvénile et adulte chez les enfants des familles assistées. Des effets analogues, comme la propension à la délinquance juvénile, sont observés chez les enfants de familles vivant dans des logements subventionnés par les chercheurs cités dans notre *Rapport provisoire*. Des témoins ont soutenu que des programmes de prestations familiales s'adressant à toutes les familles avec enfants permettraient d'éviter cette éventualité.

L'éradication de la pauvreté infantile et familiale exige des stratégies à court et à long terme. L'action à long terme nécessitera des modifications structurelles de la société canadienne, qui auront pour effets de minimiser et prévenir le dénuement. Ces changements supposent qu'on redistribue les responsabilités et les avantages entre les nantis et ceux qui le sont moins, qu'on définisse une stratégie de la main-d'œuvre et qu'on prenne en considération les obligations entre générations des adultes sans enfants à l'égard de ceux qui en ont.

À court terme, des mesures seront nécessaires pour soutenir la capacité des familles à satisfaire leurs besoins jusqu'à ce que les effets de l'action à long terme se fassent sentir. C'est pourquoi les stratégies à court et à long terme doivent s'enclencher simultanément et sans délai. L'élimination de la pauvreté chez les enfants se fera nécessairement par étapes, à mesure que les programmes touchant les revenus et les services deviendront plus préventifs que curatifs.

Pour s'attaquer au problème de la pauvreté des enfants, il faut accepter au départ que la solution passe par des dépenses sociales. Les programmes touchant le revenu sont de compétence fédérale,

(34) Délibérations, 20 mars 1990, fascicule 18, page 22-23.
(35) Délibérations, 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 35-36.

Il faut, selon eux, trouver des solutions de remplacement à l'aide sociale en milieu autochtone. Le Comité est de cet avis. L'assistance sociale constitue une nécessité évidente, dans l'immédiat, mais on doit viser à en réduire l'importance dans la vie des autochtones.

B. Peut-on résoudre le problème de la pauvreté des enfants?

Assurément, la réponse à cette question ne peut être que oui. Toutefois, étant donné les nombreux facteurs qui contribuent au problème, il n'existe pas de solution simple, toute faite. Nous savons que le fait de grandir dans le besoin expose les enfants à un certain nombre de risques, dont une mauvaise alimentation, une mauvaise santé physique et mentale, des difficultés scolaires et une propension au décrochage scolaire, à la délinquance juvénile et à une série de troubles du comportement, tels que l'intrusion et l'agressivité. La recherche sur le développement infantile montre que la prévention profite tout aussi bien à la société qu'aux enfants. Voici ce qu'en dit le Conseil canadien des enfants et de la jeunesse :

Si nous aidons tous les enfants au moyen de programmes de prévention primaire, tels que les soins de santé prénatals et post-natals, les services de garde d'enfants de qualité, le soutien et l'information des parents, nous pouvons contribuer à leur développement optimal. On pourra peut-être ainsi régler les problèmes avant qu'ils ne deviennent trop graves et coûteux.⁽³³⁾

L'action préventive suppose à la fois qu'on assure un revenu approprié aux familles avec enfants et qu'on adopte une conception de la prestation des services qui soit à la mesure de la diversité de leurs besoins. Il faut donc agir sur deux plans : soutien financier et prestation de services. Le Comité considère qu'il est possible, à court terme, de vaincre la pauvreté des enfants par une refonte du régime de soutien du revenu et par des services appropriés. À plus long terme, il faut reconnaître que l'élimination de la pauvreté chez les enfants exige une gestion, une évaluation et des ajustements continus.

des jeunes Amérindiens ainsi «placés» était quatre fois plus élevé que celui des autres enfants canadiens, soit 3,2 p. 100 contre 0,8 p. 100.

Le même document souligne les facteurs de risque multiple associés à cette pauvreté, facteurs qui prédisposent les enfants autochtones aux problèmes sociaux de l'âge adulte. L'alcoolisme et la toxicomanie, de même que les sévices physiques et sexuels, sont monnaie courante dans le milieu ambiant de nombreux jeunes autochtones pauvres; ils sont souvent associés à des difficultés de vie à l'âge adulte :

Une enquête dans la bande Coldwater, en Colombie-Britannique, a révélé 497 cas de sévices physiques et sexuels et 49 cas d'inceste. Nous savons que les victimes de tels actes parviennent à l'âge adulte en concentrant toute leur énergie sur la maîtrise ou la dénégation de la douleur qu'ils ont ressentie. Les victimes de l'inceste, en particulier, souffrent d'une perte débilissante d'estime de soi et sont plus susceptibles de développer des tendances à l'autodestruction. Toutes les victimes de violence familiale ne deviennent pas elles-mêmes des parents tortionnaires. Mais plusieurs parents qui se livrent à des abus ont eux-mêmes souffert, enfants, aux mains de parents qui avaient eux-mêmes subi des sévices dans les établissements où on les avait envoyés. Ils ont acquis des modes de comportement qu'il leur faut désapprendre.⁽²⁸⁾

Comparées aux familles canadiennes en général, les familles indiennes reçoivent l'aide sociale en plus grand nombre. De fait, les témoins de l'APN ont indiqué que les enfants et adultes indiens qui touchent l'aide sociale au titre du RAC (290 000) sont plus nombreux que l'ensemble des assistés sociaux dans les quatre provinces de l'Atlantique (201 000).⁽²⁹⁾ Ils ont aussi affirmé que les fonds d'aide sociale que les autochtones reçoivent couramment pourraient être mieux employés si on leur donnait plus de latitude pour les gérer eux-mêmes:

...étant donné que nous ne voulons pas être des assistés jusqu'à la fin des temps, il est important que les autochtones puissent utiliser l'argent de l'assistance sociale pour créer des possibilités pour leur peuple.⁽³⁰⁾

Le Comité estime que l'on doit prêter attention à ces préoccupations. Il invite instamment le gouvernement fédéral à chercher, en collaboration avec les autochtones, les moyens d'accorder à ces derniers une plus grande latitude dans la gestion des fonds d'aide sociale.

L'APN nous a exhorté à prendre en considération l'indigence des enfants autochtones et surtout les effets à long terme de la pauvreté sur la vie et l'avenir de ces enfants. Ils ont demandé la collaboration de notre Comité à cet égard⁽³¹⁾, affirmant que:

La meilleure façon de régler les problèmes sociaux de nos communautés est de fournir à notre peuple des ressources adéquates pour qu'il subviene à ses propres besoins, d'une façon conforme à ses propres aspirations et à son mode de vie... l'assistance sociale ne permettra pas de remédier à la pauvreté (des autochtones).⁽³²⁾

(28) Assemblée des Premières nations, 1989, p. 17.
(29) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 43.
(30) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 49.
(31) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 42.
(32) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 44.

A. La pauvreté des enfants autochtones

Tout tableau de la pauvreté des enfants au Canada serait incomplet sans un examen des conditions de vie des jeunes autochtones. Comme l'indique le présent rapport, les estimations actuelles sur la pauvreté des enfants ne disent pas toute l'étendue de cette pauvreté au Canada, parce qu'elles ne comprennent pas de données sur le milieu autochtone. Depuis la Confédération, le bilan canadien à l'égard des peuples autochtones, en général, et des enfants autochtones, en particulier, n'est guère brillant. Une étude commandée par la Fondation Laidlaw a fait ressortir que 51 p. 100 de tous les enfants autochtones sont démunis, ce chiffre ne différant guère selon qu'ils résident ou non dans une réserve.⁽²²⁾ Le taux élevé de pauvreté chez les enfants autochtones reflète le fait que la pauvreté est plus répandue, en général, chez les autochtones que dans le reste de la population canadienne.⁽²³⁾ Selon le recensement de 1986, près de 85 p. 100 de toutes les familles amérindiennes ont un revenu inférieur à 10 000 \$, comme les porte-parole de l'Assemblée des Premières nations en ont témoigné devant le Comité.⁽²⁴⁾

Tout éloquentes qu'ils soient, ces chiffres ne sauraient à eux seuls décrire la réalité de la pauvreté autochtone. On a fourni au Comité un résumé des faits qui dévoile dans une bonne mesure l'étendue de cette misère. Il s'agit d'un dénuement qui commence à la naissance et se répercute sur toute la vie.

À la naissance, le petit autochtone a une espérance de vie de huit ans inférieure à la moyenne des non-autochtones canadiens. Chez les enfants en bas âge, la mortalité au cours de la première année y est quatre fois supérieure à la moyenne nationale et le taux de mortalité infantile deux fois plus élevé. Les enfants autochtones risquent aussi davantage de mourir par accident entre un an et 19 ans: 73 p. 100 des décès y sont attribuables à une cause accidentelle, à comparer à la moyenne nationale de 56 p. 100. Enfin, un autochtone, à 19 ans accomplis, est six fois plus susceptible qu'un autre jeune Canadien d'avoir perdu un ou une amie de son âge par suicide.⁽²⁵⁾

Le logement est aussi un problème majeur dans le cas des enfants autochtones. Selon l'Assemblée des Premières nations (APN), près de 60 p. 100 des logements autochtones ne comportent pas d'eau courante, d'égoût ou d'installations sanitaires. En outre, les jeunes Amérindiens sont beaucoup plus susceptibles de grandir dans des logements surpeuplés. En 1986, le pourcentage de logements surpeuplés dans les réserves était onze fois supérieur à celui des collectivités voisines. Enfin, 38 p. 100 des logements autochtones dans les réserves n'ont pas le chauffage central; la proportion est d'environ 5 p. 100 pour l'ensemble du Canada.⁽²⁶⁾

Les enfants autochtones sont beaucoup plus sujets que les autres à connaître les services canadiens d'aide à l'enfance. Comme le mentionne le document *The National Inquiry Into First Nations' Child Care* de l'APN, jusque quatre-vingt des milliers d'enfants indiens ont été placés dans des foyers d'accueil et des établissements ou confiés à des parents adoptifs.⁽²⁷⁾ En 1987, le pourcentage

(22) E. Richard Shillington, *Estimates of the Extent of Native Child Poverty: Census 1986*, (recherche entreprise pour la Fondation Laidlaw, 6 février 1990).

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 43.

(25) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 43.

(26) Délibérations, 6 mars 1990, fascicule 16, p. 43.

(27) Assemblée des Premières nations, *National Inquiry into First Nations Child Care*, Ottawa, Ontario, 1989.

Comment se nourrissent les enfants démunis? L'Association canadienne des banques alimentaires estimait, dans son bulletin *Hunger Count* de mars 1989, que les enfants sont deux fois plus susceptibles que les adultes de requérir une assistance alimentaire. Les enfants de moins de 18 ans constituaient 40 p. 100 des 378 000 personnes qui fréquentaient les banques alimentaires chaque mois (151 000 enfants).⁽²⁰⁾ Ces chiffres donnent à penser que beaucoup d'enfants pauvres sont mal nourris et que certains d'entre eux, contraints de sauter des repas ou de survivre avec des aliments élémentaires comme le riz, les pâtes et le pain, souffrent littéralement de faim.

Les facteurs de risque multiple, que l'on rencontre plus fréquemment chez les enfants démunis, et particulièrement ceux de familles rivées à la pauvreté dans des quartiers où la misère se concentre, sont fréquemment déclencheurs de problèmes sociaux à l'âge adulte. Diverses études ont montré⁽²¹⁾ le risque accru de déficit de poids à la naissance, de mauvaise alimentation, de troubles du développement, de difficultés scolaires, de délinquance juvénile et de sévices chez les enfants pauvres. Des recherches ont aussi fait la preuve que l'exposition comparativement plus élevée de ces enfants aux facteurs de risque multiple explique le lien entre la pauvreté pendant l'enfance et les problèmes de l'âge adulte, tels que chômage, maladie et invalidité physique et mentale, analphabétisme et délinquance.

On a rappelé au Comité que les enfants pauvres sont les fils et les filles d'adultes démunis et qu'on ne peut, de ce fait, isoler la pauvreté dans l'enfance de son contexte familial. Ce dénuement résulte en partie de la détérioration des conditions économiques des familles canadiennes. Des témoins ont indiqué au Comité que, contrairement à une idée répandue, la majorité des enfants pauvres vivent avec leurs deux parents, lesquels peuvent être petits salariés, chômeurs, sous-employés, malades ou handicapés. De nombreuses familles canadiennes ne seraient démunies qu'à cause de la présence de leurs enfants. Les hausses d'impôt et les réductions de prestations sociales ces dernières années, la pénurie de services de garde accessibles et bon marché, le peu d'instruction, le manque d'accès à la formation et au recyclage professionnel et le montant excessif des loyers: tous ces facteurs mettent quantité de familles à rude épreuve.

Plusieurs témoins ont évoqué le nombre croissant de familles à revenu faible et moyen qui ont de plus en plus de mal à joindre les deux bouts. Les auteurs de l'étude *Données de base sur la pauvreté* distinguent ainsi les «quasi-pauvres», dont le revenu n'est que de 10 à 20 p. 100 supérieur aux seuils de faible revenu de Statistique Canada et dont le niveau de vie n'est guère différent de celui des pauvres. Les recherches et témoignages de divers témoins indiquent qu'un bon nombre parmi ceux qui se maintiennent juste au-dessus du seuil de la pauvreté n'y parviennent que grâce à l'existence de deux salaires dans le ménage. Les familles monoparentales, privées d'un deuxième salaire, ne peuvent de ce fait éviter de plonger dans le dénuement.

⁽²⁰⁾ Hungerwatch Program, Association canadienne des banques alimentaires, *Canadian Hunger Count* 1989, Toronto, novembre 1989. Cette étude comportait des enquêtes spéciales effectuées par les banques alimentaires de 65 villes canadiennes, couvrant 907 programmes de restauration et de fourniture de nourriture d'urgence. Ces enquêtes ont permis le comptage direct des personnes recevant des bons de nourriture dans des régions comptant ensemble plus de la moitié de la population du pays.

⁽²¹⁾ S.K. Escalona, «Babies at Double Hazard: Early Development of Infants at Biological and Social Risk», *Pediatrics*, vol. 70, n° 5, novembre 1982; A.W. Myres et D. Kroetish, «The Influence of Family Income on Food Consumption Patterns and Nutrient Intake in Canada», *The Canadian Journal of Public Health*, vol. 69, 1978; Direction des services à l'enfance, ministère des Services communautaires et sociaux de l'Ontario (avec l'assistance de David P. Ross), *Low Income and Child Development: A Case for Prevention Strategies*, A Background Paper for the Ontario Social Assistance Review, juin 1987; David Farrington, *Early Precursors of High Rate Offending*, communication à la conférence sur la délinquance de la famille, université Harvard, 1985; M.A. Strauss et R.J. Gelles, «Social Change in Family Violence from 1975 to 1985 as Revealed in Two National Surveys», *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, vol. 48, 1986.

Il y a eu, ces dernières années, diminution du nombre d'enfants vivant dans des familles de «travailleurs pauvres»⁽¹⁷⁾, de 42,7 p. 100 en 1979 à 37,4 p. 100 en 1986 (base de 1978). Cependant, on a constaté une augmentation du nombre de ceux qui vivent dans des familles dont les adultes ne travaillent pas et qu'on désigne par l'expression «autres familles pauvres». En 1979, 57,3 p. 100 des enfants pauvres vivaient dans ces «autres familles pauvres», et leur pourcentage était passé à 62,6 p. 100 en 1986 (base de 1978).

Selon les *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, 86 p. 100 des enfants de ces familles pauvres appartenaient à des familles monoparentales ayant une femme à leur tête. La plupart d'entre elles touchaient une aide sociale au titre du Régime d'assistance du Canada (RAC). Santé et Bien-être social Canada estime, sur la base des données communiquées par les provinces pour le mois de mars 1989, qu'environ 680 000 enfants font partie de familles aidées socialement. Une étude ontarienne sur l'enfance indique que, dans cette province du moins, les enfants des familles recevant l'aide sociale du RAC sont nettement plus susceptibles de connaître des conditions de vie préjudiciables à leur développement et à leur bien-être que les enfants de familles laborieuses pauvres.⁽¹⁸⁾

Dans quelles conditions matérielles vivent les enfants pauvres? Sans vouloir nier les différences indubitables qui peuvent exister entre familles démunies au Canada, on est frappé de voir à quel point les conditions de pauvreté des enfants se ressemblent. Les enfants nécessaires sont plus susceptibles de vivre dans des logements vétustes ou d'éprouver ce que l'on qualifie souvent de «besoin impérieux de logement». La Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement signale que, sur les trois millions de ménages canadiens comptant des enfants de moins de 16 ans, près de 11 p. 100 vivent dans de telles conditions.⁽¹⁹⁾

Que signifie, concrètement, un «besoin impérieux de logement»? Il s'agit de ménages qui doivent consacrer une partie excessive de leur revenu au logement. On a cité au Comité de nombreux cas de ménages dont 50 p. 100, ou même 70 p. 100, du revenu est accaparé par le logement. Ce problème est crucial dans de grandes agglomérations comme Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton et Calgary. Quand la famille a la chance de ne déboursier qu'entre 30 et 35 p. 100 de son revenu pour le logement, celui-ci laisse souvent à désirer. Les inconvénients peuvent être de divers ordres: piètre chauffage, manque d'eau chaude, mauvaise ventilation, insécurité, et notamment manque d'espace de jeu pour les enfants. Le «besoin impérieux de logement» peut également signifier que la famille vit dans un complexe de logements subventionnés, avec tous les problèmes de délinquance et de vandalisme que l'on y rencontre et qui créent un milieu dans lequel les enfants pauvres sont plus exposés aux difficultés de santé, de développement et autres.

⁽¹⁷⁾ On considère comme «travailleurs pauvres», au sein d'un ménage, la ou les personnes qui ont accumulé au moins 49 semaines de travail rémunéré à plein temps, au cours de l'année, et qui ont moins de 65 ans. Dans les foyers qui ne comprennent qu'un seul travailleur salarié, la règle veut que cette personne soit sur le marché du travail durant toute l'année. La où se trouvent deux adultes salariés, il suffit d'une accumulation de temps de travail équivalant à 49 semaines. Cette définition exclut tout revenu gagné par des enfants à charge.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Dan Offord et al., *Ontario Child Health Study*, réalisée par McMaster University et Chedoke McMaster Hospital, en collaboration avec Statistique Canada, Hamilton, Ontario, 1985.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement, Division de la recherche, *An Assessment of the Number of Children Living in Housing Need 1988*, mars 1989.

CHAPITRE III: LA PAUVRETÉ DANS L'ENFANCE AU CANADA

Comme on le voit, dresser un tableau de la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada n'est guère facile ni plaisant. La tâche se complique encore à cause des différences et variations régionales, et à cause des conditions de vie particulières des enfants autochtones. En gardant ces faits à l'esprit, nous mettrons en relief ici la condition des enfants pauvres au Canada. Un section distincte traite spécifiquement des enfants autochtones.

Les données ne manquent pas sur les conditions de vie des enfants pauvres, conditions qui sont le lot quotidien d'un enfant sur six au Canada. Le nombre d'enfants nécessaires à diminuer au cours des années soixante-dix, pour augmenter de nouveau au cours de la récession du début des années quatre-vingt et atteindre un sommet en 1984, avec 1 154 000, soit 20,1 p. 100 de tous les enfants (base de 1978). Heureusement, il est de nouveau en recul (913 000, soit 16,1 p. 100 d'enfants pauvres en 1988 — selon la base de 1986 — ou 875 000, soit 15,4 p. 100, selon la base de 1978); mais il reste encore supérieur à ce qu'il était (14,8 p. 100, selon la base de 1978) avant la récession de 1980.⁽¹²⁾ La pauvreté enfantine marque en outre des différences notables d'une province à l'autre, puisqu'elle est, par exemple, de 22,6 p. 100 en Saskatchewan et de 20,7 p. 100 à Terre-Neuve, contre seulement 11,9 p. 100 en Ontario.⁽¹³⁾

Entre tous, le sort des enfants de familles monoparentales est le plus inquiétant. Les Données de base sur la pauvreté constatent qu'en 1986, si la majorité des enfants pauvres au Canada vivent encore dans des familles biparentales, les taux de pauvreté des enfants de familles monoparentales, surtout celles ayant une femme à leur tête, et de familles biparentales dirigées par une personne de moins de 24 ans, sont particulièrement élevés.⁽¹⁴⁾ En 1986, 56,1 p. 100 des familles monoparentales dirigées par une femme étaient pauvres (base de 1978). Les mères seules à faible revenu étaient beaucoup plus jeunes que les autres et moins susceptibles d'occuper un emploi.⁽¹⁵⁾

Les familles monoparentales dirigées par un homme affichaient en 1988 un taux de pauvreté de 22,8 p. 100 (base de 1978). La même année (et toujours à partir des données de 1978), 30,2 p. 100 des familles dont le chef avait 24 ans ou moins étaient pauvres.⁽¹⁶⁾ C'est l'instruction qui fait ici la différence, selon les *Données de base sur la pauvreté*. Car parmi ces jeunes chefs de familles démunies, la proportion de ceux qui ont suivi des études postsecondaires est nettement moindre que chez les chefs de familles non démunies du même âge.

⁽¹²⁾ Mémoire au Comité du Conseil national du bien-être social, p. 2.

⁽¹³⁾ Joan Vance, *La pauvreté au Canada*, Bulletin d'actualité, 88-14F, Service de recherche, Bibliothèque du Parlement, Ottawa, 1989, p. 47-49 (cité ci-après).

⁽¹⁴⁾ David P. Ross et Richard Shillington, Conseil canadien du développement social, Ottawa, 1989, p. 47-49 (cité ci-après comme les *Données de base sur la pauvreté*).

⁽¹⁵⁾ Ross et Shillington (1989), *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, p. 44.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ibid., p. 44.

environ 187 000 élèves abandonneront l'école en raison de leur dénuement (voir Annexe 1, *La pauvreté chez les enfants et les mauvais résultats scolaires: coûts économiques et conséquences pour la société*).

Un tel décrochage scolaire pourrait coûter à l'État 620 millions de dollars en prestations d'assurance chômage, et 710 millions en aide sociale, estime-t-on. Par ailleurs, si ce décrochage n'avait pas lieu, les recettes de l'impôt sur le revenu fédéral et provincial augmenteraient de 7,2 milliards de dollars et les taxes à la consommation de 1,15 milliard. Enfin, les études indiquent que les revenus seraient supérieurs de 23 milliards de dollars, si les jeunes «décrocheurs» pour raison de pauvreté avaient atteint un niveau moyen d'éducation.

À cause de leur scolarisation limitée, les enfants pauvres n'ont que de piètres perspectives d'emploi. Nous savons aujourd'hui que les emplois rémunérés au salaire minimum ne rapportent qu'une fraction du revenu nécessaire aux conditions de vie même les plus frugales. Car le salaire minimum, qui équivalait à 81 p. 100 du seuil de la pauvreté en 1975 (selon la base de données de 1968) ne représentait plus que 42,4 p. 100 de ce seuil en 1990 (base de 1986).⁽¹⁰⁾

Comme l'affirmait une étude menée récemment aux États-Unis, où le problème des enfants pauvres se pose en termes encore plus aigus qu'au Canada, il est «à notre portée» de briser ce cercle vicieux.⁽¹¹⁾ Nombre de témoins nous ont parlé d'interventions efficaces, non déshonorantes et pratiques dans des conditions qui laissent quelque latitude aux familles. Sachant que ces interventions sont possibles et connues, par ailleurs, les dommages et les souffrances, individuels et collectifs, qu'entraîne la pauvreté dans l'enfance, il nous apparaît inconcevable de ne rien faire pour régler le problème. Les experts en sciences sociales et économiques ne cessent de sonner l'alarme: le Canada ne pourra plus prospérer et soutenir longtemps la concurrence mondiale si près d'un sixième de ses enfants continuent à grandir dans l'indigence et dans des conditions qui mettent gravement en péril leurs chances de devenir des citoyens heureux et productifs.

De même, comme l'indiquent les récents développements dans la prévention du crime, si nous voulons vivre dans des collectivités plus sûres et plus saines, nous ne pouvons nous permettre d'ignorer les problèmes que connaissent les jeunes délinquants potentiels, sinon nous devons en souffrir les conséquences. Les jeunes dans le besoin sont plus exposés à ce risque que les autres. Les enfants sont l'avenir de toute société. Il ne saurait y avoir de meilleur placement pour l'avenir du Canada qu'en investissant dans nos enfants pauvres. Il répugne à notre Comité, de même qu'aux nombreux témoins qui ont comparu devant nous, de justifier seulement par des motifs de gros sous ou de profit économique la nécessité d'éliminer la pauvreté des enfants. Mais s'il le faut, les chiffres sont assez eloquents: ils peuvent parler pour les enfants pauvres, qui ne le peuvent guère. Le présent rapport entend donc ajouter une voix supplémentaire à celles qui défendent déjà les citoyens les plus démunis et les plus vulnérables du Canada.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Conseil canadien de développement social, *Mémoire au Comité*, 2 mars 1990, p. 8.
⁽¹¹⁾ Schorr, L. *Within our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantages*, Doubleday, Toronto, 1988.

Malgré les difficultés techniques qui se posent pour évaluer précisément le nombre d'enfants pauvres au Canada, on ne peut nier qu'un nombre significatif d'enfants canadiens (un sur six)⁽⁷⁾ vivent dans des conditions qui les désavantagent grandement sur le plan social, physique et émotionnel, à court et à long terme. Il est temps que les Canadiens et leurs gouvernements se penchent sérieusement sur cette réalité.

B. Comparaisons internationales

La pauvreté infantile au Canada est demeurée relativement stable (autour de 16 p. 100) ces dernières années. Parmi les pays industrialisés, le Canada n'a cependant guère de quoi se glorifier en ce qui concerne les mesures prises pour assurer le bien-être de ses enfants. Il faut dire que toute comparaison internationale doit être faite avec précaution. Comme le laissent entendre les auteurs des *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, la rareté des informations disponibles et l'incompatibilité des données et des définitions posent de sérieuses contraintes.

Une étude luxembourgeoise (Luxembourg Income Study), notamment, utilise une mesure de pauvreté relative. On calcule, dans un pays donné, le nombre de foyers dont le revenu disponible (après impôt et paiements de transferts) s'élève à moins de la moitié du revenu moyen disponible par foyer dans ce même pays. Cela fournit une mesure plus uniformisée, qui permet les comparaisons entre divers pays. Selon cette méthode, le taux de pauvreté des enfants canadiens, à 16 p. 100 environ, est demeuré plus bas au cours des années que celui des États-Unis, qui s'établit à environ 20 p. 100. Cependant, en comparaison d'autres pays industrialisés, et particulièrement les pays scandinaves, le tableau n'est pas aussi encourageant; car la Norvège et la Suède affichent des taux de 5,6 et 5,2 respectivement.⁽⁸⁾

Les États-Unis et l'Australie ont publié récemment des rapports sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance.⁽⁹⁾ Ces documents brossent des tableaux remarquablement similaires des effets néfastes de la pauvreté. Dans ces pays, de même qu'au Canada, les enfants pauvres éprouvent bien des privations. La recherche et l'expérience mettent en évidence une forte corrélation entre le grand nombre de ces privations et les problèmes sociaux de l'âge adulte, tels que chômage, maladie, invalidité physique et mentale, analphabétisme et délinquance.

C. Pauvreté, faible scolarité et emplois peu lucratifs

Trop souvent, qui est pauvre enfant l'est aussi adulte. Cet engrenage est en partie attribuable aux taux d'abandon scolaire des enfants et adolescents pauvres. À l'aide des données courantes de Statistique Canada, une étude réalisée pour notre Comité estime qu'au cours des vingt prochaines années,

⁽⁷⁾ Délibérations du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales des sciences et de la technologie (ci-après *Délibérations*), 3 avril 1990, fascicule 20, p. 22.

⁽⁸⁾ Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, *Rapport provisoire*, p. 6; Ross et Shillington (1989), *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, p. 85.

⁽⁹⁾ National Center for Children in Poverty, *Five Million Children: A Statistical Profile of Our Poorest Young Citizens*, School of Public Health, Columbia University, New York, 1990; Don Edgard, David Keane et Peter McDonald, *Child Poverty*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, Australie, 1989.

Canada augmente ce montant de 20 p. cent, afin d'obtenir un chiffre qui corresponde au niveau identifié comme le seuil de faible revenu.

À la base de l'estimation du pourcentage de revenu brut consacré aux besoins courants, se trouvent les enquêtes sur les dépenses des familles, menées épisodiquement par Statistique Canada. Les années où il n'y a pas d'enquêtes, l'organisme fédéral ajuste ses seuils de faible revenu selon les changements de l'indice des prix à la consommation.

Pour établir plus précisément les seuils de faible revenu, les statisticiens tiennent compte de la taille de la famille et de sa situation géographique (urbaine ou rurale). La distinction rurale/urbaine est raffinée encore par la dimension de la communauté: plus celle-ci est grande, plus les seuils seront élevés. Statistique Canada a abouti de la sorte à 35 seuils de faible revenu. Mais certains problèmes demeurent.

L'utilisation des enquêtes sur les dépenses des familles, comme base de calcul des seuils de faible revenu, est problématique parce qu'elle exclut certains groupes de population: les habitants des Territoires, ceux et celles qui vivent en institutions et dans les réserves amérindiennes, ainsi que les membres des Forces armées. De même, les données sur le revenu qui peuvent servir de comparaison avec les seuils de faible revenu, pour évaluer le nombre de gens dans telle ou telle catégorie de revenu, sont tirées des enquêtes annuelles sur les finances des consommateurs, lesquelles font aussi abstraction des groupes de population précités. En conséquence, les chiffres publiés couramment sur la pauvreté excluent les populations pauvres des Territoires et des réserves autochtones.

Une autre source d'erreurs vient du fait que les seuils de faible revenu utilisés correspondent à différentes années d'enquêtes sur les dépenses des familles: 1968, 1978 ou 1986. De nombreux analyses de politique sociale se servent de la base de données de 1986 pour calculer le nombre d'enfants pauvres au Canada. Cependant, Statistique Canada et Santé et Bien-être social Canada continuent d'utiliser la base de données de 1978. Selon les *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, en se servant des chiffres entièrement révisés de 1986 plutôt que de ceux de 1978, on obtient 118 000 familles et 121 000 personnes indépendantes de plus dans la catégorie des faibles revenus. Le nombre d'enfants pauvres varie aussi selon l'âge adopté pour définir les enfants et selon qu'on inclut ou non les jeunes autochtones dans le total.

En se servant de la base de 1978, on arrive en 1988 à un chiffre d'environ 875 000 enfants en situation de pauvreté (à l'exception des groupes mentionnés plus haut).⁽⁵⁾ Avec la base de 1986, par contre, on aboutit, toujours en 1988, à quelque 913 000 enfants pauvres de moins de 16 ans; si on ajoute les adolescents de 16 et 17 ans habitant avec leurs parents, ainsi que les enfants vivant dans les réserves, on arrive à un chiffre dépassant le million: autour de 1,1 million.⁽⁶⁾ C'est pourquoi, après chaque chiffre mentionné dans le présent rapport, on indique entre parenthèses la base de données dont il provient.

(5) Santé et Bien-être social Canada, *Enfants du Canada, enfants du monde*: mémoire national du Canada pour le Sommet mondial sur l'enfance, Approuvismements et Services Canada, Ottawa, 1990.
(6) David P. Ross et Richard Shillington, *Données de base sur la pauvreté*, Conseil canadien du développement social, Ottawa, 1989. Voir aussi: Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, *La pauvreté dans l'enfance et les problèmes sociaux à l'âge adulte*, Rapport provisoire, décembre 1989, p.3.

CHAPITRE II : RÉALITÉ INQUIÉTANTE, UN ENFANT SUR SIX VIT DANS LA PAUVRETÉ AU CANADA

Les médias ne cessent de nous projeter les images accablantes des ravages de la pauvreté et de la famine parmi les enfants de l'Inde, d'Afrique et d'Amérique du Sud. Ces réalités nous inspirent des sentiments de douleur, de compassion et de culpabilité, qui débouchent souvent sur des gestes humanitaires concrets. Or, si les Canadiens sont relativement bien informés de la misère qui sévit à l'étranger, ils ont moins conscience, par contre, de la fréquence et de l'ampleur de la pauvreté chez les enfants du Canada.⁽²⁾ Cela peut tenir en partie au fait qu'on associe la pauvreté à certaines images frappantes : ventres ballonnés, visages creusés, yeux enfoncés et corps squelettiques. Dans la mesure où la pauvreté des enfants se présente sous des traits différents au Canada, la gravité du problème peut y échapper à notre conscience. En 1975, un rapport du Conseil national du bien-être social décrivait ce que signifiait la pauvreté pour un enfant au Canada :

«Naître pauvre, c'est avoir toute votre vie une santé plus chancelante que celle des riches. Naître pauvre veut dire que vos chances de terminer votre éducation secondaire sont réduites et que la probabilité que vous fassiez des études universitaires est infime. Naître pauvre augmente vos chances qu'étant adolescent on vous jugera 'délinquant' et qu'on vous mettra en 'maison de correction'. Quand on est pauvre les jeux sont faits : on devra lutter pour monter, toute sa vie. Naître pauvre est injuste pour un enfant.»⁽³⁾

A. Comment mesurer la pauvreté des enfants au Canada

La définition et l'ampleur de la pauvreté au Canada, comme ailleurs, restent très imprécises. Il existe plusieurs étalons de mesure de la pauvreté, notamment les seuils de faible revenu de Statistique Canada, les seuils de revenu du Conseil canadien de développement social, les seuils de pauvreté du comité du Sénat (d'après le rapport publié en 1971 par le comité présidé par le sénateur David Croll, rapport remis à jour annuellement), divers pourcentages d'assistance sociale provinciale et les directives du Dispensaire diététique de Montréal. Cependant, les seuils de faible revenu de Statistique Canada sont les mesures les plus utilisées au pays. Statistique Canada n'en parle pas comme de seuils de pauvreté mais indique que les personnes vivant sous ces niveaux de revenu peuvent être dites vivant dans des «conditions précaires». La plupart des analystes en politique sociale considèrent ces niveaux établis par Statistique Canada comme des seuils de pauvreté.

Le calcul des seuils de faible revenu comporte une estimation du pourcentage du revenu brut⁽⁴⁾ que la famille canadienne moyenne consacre à la nourriture, au vêtement et au logement. Statistique

⁽²⁾ Aux fins du présent rapport, on considérera comme pauvre tout enfant qui vit dans une famille dont le revenu est égal ou inférieur aux seuils de faible revenu établis par Statistique Canada. Pour cet organisme, une famille est dite à faible revenu si elle consacre plus de 58,5 p. 100 de son revenu à la nourriture, au logement et au vêtement. Les seuils de faible revenu varient selon la taille de la famille et l'endroit où elle réside, et ils sont mis à jour chaque année pour tenir compte des changements du coût de la vie mesuré au moyen de l'indice des prix à la consommation. En 1988, le seuil de faible revenu était de 23 539 \$ pour une famille de quatre personnes dans un grand centre urbain (de 500 000 habitants ou plus), et de 17 316 \$ pour une famille semblable vivant en milieu rural.

⁽³⁾ *Les enfants pauvres* : Rapport du Conseil national du bien-être social, Ottawa, mars 1975.

⁽⁴⁾ Pour calculer le revenu brut, Statistique Canada tient compte des salaires avant retenues à la source, du revenu net tiré d'un emploi indépendant, des revenus de placement, des transferts de l'État, des allocations de formation, des rentes privées, des bourses d'études et des pensions alimentaires.

LA PAUVRETÉ DANS L'ENFANCE : VERS UN AVENIR MEILLEUR

CHAPITRE I : MANDAT DU COMITÉ

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a derrière lui une longue tradition de recherche sur les problèmes des enfants canadiens. En 1980, présidé par le sénateur Lorne Bonnell, le Comité publiait son rapport *L'enfant en péril*. Ce document étudiait la relation entre les événements vécus dans l'enfance et le comportement criminel. Par la suite, sous la présidence du sénateur Arthur Tremblay, le Comité publia trois rapports: *Analyse des prestations pour enfants et des prestations aux familles au Canada: document de travail*, en 1985; *Les prestations pour enfants: Proposition d'un supplément de revenu familial garanti*, en 1987; et *La garde des enfants*, en 1988.

Dans un discours au Sénat le 17 mai 1988, la sénatrice Robertson avait attiré l'attention sur la catastrophe humaine et économique que constitue la pauvreté des enfants. Elle se disait déterminée à mener une étude qui ne soit pas une simple énumération des séquelles du dénuement mais qui propose-rait des solutions véritables. Devant l'ampleur de l'entreprise, elle déclarait :

... tous les gouvernements se sont toujours préoccupés d'éliminer la pauvreté. Les moyens dont nous disposons pour l'éliminer sont insuffisants. Sans la recherche appropriée et sans les données nécessaires, nos efforts ne pourront porter que sur les manifestations de la pauvreté et non pas sur ses causes.⁽¹⁾

Le 7 juin 1988, le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie normait un sous-comité, présidé par la sénatrice Brenda Robertson, afin de mener une étude et de présenter un rapport sur le lien entre la pauvreté dans l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux particulièrement coûteux de l'âge adulte, ainsi que sur les mesures qui pourraient atténuer ces problèmes. Le 21 juin 1989, le Comité obtenait du Sénat l'autorisation de poursuivre son étude sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance.

L'« Rapport provisoire, intitulé *La pauvreté dans l'enfance et les problèmes sociaux à l'âge adulte*, (cité ci-après comme le *Rapport provisoire*), fut déposé le 19 décembre 1989. Ce rapport qualifie la pauvreté dans l'enfance de problème social très grave, exigeant une attention immédiate. Poursui-

vant son étude en 1990, le Comité a :

- 1) évalué de façon plus fouillée le coût social et économique de la pauvreté dans l'enfance; et

- 2) proposé des solutions au problème de la pauvreté des enfants au Canada.

Le présent rapport recommande d'autres changements aux prestations pour les enfants et les familles, et il préconise une intervention à deux volets. Le Comité considère, en effet, qu'on ne réglera le problème de la pauvreté des enfants au Canada qu'en soutenant les revenus, d'un côté, et en fournis-

⁽¹⁾ *Débats du Sénat*, 17 mai 1988, p. 3408.

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REMERCIEMENTS

Le Comité tient à remercier M^{mes} Sandra Harder et Joan Vance, attachées de recherche à la Bibliothèque du Parlement, pour le travail de recherche effectué pour ce rapport. Le Comité remercie également M. Ken Battle, M. Richard Shillington et M. David P. Ross, consultants extérieurs, M^{me} Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche rattachée au Centre parlementaire, ainsi que M. Serge Pelletier, le greffier du Comité.

RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

VINGT-TROISIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité, autorisé à étudier et à faire rapport sur le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mercredi 21 juin 1989, entrepris cet examen et présente maintenant son rapport final intitulé *La pauvreté dans l'enfance: vers un avenir meilleur.*

Respectueusement vôtre,

Le président
LORNA MARS DEN

Extrait des procès-verbaux du Sénat du 29 janvier 1991 :

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Comeau,

Avec la permission du Sénat et nonobstant l'article 45(1)a) du Règlement,

Que nonobstant l'ordre de renvoi adopté par le Sénat le 20 décembre 1989 et l'ordre de renvoi du 27 juin 1990, le Comité permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie qui a été autorisé à poursuivre son étude sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada, soit habilité à présenter son rapport au plus tard le jeudi 28 mars 1991.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Gordon Barnhart
Greffier du Sénat

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des procès-verbaux du Sénat du mercredi 21 juin 1989 :

L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Turner,

Que le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie soit autorisé à examiner le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes; et

Que le Comité présente son rapport au plus tard le 31 décembre 1989.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Extrait des procès-verbaux du Sénat du 20 décembre 1989 :

Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat aborde l'étude du dixième rapport du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie (date du rapport final sur l'étude sur la pauvreté de l'enfance reportée), présente au Sénat le 19 décembre 1989.

Après débat,

L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Watt, que le rapport soit adopté.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Extrait des procès-verbaux du Sénat du 27 juin 1990 :

L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Leblanc (*Sauvel*),

Que l'ordre de renvoi du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie du 20 décembre 1989, concernant la pauvreté dans l'enfance, soit modifié en retranchant les mots «29 juin 1990» et en les remplaçant par les mots «31 octobre 1990».

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

MEMBRES

Présidente: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-présidente: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs

Jack Austin, P.C.
Peter Bosa
Paul David
Philippe Gigantès
Jacques Hébert
Michael Kirby
Thérèse Lavoie-Roux
*Allan MacEachen, P.C.
(ou Royce Frith)

Lorna Marsden
Jack Marshall
*Lowell Murray, P.C.
(ou William Doody)
Brenda Robertson
Noel A. Kinsella
Norbert Thériault

**Membres d'office*

Remarque: Les honorables sénateurs Beaudoin, Bonnell, Cochrane, Doyle, Ha-
dasz, Rossiter, Spivak et Tremblay ont aussi participé aux travaux du
Comité.

LA PAUVRETÉ DANS L'ENFANCE : VERS UN AVENIR MEILLEUR



Comité sénatorial
permanent des

affaires sociales, des

sciences et de la technologie

Présidente

L'honorable Lorna Marsden

Vice-présidente

L'honorable Brenda Robertson

Deuxième session

Trente-quatrième Parlement

Janvier 1991

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité entreprend l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 16 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson propose,—Que le projet de loi C-223 soit rapporté au Sénat, sans amendement.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du mardi 15 janvier 1991, concernant le projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes.

Le Comité considère ses activités futures.

La présidente indique qu'elle tentera de faire progresser l'étude sur l'histoire du Comité, entreprise par la Bibliothèque du Parlement.

Le Comité avisera, après l'ajournement, sur l'opportunité d'entreprendre l'étude spéciale sur l'utilisation des drogues illicites au Canada.

A 13 h 25, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTE:

Le greffier du Comité

Serge Pelletier

Clerk of the Committee

ATTTEST:

the Chair.

At 1:25 o'clock p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of

drugs in Canada.

After the adjournment, the Committee will advise as to the

timeliness of undertaking a special study into the use of illegal

Parliament.

The Chair mentioned that she would try to accelerate the

study of the Committee's history undertaken by the Library of

The Committee considered its future business.

public life of persons with disabilities.

Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian

respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame

The Committee undertook its study of its Order of Refer-

ence dated January 16, 1991 respecting Bill C-223, An Act

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

PROCÈS-VERBAL

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1991

(56)

[Translation]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met, *in camera*, this day at 1:04 o'clock p.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators Bosa, David, Gigantes, Hébert, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson, and Kinsella. (8)

Present, but not of the Committee: The Honourable Senator Rossiter for the Honourable Senator Teed; the Honourable Senator Bonnell.

Also present: Mrs. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator, and Miss Sandra Harder, Research Officer, Library of Parliament.

In attendance: Senate reporters.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated June 21, 1989 respecting the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and measures that might better alleviate such problems.

The Committee considered the draft report on childhood poverty in Canada.

The Honourable Senator Robertson moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Kinsella, that the report be adopted and tabled in the Senate.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The Honourable Senator Bosa moved that one thousand copies of the report be printed under separate cover.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The Committee continued its study of its Order of Reference dated September 26, 1991: "That a Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs be established for the purpose of hearing evidence and considering matters relating to the Order of Reference adopted by the Senate on June 28, 1989 concerning Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates which was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology."

The Committee considered the report of the Subcommittee, presented by the Honourable Senator Marshall, Chair.

The Honourable Senator Marshall moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Robertson, that the Subcommittee's report be adopted and tabled in the Senate.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The Honourable Senator Bonnell moved that two thousand five hundred copies of the report be printed under separate cover.

[Texte]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à huis clos, à 13 h 05, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (présidente).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs Bosa, David, Gigantes, Hébert, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson et Kinsella. (8)

Autres sénateurs présents: L'honorable sénateur Rossiter pour l'honorable sénateur Teed; l'honorable sénateur Bonnell.

Également présentes: Madame Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche et M^{lle} Sandra Harder, attachée de recherche, Bibliothèque du Parlement.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes du Sénat.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 21 juin 1989, concernant le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes.

Le Comité considère le projet de rapport sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada.

L'honorable sénateur Robertson, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Kinsella, propose l'adoption du rapport et son dépôt au Sénat.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

L'honorable sénateur Bosa propose,—Que le rapport soit imprimé, avec couverture spéciale, à raison de 1 000 exemplaires.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le Comité poursuit l'étude de son Ordre de renvoi du 26 septembre 1989: «Qu'un sous-comité des affaires des anciens combattants soit établi pour entendre des témoignages et étudier toutes questions se rattachant à l'Ordre de renvoi du Sénat du 28 juin 1989 sur les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990 qui a été déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.»

Le Comité considère le projet de rapport du sous-comité, présenté par son président, l'honorable sénateur Marshall.

L'honorable sénateur Marshall, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Robertson, propose l'adoption du rapport du sous-comité et son dépôt au Sénat.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

L'honorable sénateur Bonnell propose,—Que le rapport soit imprimé, avec couverture spéciale, à raison de 2 500 exemplaires.

RAPPORTS DU COMITÉ

REPORTS OF THE COMMITTEE

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

VINGT-TROISIÈME RAPPORT

Voire Comité, autorisé à étudier à faire rapport sur le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mercredi 21 juin 1989, entrepris cet examen et présente maintenant son rapport final intitulé: «La pauvreté dans l'enfance: vers un avenir meilleur».

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

VINGT-QUATRIÈME RAPPORT

Voire Comité, auquel a été déferé le Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mercredi 16 janvier 1991, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de déposer son

Le JEUDI 31 janvier 1991

VINGT-CINQUIÈME RAPPORT

Voire Comité, autorisé à étudier les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15, et 20 des Anciens combattants dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990, a, conformément à l'ordre de renvoi du 28 juin 1989, entrepris cet examen et présente maintenant son rapport intitulé: «Presque trop tard».

Respectueusement soumis.

La présidente
Lorna Marsden
Chair

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

TWENTY-THIRD REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to study and report on childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of Wednesday, June 21, 1989, proceeded to that inquiry and now presents its final report entitled: "Children in Poverty: Toward a Better Future".

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

TWENTY-FOURTH REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred the Bill C-223, An Act respecting a Day of Mourning for Persons Killed or Injured in the Workplace, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of Wednesday, January 16, 1991, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

The Standing Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to table its

THURSDAY, January 31, 1991

TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT

Your Committee, which was authorized to examine and report on Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates, has, in obedience to its Order of Reference of June 28, 1989, proceeded that inquiry and now presents its report entitled "It's Almost Too Late".

Respectfully submitted.

L'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Forrestall, que le projet de loi soit déposé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

The Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Forrestall, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

Le greffier du Sénat
Gordon Barnhart
Clerk of the Senate

Comité permanent des Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie qui a été autorisé à poursuivre son étude sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance au Canada, soit habilité à présenter son rapport au plus tard le jeudi 28 mars 1991.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 28 juin 1989:

«Avec la permission du Sénat,

L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par

l'honorable sénateur Turner,

Que les crédits 1, 5, 10, 15 et 20 des Anciens combattants, contenus dans le Budget des dépenses 1989-1990, qui a été déposé au Comité sénatorial permanent des finances nationales le 2 mai 1989, soient retirés dudit Comité et délégués au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mardi 15 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le projet de loi soit déposé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mercredi 16 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Spivak propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Forrestall, que le projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées au travail, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

27, 1990, the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology which was authorized to continue its examination of child poverty in Canada, be empowered to present its report no later than Thursday, March 28, 1991.

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate* of June 28, 1989:

«With leave of the Senate,
The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That Veterans Affairs Votes 1, 5, 10, 15 and 20 of the 1989-90 Estimates, which were referred to the Standing Senate Committee on National Finance on 2nd May, 1989, be withdrawn from the said Committee and referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, of Tuesday, January 15, 1991:

«Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, be read the second time.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

Extract from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate* of Wednesday, January 16, 1991:

«Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Spivak moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Forrestall, that the Bill C-223, An Act respecting a Day of Mourning for Persons Killed or Injured in the Workplace, be read the second time.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

ORDRES DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mercredi 21 juin 1989:

«L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Turner,

Que le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie soit autorisé à examiner le lien qui existe entre la pauvreté de l'enfance et certains problèmes sociaux aigus et coûteux qui se manifestent à l'âge adulte et les mesures susceptibles d'atténuer ces problèmes; et

Que le Comité présente son rapport au plus tard le 31 décembre 1989.

Après débat,
La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 20 décembre 1989:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, le Sénat aborde l'étude du dixième rapport du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie (date du rapport final sur l'étude sur la pauvreté de l'enfance reportée), présenté au Sénat le 19 décembre 1989.

Après débat,
L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Watt, que le rapport soit adopté.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 27 juin 1990:

«L'honorable sénateur Marsden propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Leblanc (*Sauverl*):

Que l'ordre de renvoi du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie du 20 décembre 1989, concernant la pauvreté dans l'enfance, soit modifié en retranchant les mots «29 juin 1990» et en les remplaçant par les mots «31 octobre 1990».

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du 29 janvier 1991:

«L'honorable sénateur Roberson propose, appuyé par l'honorable sénateur Comeau.

Avec la permission du Sénat et notwithstanding l'article 45(1)(a) du Règlement,

Que notwithstanding l'ordre de renvoi adopté par le Sénat le 20 décembre 1989 et l'Ordre de renvoi du 27 juin 1990, le

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extrait from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, Wednesday, June 21, 1989:

«The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Turner:

That the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology be authorized to examine and report upon the relationship between childhood poverty and certain significant and costly social problems that manifest themselves in adult life and on measures that might better alleviate such problems; and

That the Committee present its report no later than December 31, 1989.

After debate, and—
The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

Extrait from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, December 20, 1989:

«Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the Tenth Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology (extension of date of final report re study on child poverty), presented in the Senate on 19th December, 1989.

After debate,
The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Watt, that the Report be adopted.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

Extrait from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, June 27, 1990:

«The Honourable Senator Marsden moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Leblanc (*Sauverl*):

That the Order of Reference of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology dated December 20, 1989, respecting child poverty, be amended by deleting the words "June 29, 1990" and substituting therefor the words "October 31, 1990".

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.»

Extrait from the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate*, January 29, 1991:

«The Honourable Senator Roberson moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Comeau.

With leave of the Senate and notwithstanding Rule 45(1)(a),

That notwithstanding the Order of Reference of December 20, 1989 and the Order of Reference of June

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT DES
AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES ET
DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Président: L'honorable sénateur Lorna Marsden
Vice-président: L'honorable sénateur Brenda Robertson

et

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin
Bosa
David
Gignès
Hébert
Kinsella
Kirby
Lavoie-Roux
*MacEachen
(ou Frith)
Marshall
*Murray
(ou Doody)
Thériault

**Membres d'office*
(Quorum 4)

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des
membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:
Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Rossiter substitué à celui de
l'honorable sénateur Teed (le 30 janvier 1991).

**Ex Officio Members*
(Quorum 4)

Austin
Bosa
David
Gignès
Hébert
Kinsella
Kirby
Lavoie-Roux
*MacEachen
(ou Frith)
Marshall
*Murray
(ou Doody)
Thériault

The Honourable Senators:
and

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND
TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Senator Lorna Marsden, *Chair*
The Honourable Senator Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chair*

and
Twenty-fourth Report of the Committee entitled:
"It's Almost Too Late"

and
Twenty-fifth Report of the Committee

et
Le vingti-quatrième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«Presque trop tard»

et
Le vingt-cinquième rapport du Comité



Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

Présidente:
L'Honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Le mercredi 30 janvier 1991

Fascicule n° 32

Premier et dernier fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un
jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées
au travail

Deuxième fascicule concernant:

Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches
de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la
participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires
publiques canadiennes

Le vingt-troisième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«La pauvreté dans l'enfance:
Vers un avenir meilleur»

Y COMPRIS:

Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

SENATE OF CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Wednesday, January 30, 1991

Issue No. 32

First and last Proceedings on:

Bill C-223, An Act respecting a day of mourning for
persons killed or injured in the workplace

Second Proceedings on:

Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the
Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the
contributions to Canadian public life of persons with
disabilities

Twenty-third Report of the Committee entitled:
"Children in Poverty:
Toward a Better Future"

INCLUDING:



Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SÉNAT DU CANADA

Affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

SENATE OF CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

Social Affairs, Science and Technology

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The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

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contributions to Canadian public life of persons with
disabilities

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"Children in Poverty:
Toward a Better Future"

Le vingt-troisième rapport du Comité intitulé:
«La pauvreté dans l'enfance:
Vers un avenir meilleur»

Y COMPRIS:

Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches
de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la
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publiques canadiennes

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Projet de loi C-223, Loi concernant l'institution d'un
jour de compassion pour les personnes tuées ou blessées
au travail

Premier et dernier fascicule concernant:

Fascicule n° 32

Le mercredi 30 janvier 1991

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

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Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-90-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1990-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

*Proceedings of the Standing
Senate Committee on*

*Délibérations du Comité
sénatorial permanent des*

**Social Affairs,
Science and
Technology**

**Affaires sociales,
des sciences et
de la technologie**

Chair:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Présidente:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

Tuesday, March 5, 1991

Le mardi 5 mars 1991

Issue No. 33

Fascicule n° 33

Second and last proceedings on:

Deuxième et dernier fascicule concernant:

Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the
Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the
contributions to Canadian public life of persons
with disabilities

Projet de loi C-258: Loi créant la bourse de recherches
de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la
participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires
publiques canadiennes



TWENTY-SIXTH REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

VINGT-SIXIÈME RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

Report on Bill C-258

Rapport sur le Projet de loi C-258

WITNESS:
(See back cover)

TÉMOIN:
(Voir à l'endos)

THE STANDING SENATE COMMITTEE ON
SOCIAL AFFAIRS, SCIENCE
AND TECHNOLOGY

The Honourable Lorna Marsden, *Chairman*

The Honourable Brenda Robertson, *Deputy Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Austin	*MacEachen (or Frith)
Bosa	Marsden
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray (or Doody)
Hébert	Robertson
Kinsella	Rossiter
Kirby	Thériault

**Ex Officio Members*

LE COMITÉ SÉNATORIAL PERMANENT
DES AFFAIRES SOCIALES, DES SCIENCES
ET DE LA TECHNOLOGIE

Président: L'honorable Lorna Marsden

Vice-président: L'honorable Brenda Robertson

Les honorables sénateurs:

Austin	*MacEachen (ou Frith)
Bosa	Marsden
David	Marshall
Gigantès	*Murray (ou Doody)
Hébert	Robertson
Kinsella	Rossiter
Kirby	Thériault

**Membres d'office*

Pursuant to Rule 66(4), membership of the Committee was amended as follows:

The name of the Honourable Senator Hébert substituted for that of the Honourable Senator Corbin (March 5, 1991).

Conformément à l'article 66(4) du Règlement, la liste des membres du Comité est modifiée, ainsi qu'il suit:

Le nom de l'honorable sénateur Hébert substitué à celui de l'honorable sénateur Corbin (5 mars 1991).

ORDER OF REFERENCE

Extract from the *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Senate*, Tuesday, January 15, 1991:

“Pursuant to the Order of the Day, the Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, be read the second time.

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The Bill was then read the second time.

The Honourable Senator Teed moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Di Nino, that the Bill be referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ORDRE DE RENVOI

Extrait des *Procès-verbaux du Sénat* du mardi 15 janvier 1991:

«Suivant l'Ordre du jour, l'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyée par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, soit lu la deuxième fois.

Après débat,

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.

Le projet de loi est alors lu la deuxième fois.

L'honorable sénateur Teed propose, appuyée par l'honorable sénateur Di Nino, que le projet de loi soit déferé au Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie.

La motion, mise aux voix, est adoptée.»

Le greffier du Sénat

Gordon Barnhart

Clerk of the Senate

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1991

(57)

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology met this day at 10:05 a.m., the Chair, the Honourable Senator Marsden, presiding.

Members of the Committee present: The Honourable Senators Bosa, Hébert, Kinsella, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson and Thériault. (7)

In attendance: Ms. Patricia MacDonald, Research Administrator, Parliamentary Centre; Ms. Sandra Harder, Research Officer, Library of Parliament.

Also in attendance: The Official Reporters of the Senate.

Witness:

Mr. Patrick Boyer, M.P.

The Committee proceeded to discuss its report "Children in Poverty: Toward A Better Future". Senator Marsden and Senator Robertson each made opening remarks and a discussion ensued with representatives of organizations present.

The Committee, pursuant to its Order of Reference of Tuesday, January 15, 1991, proceeded to examine Bill C-258 intituled: "An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities".

At 11:15 a.m., Mr. Patrick Boyer made a statement and answered questions.

It is moved by the Honourable Senator Kinsella,—

That Bill C-258 be reported back to the Senate without amendment.

At 12:05 p.m., the Committee adjourned to the call of the Chair.

ATTEST:

Le greffier du Comité

Tônu Onu

Clerk of the Committee

PROCÈS-VERBAL

LE MARDI 5 MARS 1991

(57)

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie se réunit aujourd'hui à 10 h 05, sous la présidence de l'honorable sénateur Marsden (président).

Membres du Comité présents: Les honorables sénateurs Bosa, Hébert, Kinsella, Marsden, Marshall, Robertson et Thériault. (7)

Présentes: M^{me} Patricia MacDonald, administrateur de la recherche, Centre parlementaire; M^{me} Sandra Harder, attachée de recherche, Bibliothèque du Parlement.

Aussi présents: Les sténographes officiels du Sénat.

Témoïn:

M. Patrick Boyer, député.

Le Comité discute de son rapport intitulé «La pauvreté dans l'enfance: vers un avenir meilleur». Le sénateur Marsden et le sénateur Robertson font chacune une déclaration liminaire, puis suit une discussion avec les représentants des organisations présentes.

Conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mardi 15 janvier 1991, le Comité entame l'étude du projet de loi C-258: «Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes».

À 11 h 15, M. Patrick Boyer fait une déclaration, puis répond aux questions.

L'honorable sénateur Kinsella propose,—

Qu'il soit fait rapport du projet de loi C-258 au Sénat, sans amendement.

À 12 h 05, le Comité suspend ses travaux jusqu'à nouvelle convocation du président.

ATTESTÉ:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

WEDNESDAY, March 6, 1991

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology has the honour to present its

TWENTY-SIXTH REPORT

Your Committee, to which was referred the Bill C-258, An Act respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, has in obedience to its Order of Reference of Tuesday, January 15, 1991, examined the said Bill and now reports the same without amendment.

Respectfully submitted,

Le président

LORNA MARSDEN

Chairman

RAPPORT DU COMITÉ

Le MERCREDI 6 mars 1991

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie a l'honneur de présenter son

VINGT-SIXIÈME RAPPORT

Votre Comité, auquel a été déféré le Projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, a, conformément à son ordre de renvoi du mardi 15 janvier 1991, étudié ledit projet de loi et en fait maintenant rapport sans amendement.

Respectueusement soumis,

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, March 5, 1991

[Text]

The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, to which was referred Bill C-258, respecting the establishment of the Centennial Flame Research Award to publicize the contributions to Canadian public life of persons with disabilities, met this day at 10 a.m. to give consideration to the bill; and to meet and discuss with the press and other interested parties the committee's report *Children in Poverty: Towards a Better Future*.

Senator Lorna Marsden (Chairman) in the chair.

The Chairman: Senators and ladies and gentlemen, I would like to welcome you to this unusual meeting of the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology. Let me explain why we have invited you to this unusual meeting. Our report, *Children in Poverty: Towards a Better Future*, was tabled a couple of weeks ago in the Senate. At that time the war was at a crucial stage, and it was our view that if we held a press conference, absolutely no one would pay any attention to anything we had to say. Rather than do that, we decided to wait and have a meeting with as many people as we could who were interested in the report. That accounts for our meeting this morning.

We have invited here this morning people who were authors of the report. Ken Battle, who wrote one of our appendices, and David Ross and Richard Shillington, who are the authors of the other appendix, are here. Sandra Harder, who was the main researcher for this report, is here, along with Patricia MacDonald, who is the chief researcher for the committee. There are also a number of senators present who worked on the report, principally Senator Robertson, who, as the report tells you, was the instigator of this study in the first place, along with Senator Bosa, Senator Thériault and Senator Kinsella. Others may also arrive.

We are also happy to have a number of other people here who have been witnesses on the report, such as Denise Avard from the Canadian Institute for Child Health. Paul Gessell from the *Ottawa Citizen* is also present and we are pleased to have him. Also present is Marion Dewar from The Canadian Council on Children and Youth. Seated next to her are the two authors of the report along with a representative of Barbara Greene's office. As you know, the Commons committee is also studying this issue. Next we have Heather-Jane Robertson and Allan Bacon from the Canadian Federation of Teachers, to whom we have specifically referred in the report. Next is Dr. Robin Walker, who was one of our witnesses on the report and gave us valuable testimony. Next is Tonja Barkley from Alan Redway's office. I have introduced the senators and we also have a new clerk of the committee, Tonu Onu, who is attend-

TÉMOIGNAGES

Ottawa, le mardi 5 mars 1991

[Traduction]

Le Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie, qui a été saisi du projet de loi C-258, Loi créant la bourse de recherches de la flamme du centenaire destinée à faire connaître la participation des personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques canadiennes, se réunit aujourd'hui, à 10 heures, pour étudier le projet de loi et pour rencontrer les membres de la presse ainsi que d'autres personnes intéressées afin de discuter avec eux du rapport du comité intitulé: *La pauvreté dans l'enfance: Vers un avenir meilleur*.

Le sénateur Lorna Marsden (présidente) occupe le fauteuil.

La présidente: Honorables sénateurs, mesdames et messieurs, je tiens à vous souhaiter la bienvenue à cette séance assez inhabituelle du Comité sénatorial permanent des affaires sociales, des sciences et de la technologie. Permettez-moi de vous expliquer pourquoi nous vous avons invités à participer à cette séance inhabituelle. Notre rapport, *La pauvreté dans l'enfance: Vers un avenir meilleur*, a été déposé au Sénat il y a deux semaines environ. La guerre battait alors son plein, et nous avons jugé que cela ne servirait à rien de tenir une conférence de presse, puisque personne ne nous accorderait la moindre attention. Nous avons donc décidé d'attendre et de tenir plutôt une rencontre à laquelle seraient conviées un aussi grand nombre que possible de personnes intéressées par le rapport. Voilà qui explique la raison d'être de notre rencontre de ce matin.

Nous avons notamment invité les rédacteurs du rapport à être des nôtres. Ken Battle, qui a rédigé une des annexes, de même que David Ross et Richard Shillington, qui ont rédigé l'autre annexe, sont présents. Sont également présentes Sandra Harder, la principale responsable des travaux de recherche qui ont conduit à ce rapport, de même que Patricia MacDonald, attachée de recherche principale du comité. Je tiens à souligner aussi la présence d'un certain nombre de sénateurs qui ont travaillé à la rédaction du rapport, notamment le sénateur Robertson, qui, comme vous pourrez le lire dans le rapport, a été l'instigatrice de notre étude, de même que les sénateurs Bosa, Thériault et Kinsella. D'autres sénateurs se joindront peut-être à nous sous peu.

Nous sommes également heureux d'accueillir un certain nombre d'autres personnes qui sont venues témoigner en vue de la publication de notre rapport: Denise Avard, de l'Institut canadien de la santé infantile, et Paul Gazelle, de l'*Ottawa Citizen*. Je signale aussi la présence de Marion Dear, du Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse. Assis à côté d'elle, il y a les deux auteurs du rapport, ainsi qu'une représentante du bureau de Barbara Green. Comme vous le savez, le comité de la Chambre des communes se penche, lui aussi, sur cette question. Puis voici Heather-Jane Robertson et Allan Bacon, de la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et des enseignants, qui a droit à une mention toute particulière dans notre rapport, et M. Robin Walker, dont le témoignage nous a été très utile pour la préparation du rapport. À côté de lui, il y a Tonja Barkley, du bureau d'Alan Redway. Je vous ai présenté les sénateurs, et je dois également vous présenter le nouveau

[Text]

ing his first meeting of this committee and is, therefore, not responsible for any of the errors.

Let me say a word about the report. As you can see, the report consists of our terms of reference and a short description of the nature of the problem. However, I would like to remind everyone that in December 1989 we tabled the interim report of the committee called *Child Poverty and Adult Social Problems* in which we laid out the extent of the problems. We then looked at child poverty in Canada, and chapters 4, 5 and 6 are those in which we have laid out a series of recommendations, one set dealing with the income question and the other set dealing with the services question. We believe that those are both important if we are to seriously tackle the enormous problem of children in poverty in this country.

We have reproduced in full the two studies we commissioned for this report. Appendix I consists of child poverty and poor educational attainment, the economic costs and implications for society, which was done by David Ross and Richard Shillington, and child benefits reform, which we commissioned from Ken Battle. That lays out the content of the report. I would now like to call on Senator Robertson to say a few words about the report, following which we will have any questions, comments or discussion anyone may have with respect to our recommendations.

Senator Robertson: It is good to see everyone here this morning. Thank you for coming. You have probably each read the report and have had time to digest it. In particular, I want to comment on the first two recommendations of the report. Those of us who have worked in this area—and most of us have for some time—will readily understand that the problem we are trying to impact is a shared jurisdictional responsibility for the delivery of the service, which is primarily the responsibility of the provinces.

In those first two recommendations the committee was trying to emphasize that particular point, because, without the cooperation of the provinces, I am afraid nothing will happen. As we know from previous studies, for example, the federal government could financially increase support to children living in poverty; but without an agreement with the provinces, some provinces would subtract that money at another source at the provincial level. As we know, most of the provinces use this kind of money as another form of transfer.

If this report is to have any impact on the various legislatures and governments around the country, we have to get the provincial and federal governments on side. One government in isolation can accomplish little, regardless of whether it is a provincial or federal government. So it will therefore be important to have some sort of joint commitment.

[Traduction]

greffier du comité, Tonu Onu, pour qui cette séance est la première, et qui n'est donc responsable d'aucune des erreurs.

Permettez-moi de vous dire un mot au sujet du rapport. Comme vous pouvez le constater, le rapport présente tout d'abord le mandat du comité ainsi qu'une courte description de la nature du problème auquel il devrait s'attaquer. Cependant, je tiens à vous rappeler à tous que nous avons déposé en décembre 1989 notre rapport provisoire, intitulé: *La pauvreté dans l'enfance et les problèmes sociaux à l'âge adulte*, dans lequel nous avons cherché à mesurer l'ampleur des problèmes. Nous y décrivons d'abord la situation au Canada, puis, aux chapitres 4, 5 et 6, nous formulons diverses recommandations selon deux points de vue, celui des revenus et celui des services. Nous estimons que tout effort sérieux pour s'attaquer à l'énorme problème de la pauvreté chez les enfants au Canada doit nécessairement passer par ces deux aspects.

Nous reproduisons intégralement dans le rapport les deux études que nous avons commandées. La première annexe, rédigée par David Ross et Richard Shillington, examine la pauvreté chez les enfants et les mauvais résultats scolaires, ainsi que les coûts économiques et les conséquences qui en résultent pour la société, tandis que l'autre, rédigée par Ken Battle, traite de la réforme des prestations pour enfants. Voilà donc ce que contient le rapport. J'inviterais maintenant le sénateur Robertson à nous dire quelques mots au sujet du rapport, après quoi nous passerons aux questions, aux observations ou aux échanges de vues relativement à nos recommandations.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je suis heureuse de vous voir tous ici présents. Je vous remercie d'être venus. Vous avez sans doute lu le rapport et eu le temps de le digérer. Je tiens à vous parler tout particulièrement des deux premières recommandations du rapport. Ceux d'entre nous qui travaillent dans ce domaine depuis un certain temps—et c'est le cas de la plupart de ceux qui sont ici présents—comprendront facilement que le problème auquel nous voulons nous attaquer est celui du partage de la compétence en matière de prestation de services, qui relève principalement des provinces.

Le comité a voulu mettre l'accent sur ce point en particulier dans ces deux premières recommandations, parce que, sans la collaboration des provinces, il me semble que nous en resterons toujours au même point. Ainsi, d'après les études qui ont déjà été faites sur le sujet, le gouvernement fédéral pourrait accroître l'aide financière destinée aux enfants vivant dans la pauvreté, mais, en l'absence d'une entente avec les provinces, certaines d'entre elles pourraient reprendre ces fonds à leur compte d'une autre façon. Comme vous le savez, la plupart des provinces considèrent les crédits accordés à cette fin comme une autre forme de paiement de transfert.

Si nous voulons que notre rapport ait une influence quelconque sur les assemblées législatives et les gouvernements du pays, nous devons faire en sorte d'amener le gouvernement fédéral et les provinces à collaborer. Tout gouvernement qui agirait seul à cet égard, qu'il s'agisse d'un gouvernement provincial ou du gouvernement fédéral, ne pourrait pas accomplir grand-chose. Il sera donc important d'obtenir une forme quelconque d'engagement collectif.

[Text]

It is my personal feeling that if we waited for a collective commitment from the federal government and all the provinces, we would die of old age. It seems to me that if we could influence a province or two and the federal government to take a cooperative approach on a one-on-one basis to get things started, we would have a better chance of eventual success. Any inroads we can make into this serious area of public concern will be progress. I wanted to emphasize that because it is important. We have to be persuasive at all levels, and I believe in some provinces we will have to be persuasive at the municipal level as well as at the provincial level and along with the federal government and the federal parties. There must be a collective approach to this problem.

I should also mention that, with respect to native children, this committee felt that there were problems sufficiently serious and multitudinous that we did want the Minister of Health, who is now charged with the responsibility of the development of children, to set up a study with our native people and have them involved step by step in how that issue is resolved. It must be dealt with in a separate manner. I do not think this committee could do that particular problem justice, and I think the only people who can help are our native leaders themselves, who would have to work on a continual basis with the Minister of Health and Welfare and the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to arrive at resolutions in that regard.

I found some of the comments and recommendations made by Mr. Mercredi, when he was with us some months ago, to be among the more positive recommendations that we had heard. It would seem that if a continual effort were made by the joint leaders in our native communities, progress would be made there. If you were wondering why we did not move in that direction, that is a problem which the committee felt needs to be addressed in a manner different than that of the general population.

Perhaps I should stop there. I just wanted to highlight those two concerns. Your committee knows very well that you cannot buy your way out of poverty, that these services are certainly as important as the income, and we also know that finding a solution will take a considerable period of time. Even if we had the cooperation of all the partners, it would not happen overnight. It may sound like a frustrating and far-off goal, but some of us feel that it will take ten years to get to where we want to go with that particular problem. It might be done in five years or it might be done in less, but it will take a while to develop services and the type of cooperation necessary, and to find the money that is required. I will have more to say later.

[Traduction]

Je suis toutefois d'avis que, si nous attendions que le gouvernement fédéral et toutes les provinces se mettent d'accord, nous risquerions d'attendre longtemps. Il me semble que nous aurions de meilleures chances de réussir si nous pouvions mettre les choses en branle en persuadant une ou deux provinces de s'engager dans la voie de la collaboration bilatérale avec le gouvernement fédéral. Tout ce que nous pourrions faire pour amener les parties à bouger sur ce dossier qui préoccupe au plus haut point le public constituera un progrès indéniable. Je tenais à souligner cet aspect à cause de son importance. Nous devons être persuasifs à tous les niveaux, et j'estime que, dans certaines provinces, nos efforts devront viser les autorités tant municipales que provinciales, sans oublier, bien sûr, les efforts que nous devons déployer auprès du gouvernement fédéral et des organismes fédéraux. Le problème exige une approche collective.

Je tiens également à faire remarquer, en ce qui concerne les enfants autochtones, que l'ampleur et la gravité des problèmes étaient telles que le ministre de la Santé, qui est maintenant responsable du développement des enfants, devrait à notre avis lancer une étude sur les autochtones et faire en sorte que ceux-ci participent à toutes les étapes du processus visant à régler ce dossier. Le comité estime qu'il faut en faire un dossier distinct. Je ne pense pas que le comité soit en mesure de s'attaquer comme il se doit à ce dossier. À mon avis, les seules personnes capables de jouer un rôle utile à cet égard sont les dirigeants autochtones eux-mêmes, qui devront déployer des efforts systématiques en collaboration avec le ministre de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social et le ministre des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien afin de trouver des solutions au problème.

Je considère que certaines des observations et des recommandations qui nous ont été faites par M. Mercredi quand il a comparu devant nous il y a quelques mois sont parmi les plus constructives que nous ayons entendues. Tout donne à penser qu'un effort continu et concerté de la part des dirigeants de nos collectivités autochtones permettrait de débloquer ce dossier. Pour ceux qui auraient pu se demander pourquoi nous avons choisi de ne pas nous attaquer à ce dossier, c'est que nous considérons qu'il est distinct du problème de la pauvreté dans l'ensemble de la population infantine et qu'il exige donc une démarche distincte.

Je devrais peut-être m'arrêter là. Je tenais simplement à bien mettre en lumière ces deux préoccupations. Le comité sait très bien qu'on ne peut pas briser le cycle de la pauvreté uniquement avec de l'argent, nous savons que les services sont tout aussi importants que les revenus, et nous savons également que le problème ne pourra pas être réglé du jour au lendemain, même avec la collaboration de toutes les parties en cause. Même si notre objectif peut paraître lointain et empreint de frustrations, certains d'entre nous estiment qu'il faudra 10 ans pour en arriver où nous voulons dans le dossier de la pauvreté. Les progrès souhaités pourraient être réalisés en cinq ans, ou moins encore, mais, chose certaine, il faudra un certain temps pour mettre sur pied les services nécessaires, pour obtenir la collaboration des différentes parties et pour trouver l'argent dont on aura besoin. J'aurais d'autres observations à faire plus tard.

[Text]

The Chairman: Thank you very much. Allow me to introduce Ovide Mercredi and Senator Jack Marshall. Is there any other senator who would like to say anything about our report before we open the floor for questions? All right, perhaps there are some people who have come today to ask questions or make comments and we would welcome that.

Dr. Robin Walker, President, Canadian Council on Children and Youth: The first thing I should say is that the commitment to deal with this problem literally shines out of this report, and the committee is to be commended for that clear commitment. If there is one thing that has characterized Canada's ability to deal with this problem it is that there has perhaps not been the public demand, and certainly not the political will, to take the first step to deal with child poverty. As your interim report clearly showed as it laid out the scope of this problem, we really do have a shocking record in the industrialized world.

Having said that, I wonder if I might very quickly, comment on a number of things and perhaps ask a couple of questions, because I have to leave for another meeting soon.

First, we are delighted to see that you have adopted the suggestion of the Canadian Council on Children to make family allowance payable on diagnosis of pregnancy and attendance at prenatal health care. We stole this idea from France and Finland, as you know, but we have been pushing it for a while and it is nice to see that you have recognized the logic of this means of trying to bring high-risk populations into available prenatal care.

Second, I have a suggestion. You have spoken of the importance of housing, which is clearly of extreme importance. I recently had the opportunity to meet with a representative of the Australian Ministry of Social Justice—that there should be such a ministry is in itself a very interesting concept—who has worked extensively in their new housing programs. Australia has a record which is even worse than ours in this respect, and if the Senate committee would like to see some specific examples of how housing policy can be used to directly impact on child poverty, I think you would find theirs a most interesting model. They have done some quite innovative things which appear to be significant in terms of their impact on families living in poverty.

Third, perhaps the most important recommendations in here, among many very important recommendations, relate to the proposals for new types of child benefit. We do have some concerns about those. I am well aware of the fact that some committee members are irrevocably opposed to the concept of universality, while others may have a different view. We see universality as having some importance, if only of symbolic value, because of what it says about the value of children in our society.

[Traduction]

La présidente: Merci beaucoup. Permettez-moi de vous présenter Ovide Mercredi et le sénateur Jack Marshall. Y a-t-il d'autres sénateurs qui auraient des observations à faire au sujet de notre rapport avant que nous passions à la période de questions? Très bien. Certains de ceux qui sont ici aujourd'hui ont peut-être des questions à poser ou des remarques à faire, et je les invite maintenant à prendre la parole.

M. Robin Walker, président, Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse: Tout d'abord, je tiens à dire que le rapport traduit très clairement la ferme intention du comité de s'attaquer au problème et que son engagement mérite d'être souligné. S'il y a une chose qui ressort de l'attitude du Canada face à ce problème, c'est, sinon l'absence de récriminations du public, du moins le manque de volonté politique pour s'engager dans la lutte contre la pauvreté chez les enfants. Comme vous l'avez clairement démontré dans votre rapport provisoire, où vous avez mesuré l'ampleur du problème, nous avons vraiment un triste bilan comparativement aux autres pays industrialisés.

Cela dit, je me demande si je pourrais très rapidement, puis-que je dois partir bientôt pour aller à une autre réunion, faire des commentaires sur un certain nombre de points, et peut-être aussi poser quelques questions.

Tout d'abord, nous nous réjouissons de ce que vous ayez retenu la suggestion faite par le Conseil canadien de l'enfance voulant que les allocations familiales soient payables aux femmes enceintes dès qu'un médecin confirme leur état de grossesse et à condition qu'elles participent à un programme de soins prénataux. C'est une formule que nous avons piquée à la France et à la Finlande, comme vous le savez, mais il y a déjà un certain temps que nous préconisons son adoption ici, et nous sommes heureux que vous y ayez reconnu un moyen logique d'essayer d'amener les populations à risque élevé à participer aux programmes de soins prénataux existants.

Deuxièmement, j'ai une suggestion à faire. Vous avez parlé de l'importance du logement, qui est manifestement d'une importance capitale. J'ai eu l'occasion de rencontrer récemment un représentant du ministère australien de la Justice sociale—l'existence d'un tel ministère est en soi quelque chose de très intéressant—qui a beaucoup travaillé à la mise sur pied de nouveaux programmes de logement dans ce pays. Les Australiens ont un bilan encore plus déplorable que le nôtre à ce chapitre, et si le comité sénatorial souhaite avoir des exemples concrets de la façon dont la politique du logement peut être utilisée pour influencer directement sur la pauvreté chez les enfants, le modèle qu'ils ont mis sur pied s'avérerait des plus intéressants. Ils ont mis en œuvre des mesures très innovatrices, qui semblent avoir une incidence considérable sur les familles vivant dans la pauvreté.

Troisièmement, les recommandations les plus importantes, parmi les nombreuses recommandations très valables que l'on retrouve dans le rapport, sont celles qui proposent de nouveaux types de prestations pour enfants. Nous avons toutefois des réserves à cet égard. Je suis parfaitement conscient du fait que certains des membres du comité sont irrévocablement opposés à la notion d'universalité, tandis que d'autres ne sont pas du même avis. Nous considérons que le principe de l'universalité a une certaine importance, même si ce n'est que sur le plan sym-

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Let us make no mistake about it: Our society is a society that does not place high value on children, or indeed on women who are bearing children or on women and men who are bringing up children. There is, therefore, a certain symbolic value in having things which show that children count. If only for that reason, and if these two options you recommend were the only options, we would certainly favour the so-called extra mixed-cost approach. Ken Battle's paper clearly shows that the extra mixed-cost benefit is equally as effective as a totally non-universal fully-targeted approach in terms of how it helps the poorest families while, however, retaining at least some symbolic universality to point out what I am saying in terms of the value of children.

Those may not be the only approaches that could be taken, but if they were we would express that and I would be interested in your comments as to which of the two options you have presented you actually favour. We recently appeared before the House of Commons subcommittee on child poverty and we heard the chair of that committee singing a somewhat similar tune, and the media has picked up on that recently. We would be very interested in hearing your comments on that.

Finally, I would like to make a general comment. We are speaking a few days after a federal budget which has impacted significantly once again on transfer payments to the provinces and on the Canada Assistance Plan to the provinces which constitute two-thirds of our population—it is not three provinces but two-thirds of our population. The services that are needed to ameliorate the effects of poverty that exist right now, as opposed to trying to prevent poverty, which is a laudable approach but a little longer term, are largely provincially-funded. One must be very seriously concerned about the impact of a series of federal budgets which have significantly shifted the responsibility for those services and programs more and more to the provinces, whilst depleting them of the resources to deliver those programs.

Those are my comments. There is one question hidden in there which relates to the two options for child benefits.

The Chairman: Thank you very much indeed for your comments. Senator Robertson would like to speak, but allow me to point out that this report does not take into account the GST rebates, the effects of Bill C-69 or the effect of the recent budget on the EPS, and CAP. So the numbers do not reflect that although we are quite aware of them. And of course we presented two options because we do not agree.

[Traduction]

bolique, du fait qu'il reconnaît la valeur des enfants dans notre société.

Qu'on se le tienne pour dit. Notre société n'accorde pas une grande valeur aux enfants, ni même aux femmes qui ont des enfants, ni aux femmes et aux hommes qui élèvent des enfants. Ainsi, les mesures qui montrent que les enfants sont importants ont une certaine valeur symbolique. Si ce n'est que pour cette raison, si nous avions à choisir entre les deux options que vous proposez, nous opterions certainement pour la formule mixte à coût supplémentaire. L'étude de Ken Battle montre clairement que cette formule est tout aussi efficace qu'une formule à prestations sélectives sans composante d'universalité pour ce qui est d'aider les familles les plus pauvres, en même temps qu'elle permettrait de conserver à tout le moins une certaine universalité symbolique, afin de reconnaître, comme je le disais, que les enfants ont une valeur pour notre société.

Le choix ne serait peut-être pas limité à ces deux formules-là, mais s'il l'était, voilà ce que serait notre position, et j'aimerais que vous nous disiez laquelle de ces deux formules a vraiment votre préférence. Lorsque nous avons comparu récemment devant le sous-comité de la Chambre des communes sur la pauvreté chez les enfants, nous avons entendu la présidente du comité exprimer une opinion semblable, laquelle a été rapportée dans les médias récemment. Nous serions très curieux d'entendre vos commentaires à ce sujet.

Finalement, je voudrais faire une observation d'ordre général. Nous sommes ici quelques jours après l'annonce d'un budget fédéral qui, encore une fois, limite sérieusement les paiements de transfert et les contributions au Régime d'assistance publique du Canada pour les provinces qui représentent les deux tiers de notre population—it s'agit, non pas de trois provinces, mais des deux tiers de notre population. Les services qui sont nécessaires pour atténuer les effets de la pauvreté qui se font déjà sentir dans notre société, par opposition aux efforts de prévention, qui sont bien sûr louables, mais qui exigent une approche à plus long terme, sont surtout financés par les provinces. On ne peut faire autrement que de s'inquiéter sérieusement des conséquences d'une série de budgets fédéraux qui ont eu pour effet d'obliger les provinces à assumer une part de responsabilité toujours plus grande pour ce genre de services et de programmes, tout en les privant des ressources dont elles ont besoin pour en assurer la prestation.

Voilà ce que j'avais à dire. Dans tout cela, il y a une question cachée relativement aux deux formules de prestations pour enfants.

La présidente: Je vous remercie beaucoup de vos commentaires. Le sénateur Robertson a demandé à prendre la parole, mais je tiens tout d'abord à signaler que notre rapport ne tient pas compte des remboursements au titre de la TPS, des effets du projet de loi C-69 ou de l'incidence du budget déposé récemment sur le financement des programmes établis ou sur le RAPC. Ainsi, ces facteurs, même si nous en sommes très conscients, n'ont pas été pris en compte dans les chiffres que nous avançons. Pour ce qui est des deux formules, si nous en avons présenté deux, c'est naturellement parce que nous ne nous entendions pas sur celle qu'il fallait choisir.

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Dr. Walker: I assumed that was the reason and I agree that a unanimous report will have more political push than two split reports with two separate options.

The Chairman: We agreed on most things but you have put your finger on the point on which there is not agreement. Senator Robertson, perhaps you would like to speak to that.

Senator Robertson: I suppose that your emphasis on the family allowance is because it is visible.

Dr. Walker: Yes.

Senator Robertson: I should like to know what additional contributions you have considered, or ways of benefitting families with children. What other ways have you considered for adults without children? There are other options that we could perhaps develop and I would at some time like to see the other options developed as well. I am not sure that you get the most bang for your buck with just the one program simply because it is there. There are other ways for adults without children to make a better contribution. Some people seriously think that adults without children do not make sufficient contribution to the tax system, and I rather buy that. However, you may have thought about that and can identify some of those areas. If not, it might be an interesting exercise to go through.

Dr. Walker: Yes, I think you are right. I think it would be an interesting exercise and our option does not have the kind of resources which would be very valuable. The appendix clearly shows the effects of at least two options and of the current system which is clearly ineffective. We have thought of a couple of other options on which it would be interesting to see some modelling.

One is the concept of a guaranteed minimum income and the other is the concept of negative income tax which, is somewhat related, of course. They have the advantage of being, in a sense, universal in that they do not specifically pull out of the population a group which is "poor". One of the things we know about poor families is that we stigmatize them in a way which increases the risk of failure of those children. You have dealt with school drop-out rates, for example. Frankly, I think your figures, which are based on averages, grossly underestimate the rates in many communities such as urban Toronto, aboriginal communities and rural Newfoundland. We can pick out many populations in which the drop-out rate is much higher. It has been clearly shown that the drop-out rate of teenage females in welfare families is in the order of 75 to 80 per cent by the age of 16. These are problems which relate to the stigmatization of poor people and the lack and loss of self esteem which occurs as a direct result of being raised in conditions of deprivation.

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M. Walker: C'est bien ce que j'avais pensé, et j'estime comme vous qu'un rapport unanime aura un impact politique plus grand que deux rapports distincts, un pour chacune des deux formules proposées.

La présidente: Nous nous entendons sur la plupart des éléments du rapport, mais vous avez mis le doigt sur celui où les avis soit partagés. Sénateur Robertson, vous voudrez peut-être dire un mot à ce sujet.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je suppose que, si vous insistez sur les allocations familiales, c'est à cause de leur visibilité.

M. Walker: Justement.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je voudrais savoir quelles sont les autres formes de contributions que vous avez envisagées ou les autres mesures qui pourraient être prises pour aider les familles avec des enfants. Quelles autres possibilités avez-vous examinées relativement aux adultes sans enfants? Il y a peut-être d'autres modèles que nous pourrions élaborer, et je souhaiterais que d'autres modèles soient effectivement élaborés ultérieurement. Je ne suis pas sûre que la meilleure façon d'en avoir pour son argent, c'est de s'en tenir à un seul programme simplement parce que ce programme existe déjà. Il existe d'autres formules qui permettraient d'accroître la contribution des adultes sans enfants. Certaines personnes croient vraiment que les adultes sans enfants ne donnent pas leur juste part au fisc, et j'ai tendance à être de leur avis. Mais vous avez peut-être réfléchi à cette question, et vous pourriez peut-être nous décrire certaines des possibilités que vous avez envisagées. Si vous ne l'avez pas déjà fait, ce serait peut-être intéressant de le faire.

M. Walker: Oui, je crois que vous avez raison. Ce serait intéressant de le faire, et l'utilité de la formule que nous avons retenue est limitée par l'insuffisance des ressources qui y sont affectées. L'annexe décrit clairement les effets d'au moins deux formules ainsi que l'incidence du régime existant, qui est manifestement inefficace.

Nous avons étudié deux autres formules pour lesquelles il serait intéressant d'élaborer des modèles. La première prévoit un revenu minimum garanti et l'autre, un impôt négatif sur le revenu, cette deuxième formule étant bien sûr liée en quelque sorte à la première. Les deux formules ont l'avantage d'être universelles, en ce sens qu'elles ne s'appliquent pas aux seuls «pauvres» de notre société. Nous savons qu'il y a une certaine honte à être pauvre et que cette honte accroît le risque d'échec des enfants pauvres. Ainsi, vous vous êtes penchés sur les taux d'abandon scolaire. À vrai dire, je crois que vos chiffres, qui représentent des moyennes, sous-estiment de beaucoup les taux d'abandon scolaire dans bien des localités, comme les quartiers urbains de la région de Toronto, les collectivités autochtones et les collectivités rurales de Terre-Neuve. Nous pouvons repérer bien des secteurs de la population où le taux de décrochage est bien plus élevé que ce que vous dites. Il a été clairement démontré que le taux de décrochage chez les adolescentes venant de familles d'assistés sociaux est de 75 à 80 p. 100 pour le groupe d'âge allant jusqu'à 16 ans.

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That is why I am trying to stress options which do not add to that insult and which may, nevertheless, be effective in delivering the bucks where they are most needed.

Nevertheless, all of these options—the extra mixed-cost options, the guaranteed minimum income and negative income tax—would probably imply the commitment of new resources. The plain fact of the matter is that if we really believe that we need to do something about child poverty, we cannot just sit back and say that we will redirect what we are putting in now. What we are putting now into the programs for children and young families is clearly inadequate. Therefore, if we have a belief in the political need to deal with this problem, we have to accept that children deserve more resources.

Senator Robertson: Surely you are not saying that one should wait until there is more money available in budgets across the country. We would have to start by redirecting or prioritizing what we want to do with federal funds.

Dr. Walker: That is agreed, except we do not just redirect funds that are currently committed to children and families; we must look at some of the other programs, which may be less necessary.

One wonders how it is possible to find instantaneously, the billions of dollars that it costs to fight the recent war, yet we do not seem to be able to find even a fraction of those resources to deal with the million poor children in Canada.

Senator Robertson: I would suggest that if someone were knocking on the door in Canada and trying to overrun us, you would be glad that someone could find the money in a hurry to help you because you could not defend yourself.

Dr. Walker: I am not arguing with that. However, I am saying that it appears that the resources were there for that particular item because it was seen as a high priority. But is this problem, which is a much longer-term one—and one that can change our society in a devastating way if we do not deal with it—not an equally high priority?

The Chairman: Thank you very much. Are there other questions, or do Mr. Ross, Mr. Shillington or Mr. Battle wish to say a few words about your studies, which are located in this report as appendices?

Mr. David Ross, Social Economics Consultant: I would not mind making one comment. I have not read the report for several months now, but I tend to remember what we wrote here. We point out in the appendix that one of the things that you asked us to do was to name some of the costs of child poverty. We did some conservative estimates. We only looked at

[Traduction]

Ces problèmes sont liés à la honte que ressentent les enfants de familles pauvres et à l'absence ou à la perte d'amour-propre qui est directement attribuable au fait d'avoir été élevé dans un état de privation. C'est pourquoi j'essaye d'insister sur des formules qui ne les stigmatiseront pas davantage et qui pourraient néanmoins permettre d'acheminer les fonds à ceux qui en ont le plus besoin.

Il n'en reste pas moins que toutes ces formules, la formule mixte à coût supplémentaire, le revenu minimum garanti et l'impôt négatif sur le revenu, exigeraient sans doute l'affectation de nouvelles ressources. Le fait est que, si nous croyons vraiment qu'il faut faire quelque chose pour lutter contre la pauvreté chez les enfants, nous ne pouvons pas nous contenter d'une simple réaffectation des fonds déjà consacrés à cette fin. Les fonds que nous consacrons à l'heure actuelle aux enfants et aux jeunes familles sont manifestement insuffisants. Si nous croyons que l'État doit lutter contre ce problème de la pauvreté chez les enfants, nous devons reconnaître que les enfants méritent qu'on leur consacre davantage de ressources.

Le sénateur Robertson: Vous ne voulez sûrement pas dire qu'il faudrait attendre que les divers gouvernements prévoient davantage de fonds dans leur budgets. Il faut commencer par réaffecter les fonds fédéraux existants ou réordonner nos priorités.

M. Walker: Soit, mais il ne faut pas se contenter de réaffecter les fonds actuellement consacrés aux enfants et aux familles; il faut se demander si certains autres programmes sont vraiment nécessaires.

Il faut vraiment se demander comment nous avons pu trouver du jour au lendemain les milliards de dollars qu'il nous a fallu pour aller en guerre récemment, alors que nous semblons incapables de trouver même une infime part des ressources qui seraient nécessaires pour venir en aide au million d'enfants pauvres au Canada.

Le sénateur Robertson: Je soupçonne que, si l'ennemi était à nos portes et menaçait d'envahir le Canada, vous seriez bien heureux que l'on puisse trouver rapidement l'argent nécessaire pour vous aider, puisque vous ne pourriez pas vous défendre vous-même.

M. Walker: Je ne dis pas le contraire. J'estime cependant que si l'on a pu trouver les ressources nécessaires à cette fin, c'est parce qu'on considérait qu'il s'agissait d'une priorité importante. Mais ce problème, qui exige des solutions à bien plus long terme et qui risque d'avoir des effets dévastateurs pour notre société si nous ne nous y attaquons pas, ne doit-il pas être considéré comme une priorité tout aussi importante?

La présidente: Merci beaucoup. Y a-t-il d'autres questions, ou MM. Ross, Shillington ou Battle souhaitent-ils dire un mot au sujet de leurs études respectives, qui sont jointes en annexe au rapport?

M. David Ross, expert-conseil en économie sociale: J'aurais effectivement une observation à faire. Il y a plusieurs mois maintenant que je n'ai pas lu le rapport, mais je me souviens assez bien de ce que nous y avons dit à ce sujet. Nous faisons remarquer dans l'annexe que vous nous aviez notamment demandé de définir certains des coûts liés à la pauvreté chez

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costs where we could quantify them quite carefully; we did not look at things that were dubious, or things that people would not agree on.

We looked at things, such as, what is the cost of dropping out of the school system. We know from surveys that children from poor families drop out of school at twice the rate of children from non-poor families. We then projected that. We asked, "What kind of costs might this incur on the system?"

One cost is simply lost productivity, which we proxied by asking, "What would their wages be as they go through the next 20 years with lower education? How much more would they be using social assistance and unemployment insurance? What reduced contributions would they make to federal taxes, provincial taxes and the consumption tax?" These are all statistically-based things that we can do.

We know how many young people there will be in the next twenty years, so that we were able to calculate this figure. We calculated it and came up with the conclusion that lost productivity in the next 20 years amounts to \$23 billion. The net impact in terms of costs in revenues to governments is minus \$9 billion. We came up with some large figures.

Before I came here I was looking at the *Financial Post* and, the number of airlines and large manufacturing firms that are in trouble. I can imagine a board of directors sitting around saying, "We have a problem here. But if you gave me so many billion dollars, I could save you about \$30 billion over the next 20 years." You can be sure that as a business decision they would immediately accept that offer. They would say, "You can do that? With an expenditure of \$5 or \$10 billion you can save us approximately \$30 billion?" They would reply, "Yes. Here are the studies that we have carefully done." The company would then go to the bank and sell this idea and borrow money, or else they would raise equity. This would be a clear-cut case of a good investment.

What I would like to stress, is the work that Mr. Shillington and I did, as you asked us to do. The numbers even surprised us. We have been conservative in our estimates because we did not want to be attacked as being too liberal on those points. However, I should like to raise the point that it would be a good practice to start investing in these children just on those narrow economic grounds. That does not mean that there are a lot of other more social reasons based on social justice and a lot of pain that occurs as well, but these are hard economic decisions that even readers of the *Financial Post* would agree should be done now.

[Traduction]

les enfants. Nous avons fait des calculs prudents. Nous n'avons retenu que les coûts que nous pouvions bien mesurer; nous avons écarté tout ce qui pouvait être douteux et tout ce qui ne recueillerait pas l'assentiment général.

Nous nous sommes penchés, par exemple, sur les coûts liés au décrochage scolaire. Nous savons, d'après les enquêtes faites sur le sujet, que les enfants de familles pauvres sont deux fois plus nombreux à abandonner leurs études que les autres. À partir de cela, nous avons fait des projections. Nous nous sommes demandé: «Quel genre de coûts cela pourrait-il entraîner pour la société dans son ensemble?»

Un des coûts liés au décrochage résulte simplement de la perte de productivité. Nous nous sommes alors demandé: «Combien ces jeunes gagneront-ils au cours des 20 prochaines années, compte tenu de leur banque d'instruction? À combien s'élèveront les prestations supplémentaires d'assistance sociale ou d'assurance-chômage dont ils auront besoin? À combien s'élève le manque à gagner sur le plan de l'impôt fédéral, de l'impôt provincial et des taxes à la consommation du fait de leur contribution réduite?» Tous ces facteurs peuvent être mesurés statistiquement.

Nous savons combien de jeunes il y aura au cours des 20 prochaines années; alors nous avons pu faire ces calculs. Nous avons conclu que la perte de productivité au cours des 20 prochaines années s'élèverait à 23 milliards de dollars. Le manque à gagner net pour les recettes publiques serait de 9 milliards de dollars. Il s'agit de montants considérables.

Avant de venir ici ce matin, je lisais dans le *Financial Post* que nombre de lignes aériennes et de grandes entreprises de fabrication étaient en difficulté. Je peux m'imaginer à quoi ressemblerait une réunion du conseil d'administration: «Nous avons un problème. Mais si vous me donnez x milliards de dollars, je peux vous économiser 30 milliards au cours des 20 prochaines années.» Vous pouvez être sûrs que, pour le bien de l'entreprise, les administrateurs accepteraient aussitôt cette offre. Ils diraient: «Vous pouvez vraiment faire cela? Si nous acceptons de dépenser 5 ou 10 milliards, vous pourrez nous en épargner environ 30 milliards?» On leur répondrait: «Oui. Voici les études que nous avons faites avec beaucoup de soin.» Les administrateurs iraient alors voir leur banquier pour le convaincre de leur prêter de l'argent, ou bien ils iraient à la recherche de capitaux.

Il s'agirait sans contredit d'un bon placement. Voilà ce que je voudrais que l'on retienne du travail que M. Shillington et moi-même avons fait, conformément à votre demande. Nous avons été les premiers surpris par les chiffres auxquels nous sommes arrivés. Nous sommes pourtant restés prudents dans nos estimations, parce que nous craignons d'être critiqués pour notre libéralisme excessif. Je tiens toutefois à souligner le fait que ce serait un bon placement que de commencer dès maintenant à investir dans l'avenir de ces enfants pour des raisons purement économiques. Il ne faut pas conclure pour autant qu'il n'y a pas bien d'autres questions de justice sociale et aussi d'énormes souffrances dont il faut tenir compte, mais c'est là le genre de décision purement économique à laquelle même les lecteurs du *Financial Post* donneraient aussitôt leur aval.

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The Chairman: Thank you very much. That is exactly what we asked you to do. We asked what we said at the time was a hard question. It was not the usual way of trying to approach this problem and was to try and catch the attention of people who think in terms of investments, costs and paybacks rather than the lives of children. You have done that quite well.

We published those two appendices in full because we want everyone to see the assumptions that you had to make and the basis on which you made your analyses. We hope that that will be useful and will lead somewhere in terms of public consciousness of these costs.

Mr. Ken Battle, Consultant to the Committee: I have a couple of points concerning the child benefit options that have been discussed by Senator Robertson.

One of the things that we have to be careful about in looking at options is becoming mesmerized by design and the technical paraphernalia that comes with it. When we got mixed up in some of that ourselves, it took a lot more work than we thought. It is important to recognize, as Dr. Walker was saying, that there are other options that you can look at. Those were meant to be illustrative only. We wanted to show you a totally universal one and a targeted one. I am sorry for the horrible terms that these resulted, for example, "mixed universal" and "extra costs". Those terms sound awful to me now, but last summer they did not. It is hard to find labels for these situations. The mixed extra cost is a guaranteed income proposal of a classic sort.

I want to reinforce what Senator Marsden said at the beginning, concerning all these options, including the federal only options. I showed some options, for example, if you could not get provincial money from social assistance. Consequently, we looked at smaller pots. All of the options that we looked at would substantially improve child benefits for the working poor. We are not talking about small amounts. We were looking at doubling the benefits to working poor families and fully protecting the combined benefits from federal and child transfers for welfare families. That is important to keep in mind. Child benefits reform is one small part of what has to be a large package of proposals to get at child poverty. There are no magic solutions, no silver bullets, or whatever. Even with existing resources we could make a substantial improvement in the benefits of working poor families.

That being said, one of the measures of that aspect was: How much closer can we get them to the poverty line? Even under the extra cost—the most generous option—the \$15,000

[Traduction]

La présidente: Merci beaucoup. Vous avez fait exactement ce que nous vous avons demandé de faire. Nous vous avons demandé de répondre à une question qui, de notre propre aveu, était difficile. Ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on aborde généralement le problème, mais nous voulions essayer de capter l'attention de ceux qui s'intéressent davantage aux investissements, aux coûts et aux taux de rendement, et pas tellement aux moyens à prendre pour sauver la vie d'un enfant. Vous avez très bien fait ce que nous vous avons demandé.

Nous avons publié le texte intégral des deux annexes parce que nous voulions que tout le monde ait sous les yeux les hypothèses que vous avez dû faire et les éléments sur lesquels vous avez fondé vos analyses. Nous espérons que ce travail aura été utile et qu'il contribuera à sensibiliser le public à ces coûts.

M. Ken Battle, expert-conseil auprès du Comité: J'ai quelques remarques à faire au sujet des formules de prestations pour enfants dont a parlé le sénateur Robertson.

Quand on examine les diverses formules qui pourraient être mises en œuvre, il faut prendre garde de ne pas se laisser obnubiliser par l'élaboration du modèle ou les détails techniques. Il nous est arrivé à l'occasion de tomber dans le panneau, et il nous a fallu y consacrer bien plus de travail que nous avions pensé au départ. Il est important de reconnaître, comme l'a dit M. Walker, que d'autres formules pourraient également être envisagées. Nous en avons présenté certaines à titre d'exemples seulement. Nous avons voulu vous montrer ce que donneraient respectivement un régime totalement universel et un régime à prestations sélectives. Je m'excuse des termes aberrants auxquels nous sommes arrivés, comme «formule mixte universelle» et «formule à coût supplémentaire». Ces expressions me paraissent aberrantes maintenant, mais ce n'était pas le cas l'été dernier. Il n'est pas facile de trouver des étiquettes appropriées. La formule mixte à coût supplémentaire équivaut au revenu garanti de type classique.

Je veux renforcer ce qu'a dit le sénateur Marsden au début relativement aux différentes formules, notamment celles qui ne mettent que le gouvernement fédéral en cause. J'ai décrit certaines formules qui pourraient être appliquées, par exemple, en l'absence de fonds d'assistance sociale des provinces. Dans ces formules, les montants disponibles étaient donc moins élevés. Toutes les formules que nous avons décrites permettraient d'accroître considérablement les prestations pour enfants destinées aux familles de travailleurs pauvres. Les montants sont loin d'être négligeables. Nous avons envisagé la possibilité de doubler les prestations destinées aux familles de travailleurs pauvres et de protéger les prestations combinées du fédéral et des transferts pour enfants destinées aux familles d'assistés sociaux. Il ne faut pas l'oublier, la réforme des prestations pour enfants ne constitue qu'une petite partie de ce qui devrait être un ensemble de propositions destinées à lutter contre la pauvreté chez les enfants. Il n'existe pas de réponse magique ou de solution parfaite. Même si nous devons nous contenter des ressources existantes, nous pourrions améliorer considérablement les prestations destinées aux familles de travailleurs pauvres.

Cela dit, nous nous sommes notamment fondés sur le critère suivant: quel est le niveau de revenu auquel nous pouvons les amener qui serait le plus près du seuil de pauvreté? Même avec

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family ended up \$4,000 or \$5,000 below the poverty line. We are able to move them further up—and that means something in real terms; we are not talking technical gibberish here—but there is still a long way to go in order to raise families to the poverty line through child benefits. That is why it is necessary to recognize the importance of equal pay, employment programs, minimum wages, social services and the whole other range of benefits that are required to deal with this problem.

Finally, I have one point concerning universality. That is an endless debate that will never be resolved. I can give you strong arguments for it and strong arguments against it. I do not know where I myself stand anymore, but the important thing to recognize here is that it is not so much a question of whether if we want to pay a \$100,000 family a \$400 family allowance under one of the options. The issue is: What do we want to pay middle-income families? That is the crux and the problem that we get into in balancing the situation. We try to gear our options so that middle-income families—at least under the universal model—would not be terribly hurt.

There is no question that there is a tradeoff, which we cannot get away from, as between benefits to middle-income and low-income families. Unless we can bring in a whole bunch of new money from outside the system, middle-income families and upper middle-income families will lose substantially in child benefits, even if they end up with some benefits. The issue is not whether the rich Pierre Trudeau-type family, or whoever, receives a family allowance; the issue is the plight of the much larger group of middle-income Canadians in this regard.

By the way, when we are talking middle-income Canadians, the average income this year for a family with two kids is about \$60,000. So middle income does not mean down around \$45,000 where our benefits disappear. We are talking of a figure much higher than that and that is a very tough issue.

The Chairman: I am very glad you made that point because it is very frustrating when people throw in comments about the bank president with the family allowance. It is such a red herring as you say, and it is absolutely not the issue. I am very, very glad that you raised that.

Senator Robertson: It would be interesting to look at some kind of a housing benefit for families or adults with children isolate it and move it over into that category and see how the benefits would fall out. There are some interesting options.

Mr. Richard Shillington, Social Policy Analyst: I would like to pick up on your comment on the role of parents without children. I cannot tell you how much it warms my heart to hear that comment. I have been working for almost a decade now since my days at the federal civil service, with various

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la formule à coût supplémentaire—la plus généreuse des formules envisagées—la famille ayant un revenu de 15 000 \$ se trouve toujours à 4 000 ou à 5 000 \$ en deçà du seuil de pauvreté. Nous pouvons améliorer leur situation—et je parle ici d'une amélioration réelle, pas fictive—mais il restera encore beaucoup à faire pour amener ces familles plus près du seuil de pauvreté au moyen des prestations pour enfants. C'est pourquoi il faut reconnaître l'importance de la parité salariale, des programmes d'emploi, du principe du salaire minimum, des services sociaux et de toute la gamme des prestations nécessaires pour venir à bout de ce problème.

Enfin, j'ai une dernière observation à faire relativement à l'universalité. Il s'agit là d'un débat qu'on n'arrivera jamais à résoudre. Je peux vous donner de solides arguments pour appuyer le principe et des arguments tout aussi solides pour s'y opposer. Moi-même, je ne sais plus trop si je suis pour ou contre, mais l'important, c'est de reconnaître que la question n'est pas tellement de savoir si nous voulons, sous le régime de l'une ou l'autre des formules, verser des allocations familiales de 400 \$ à une famille qui gagne 100 000 \$. La question est plutôt la suivante: quel montant voulons-nous verser aux familles à revenu moyen? Voilà ce sur quoi nous achoppons quand nous essayons d'en arriver à un juste milieu. Nous essayons de faire en sorte que les formules proposées—du moins celles qui maintiennent le principe de l'universalité—ne soient pas trop désastreuses pour les familles à revenu moyen.

Il ne fait aucun doute que nous devons nécessairement faire un choix, à savoir choisir entre les prestations destinées aux familles à revenu moyen et celles destinées aux familles à faible revenu. À moins de pouvoir augmenter considérablement les crédits existants, les familles à revenu moyen et les familles à revenu moyen supérieur perdront beaucoup de leurs prestations pour enfants, même si elles continuent à recevoir certaines prestations. La question n'est pas de savoir si les familles riches, comme celle de Pierre Trudeau, continueront à recevoir des allocations familiales, mais bien de savoir si le groupe bien plus nombreux des familles canadiennes à revenu moyen continueront de les recevoir.

Vous remarquerez qu'il est question des Canadiens à revenu moyen; or, cette année, la moyenne des revenus pour une famille avec deux enfants s'élève à 60 000 \$. Donc, 45 000 \$ n'est pas un revenu moyen. Il s'agit de beaucoup plus que cela, et le problème est d'autant plus difficile.

La présidente: Vous avez bien fait de soulever la question, car c'est un faux problème que d'évoquer le cas d'un président de banque qui touche des allocations familiales. Vous avez donc très bien fait de le mentionner.

Le sénateur Robertson: On pourrait également envisager des allocations de logement pour des familles ou pour des adultes ayant des enfants à charge pour voir comment cela marcherait. Il y a toutes sortes de possibilités intéressantes.

M. Richard Shillington, analyste de la politique sociale: Cela fait dix ans que j'étudie les diverses allocations pour enfants, à savoir les allocations familiales, le crédit d'impôt pour enfants et l'exemption fiscale pour enfants qui a été transformée en crédit d'impôt. On essaie toujours de trouver de

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analyses of what is called the child benefits system, namely: the family allowance, the child tax credit and the child tax exemption, which is now a credit. We always worked with the situation of how we could re-jig the same amount of money. If we want to give more money to poor families with children, how much must we take away from the wealthier families with children to the extent now that, in 1991, we will be spending about \$1.7 million less on family allowance and child tax credit and child tax exemptions than we would have if the old 1984 system had persisted; that, all moneys come out of the pockets of families with children and not just wealthy families with children.

A family living at the poverty line in Toronto will not get a full child tax credit this year because they start losing the child tax credit at around \$25,000 worth of income. I would like to make that point. Therefore, we have taken that money from every family with children, including the poorest of families where children are getting less out of family allowance than they would have under the old fully-indexed system. I mention indexing because everybody should recognize that families with children will get less out of this system this year than they did last year. Last year, they got less than they did the year before, and every year we are taking more money out of the system. I am totally at a loss to understand why, at the altar of deficit reduction, we are asking families with children to contribute more to deficit reduction than we are asking of families without children.

The Chairman: It is the greatest inequality in Canada, actually, between people with children and those without.

I will ask for comments from Ovide Mercredi from the AFN, who was a witness before the committee. I must say we are very grateful to you and your staff for the help you gave us during the summer. You were pretty occupied, but you still found time to give us some guidance on our recommendations, and we appreciate it.

Mr. Ovide Mercredi, Regional Chief, Manitoba Assembly of First Nations: I would like to echo some of the comments made around the table congratulating the committee for making its objective the reduction of poverty in Canada. That is a significant objective for our country. I would also like to commend the committee for listening to the presentations that we made and advising the government that, as a top priority, they should allocate significant resources to deal with Indian child poverty, and equally as important to begin to tackle poverty in our communities by utilizing the leadership that is there in the communities. In light of what previous senators have said, it is very important that the assessment of the needs of Aboriginal people and the development of an action plan be dealt with through our own institutions. However, a start has been made and I think it is very important that the principal of new resources be understood by the government. I take the recommendation as a signal to the government that the reallocation of present resources is not the solution to the current poverty that our people are experiencing.

I myself do not as an individual get too concerned about the debate between whether a program should be universal or not.

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meilleures façons de répartir cet argent. Pour donner davantage d'argent aux familles à faible revenu ayant charge d'enfants, la question est de savoir combien il faut enlever aux familles plus aisées ayant des enfants à charge; toujours est-il qu'en 1991, les dépenses cumulées pour les allocations familiales, le crédit d'impôt pour enfants et les exemptions fiscales pour enfants baisseront de 1,7 million de dollars par rapport à ce que cela aurait coûté si le système en place jusqu'en 1984 avait toujours été en vigueur; or, tout cet argent vient de familles ayant des enfants à charge, et non pas uniquement des familles riches.

Ainsi, à Toronto, les familles vivant tout juste au niveau du seuil de la pauvreté ne toucheront pas cette année le maximum prévu pour le crédit d'impôt pour enfants, ce crédit étant imposé à partir de 25 000 \$ de revenu par an. Donc, on a mis à contribution toutes les familles avec enfants à charge, y compris les familles les plus démunies, dont les enfants ont maintenant droit à moins d'allocations familiales que du temps de l'ancien régime pleinement indexé. Je tiens à faire remarquer en effet que cette année, les familles avec enfants à charge toucheront moins que l'an dernier, alors que l'an dernier, elles touchaient déjà moins que l'année d'avant. Je n'arrive pas à comprendre pourquoi les familles avec enfants à charge doivent contribuer davantage à la réduction du déficit que les personnes n'ayant pas d'enfants à charge.

La présidente: Cette inégalité entre les personnes ayant des enfants à charge et celles qui n'en ont pas est l'inégalité la plus criante actuellement au Canada.

Je donne maintenant la parole à M. Ovide Mercredi, de l'Assemblée des premières nations, qui a déjà comparu devant le comité. Je tiens à vous remercier, ainsi que vos adjoints, de l'aide que vous nous avez donnée l'été dernier, alors que vous étiez fort occupés.

M. Ovide Mercredi, chef régional, Manitoba, Assemblée des premières nations: Je voudrais tout d'abord joindre ma voix à ceux qui ont félicité le comité de s'être fixé pour objectif la réduction de la pauvreté au Canada, car c'est en effet un objectif très important. Je vous remercie également d'avoir écouté attentivement ce que nous avions à dire et d'avoir proposé au gouvernement de s'atteler en priorité à la lutte contre la pauvreté des enfants indiens et la pauvreté en général dans les collectivités indiennes en faisant appel notamment aux chefs locaux. En effet, il est essentiel de faire appel à nos institutions pour faire le point sur nos besoins et pour élaborer des plans d'action. Le gouvernement doit se rendre compte qu'il est absolument essentiel de dégager de nouveaux crédits, car une redistribution des crédits existants ne suffira pas à endiguer la pauvreté de notre peuple.

Le principe de l'universalité des prestations n'a pas à mes yeux beaucoup d'importance. Il s'agit avant tout d'essayer

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My approach to life is that if there is a need to be addressed by government in an attempt to improve the conditions under which people live, it is counterproductive, in my opinion to become involved in an endless debate about whether a program is universally applicable to all Canadians or not. If the issue is such an important one to the Canadian people, and the rich in Canada do not want to receive those moneys, then I suggest that a simple amendment to the tax formula would make it possible for them to redirect that money back to government or a favourite charity of their choosing. In that way, the moneys that normally would be available to them from any tax credits within the taxation system could be used to alleviate poverty in Canada, or to go to whatever special charities they themselves support; for example, the Heart Foundation.

The financial cost of an action in terms of poverty is something we live with. It cannot be measured. In other words, a financial measurement cannot be given to poverty. You could try to give it sort of an accounting equation. You can try to convince a government that it should do something about poverty because, in the end, it will be saving itself some money. Perhaps in the corporate world those are important arguments to make, but government is not a corporate structure. It is there to serve the public. It is there to serve the people and the country. Therefore governments do not have to make decisions on the basis of a profit margin that a corporation, say, would be interested in. While those arguments are very compelling and I believe the study that was commissioned by the Senate is valuable in that sense, the deprivation cannot be measured, the loss of personal security or lack of opportunity or loss of self-esteem. There is no way to give those things a financial measurement. These are real experiences that can cripple some Canadian people living in poverty from ever being self-sufficient.

In my view, I do not think the government should try just to re-allocate resources. Something which is very important is that it also has to establish policies that will lead to self-sufficiency, and which will give real opportunities to people. For example, we have made the comment before to the standing committee and others in Parliament that you do not deal with the issue of Indian poverty through social assistance. Social assistance is a measure for dealing with the income needs of individuals. When a collective is living in poverty because of a lack of economic or social opportunities, the need should not be responded to with welfare. Alternatives have to be found within government and new policies have to be created so that entire communities of Aboriginal people can become self-sufficient.

In the absence of special initiatives that deal with the economic and social conditions in our communities, we will always be subjected to the knee-jerk reaction of bureaucrats to go to Parliament for more social assistance as a measure for dealing with our poverty. The very simple message is that you do not deal with poverty through welfare. Other policies from government are needed, policies that will make it possible for people to find jobs and to get better education.

Such policies should cover, for example, the issue of single parents, particularly Aboriginal women. Day care is not something that is readily available to the Aboriginal community.

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d'améliorer les conditions de vie des gens, et je ne vois pas à quoi cela sert de discuter de la question de savoir si tel ou tel programme d'aide doit s'appliquer à l'ensemble des Canadiens ou non. Si c'est une question tellement importante, et si les riches ne veulent vraiment pas recevoir cet argent, on devrait pouvoir modifier la Loi de l'impôt pour leur permettre de renvoyer cet argent à l'État ou de l'envoyer à une œuvre caritative. Ainsi, l'argent qu'ils toucheraient normalement au titre des crédits d'impôt servirait à lutter contre la pauvreté; cet argent pourrait notamment être versé à une œuvre de charité, comme par exemple la Fondation du cœur.

La lutte contre la pauvreté va fatalement coûter quelque chose. Mais il est impossible de quantifier la pauvreté. Il y a peut-être moyen de convaincre les pouvoirs publics qu'en dernière analyse, cela reviendra moins cher de lutter contre la pauvreté. Mais ce type d'argument, qui porterait peut-être dans le monde des affaires, n'a pas sa place dans l'État. Car, en principe, l'État est au service du peuple. Donc, les décisions des gouvernements ne doivent pas être prises en fonction de leur rentabilité. Même si ces arguments sont probants, et à cet égard, j'estime que l'étude effectuée par le Sénat apporte une contribution importante aux débats, néanmoins, il est impossible de quantifier la pauvreté, l'absence de sécurité personnelle, de possibilités ou d'estime de soi. Ces phénomènes échappent au calcul financier. Ce qui est certain, c'est que la pauvreté empêche les gens de mener une vie autonome. Il ne suffit pas de redistribuer les crédits de l'État. Il faut mettre en œuvre des mesures pour promouvoir l'autonomie des gens et leur offrir de réelles possibilités.

Ainsi, nous avons déjà eu l'occasion d'insister sur le fait que l'assistance sociale ne viendra jamais à bout de la pauvreté des Indiens. L'assistance sociale peut à la rigueur aider les particuliers. Mais l'assistance sociale n'est pas la solution pour la pauvreté qui frappe toute une collectivité privée de débouchés économiques et sociaux. Des mesures doivent être prises pour encourager l'autonomie des collectivités autochtones.

Il faut s'attaquer aux racines économiques et sociales de la pauvreté qui sévit parmi les autochtones, car l'assistance sociale, considérée comme une panacée par les bureaucrates, n'est en réalité qu'un palliatif. Jamais l'assistance sociale n'arrivera à supprimer la pauvreté. Il faut faire en sorte que les gens puissent travailler et, pour commencer, qu'ils soient mieux instruits.

Ainsi faudra-t-il commencer par s'attaquer au problème des femmes autochtones seules ayant des enfants à charge. Il n'existe pratiquement pas de moyens de faire garder les

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However, day care is a vehicle for freeing up a person to go to school or for job training. It is a viable expenditure for government and is a way of contributing to the elimination of poverty. If you can help the Aboriginal woman in terms of her upgrading or training, and later on with her access to jobs, then you have contributed to the elimination of poverty by making it possible for that individual to be self-sustaining. That is what aboriginal people are looking for.

We do not like it when the Prime Minister gets up in the House of Commons and says something which gives the impression to the Canadian public that all kinds of money is being spent on Aboriginal people already, the implication being that what is needed now is something else other than more resources. I do not like being made to feel like a victim, or the product of my misery. I am not the person who eliminated our access to the land and resources in Canada. I did not make that choice. But it is a decision with which I have to live. In fact, it is a decision we are trying to alter through comprehensive agreements and the re-interpretation of treaties so that we can have a more substantial land base and resources to be self-sufficient, to rely on ourselves rather than depend on government.

When government initiates activities on our behalf, I do not want to be made to feel that it is being done reluctantly or, for that matter, because we have made such a big fuss about it that we ought to be given a response by government. I think the important thing for this government to recognize is that when it deals with Oka, the issue is not just land claims. The issue is the deprivation of people, the lack of opportunity in their communities, their inability to make their own decisions and to feel good about themselves, to feel as if they are part of the national fabric.

Most Aboriginal communities feel alienated. I would say most Aboriginal people in cities feel alienated. There is a strong need for government to look at the way in which it has treated us in the past.

The Prime Minister has said the rest of Canada needs a new relationship with Aboriginal people. Show us some evidence of what that new relationship could be. Announce policies that would lead to better social and economic conditions in our communities. Announce policies that would eliminate racism in urban centres so that employers in the cities will hire Aboriginal people for the jobs that they need.

Right now, it is not just a question of a lack of resources, or for that matter a lack of training and employment. Racism is a very significant factor in Indian poverty. While this report does not address that point, I think we have mentioned it in our comments to the standing committee. The elimination of racism is, in fact, part of the strategy to deal with Indian poverty in Canada. If you can convince, for example, Air Canada or what used to be Canadian Pacific that they should have an equity program for Aboriginal people, then that would go a long way to creating employment opportunities for our people. But that is just one example. It is something that can be done in other sectors in terms of private industry and governments.

We have indicated to you that the equity program of the federal government can be enhanced as a way of creating

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enfants dans les collectivités autochtones; or, ce serait la seule façon pour ces jeunes femmes de pouvoir fréquenter une école ou de suivre des cours de formation professionnelle. Voilà une mesure qui servirait à lutter contre la pauvreté. En aidant les femmes autochtones à acquérir une formation et en les aidant par la suite à trouver un emploi, on lutte contre la pauvreté en permettant à ces personnes de subvenir à leurs propres besoins. C'est cela que nous voulons.

Je trouve tout à fait inacceptable que le premier ministre dise à la Chambre des communes que le Canada a déjà consacré énormément d'argent aux autochtones et que, dès lors, la solution ne consiste pas à trouver plus d'argent. Je n'aime pas être traité en victime ni en miséreux. On nous a enlevé nos terres et nos richesses naturelles, et ce, contre notre gré. Mais nous essayons d'ailleurs maintenant d'infléchir la situation en négociant des accords cadres et en obtenant une nouvelle interprétation des traités, de façon à ce que nous puissions disposer davantage de terres et de richesses naturelles qui nous permettraient d'être financièrement autonomes plutôt que d'avoir à vivre aux dépens de l'État.

Quand enfin le gouvernement consent à prendre certaines mesures pour nous, il ne faut pas qu'il laisse entendre qu'il le fait à contrecœur ou simplement pour tenter de nous apaiser. Il faut que les responsables politiques comprennent enfin que la crise d'Oka n'est pas due uniquement aux difficultés entourant les revendications territoriales. C'est aussi une question de pauvreté, d'horizon complètement bouché, et c'est l'impossibilité dans laquelle les autochtones se trouvent de décider pour eux-mêmes et d'avoir le sentiment de contribuer à la vie nationale.

La plupart des autochtones éprouvent un sentiment d'aliénation, qu'ils vivent dans leur communauté ou en ville. Les pouvoirs publics devraient enfin accepter de reconnaître que nous avons été maltraités par le passé.

Le premier ministre a dit que de nouveaux liens devaient être établis avec les peuples autochtones. Nous voudrions savoir en quoi ces nouveaux liens vont consister. Ce que nous attendons, c'est des meilleures conditions socio-économiques dans nos collectivités et l'élimination du racisme dans les centres urbains, de façon à ce que les autochtones puissent y trouver des emplois.

Car notre problème n'est pas dû uniquement à un manque de crédits, de formation ou d'emplois. En effet, le racisme est lui aussi un des principaux responsables de la pauvreté des Indiens. Bien que le rapport n'en fasse pas état, nous en avons parlé lors de notre comparution devant le comité permanent. L'élimination du racisme doit donc faire partie intégrante de tout plan de lutte contre la pauvreté des Indiens. Ainsi, il faudrait essayer de convaincre Air Canada et l'ancienne Canadian Pacific d'engager des autochtones. Cela n'est qu'un exemple parmi d'autres. Des mesures analogues devraient être prises tant dans le secteur public que privé.

Le programme fédéral d'équité en matière d'emploi devrait donc être renforcé pour permettre aux autochtones de trouver

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direct employment opportunities for Aboriginal people. The most important comment that we made, in my view anyway, was that self-directed Indian initiatives, what you call self-help, is the most appropriate measure for dealing with poverty in our communities. You cannot do it for us, and rightly so. The committee has come to that conclusion.

I want to end my comments by suggesting to the Chairman that, as an organization that has very little influence with this government, we will do what we can at least to indicate to the Minister of National Health and Welfare that he, and not the Department of Indian Affairs, take the lead role in terms of dealing with child welfare issues. The reason I say not the Department of Indian Affairs is not to be vindictive or malicious, but to comply with the minister's intent or the government's policy of eliminating that department over a period of time. The last thing we need is to have that department given more responsibilities or more programs that can be used to control Indians. The recommendation that would involve another minister of government is something that we support as well. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much for your comments. I would like to ask the representatives of the Canadian Teachers' Federation to make a comment. They both appeared as witnesses before the committee. They produced what we consider to be an excellent report, a report entitled *Children, Schools and Poverty*, which is a very important segment of this issue of child poverty. Do you have anything you would like to say? We know that you have a question that you would like to ask.

Ms. Heather-Jane Robertson, Director, Professional Development, Canadian Teachers' Federation: We are pleased to be here. We were delighted to read the contents of this report.

It was in 1988 that the Canadian Teachers' Federation struck a committee to look at children, schools and poverty. We did a number of things, including inviting teachers to write to us and talk to us about their experiences with poor kids in their classrooms, to talk about action and research from the front lines. We received letters from teachers who talked about their daily frustration in the classroom in dealing with poor kids; with kids for whom hunger and poverty had become learning disabilities. In our paper we worked from both this front-line perception of the teacher who is trying to teach despite hunger, through to using the more sophisticated analysis of those who would propose different models.

We had a good reaction to that report and are pleased to see that the committee responded positively to it.

As I was listening to the comments this morning, I was thinking rather sadly how many experiences I have had in the last 6 months that are so contradictory to what we are seeing here. It is not only listening to the Budget and trying to think of the impact it will have on everything we have been saying. It is also the other initiatives of government; it is a left-hand and right-hand problem.

Three weeks ago I attended a large meeting convened by the Ministry of Employment and Immigration concerning drop-

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de l'emploi. Mais la meilleure façon de lutter contre la pauvreté qui sévit dans nos communautés, c'est de faire appel aux Indiens eux-mêmes, car c'est quelque chose que vous ne pouvez pas faire à notre place. Le comité est d'ailleurs arrivé à des conclusions identiques.

Pour terminer, je vous ferai remarquer que, bien que notre organisation n'ait que fort peu d'influence auprès des pouvoirs publics, nous allons toutefois essayer de convaincre le ministre de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social que c'est à lui, et non pas au ministre des Affaires indiennes, de prendre l'initiative en ce qui concerne le bien-être des enfants. Je n'essaie pas de jeter la pierre au ministère des Affaires indiennes; bien au contraire, je ne fais qu'abonder dans le sens du gouvernement, qui a fait savoir que le ministère des Affaires indiennes serait supprimé petit à petit. Il ne faudrait surtout pas donner au ministère de nouvelles attributions qui lui permettraient de renforcer sa mainmise sur les Indiens. Il faut donc absolument que cette tâche incombe à un autre ministre. Je vous remercie.

La présidente: Merci beaucoup. Je demanderais maintenant aux représentants de la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants de prendre la parole. Ils ont déjà comparu devant le comité. Ils ont également rédigé un excellent rapport intitulé: *Les enfants, les écoles et la pauvreté*, rapport qui contribue à l'étude du problème. Vous avez donc la parole.

Mme Heather-Jane Robertson, directrice, Perfectionnement professionnel, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants: Nous sommes heureux de comparaître devant le comité et nous avons lu votre rapport avec le plus grand intérêt.

En 1988, la Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants a créé un comité chargé d'étudier la situation des enfants, des écoles et de la pauvreté. Nous avons entre autre demandé aux enseignants de nous faire part de leur expérience avec les enfants pauvres en classe. Ainsi, nous avons obtenu des lettres d'enseignants qui nous expliquent que certains enfants pauvres qui ne mangent pas à leur faim souffrent de difficultés d'apprentissage. Nous avons donc dans notre rapport pris en compte aussi bien l'expérience des enseignants qui sont obligés d'enseigner dans ces conditions que les analyses plus élaborées.

Notre rapport a été bien reçu, y compris par le comité, ce qui nous a fait vraiment plaisir.

En écoutant les délibérations aujourd'hui, je me disais que les décisions du gouvernement contredisent tout ce que nous avons pu constater au cours de ces six derniers mois sur le terrain. Ainsi, le budget aura pour nous de fâcheuses répercussions. Je pourrais d'ailleurs en dire autant de toute une série d'autres initiatives de l'État.

Il y a trois semaines, j'ai participé à une réunion organisée par le ministère de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration consacrée aux

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ping out. It was an invitational conference with 75 or so knowledgeable people present. We heard a wonderful presentation from a couple of resource people who had put together all the literature on dropping out. After putting it together they said, "Actually, we could have saved ourselves a lot of work by saying socioeconomic circumstances are the story. There really is not much else to say about dropping out after you have said that."

Then we broke into groups and there were groups looking at business school transitions, and groups looking at how business could support high schools and high schools' programs. Table number 4 was for those interested in prevention. Of 75 people there, three of us ended up at the table where prevention was being discussed.

Afterwards, we were invited to submit proposals. They are very keen on sponsoring projects with respect to dropping out. Two of the projects I proposed had to do with adolescent women, following up studies that we have worked on, one having to do with better meeting the needs of immigrant refugee students in our schools. The fourth one was around putting together a document that would talk about different models for feeding kids at school. If such a document could be distributed to school, it would give them an idea of how to get a program off the ground. I was told that of those four, really they could not see how any of them related to dropping out.

The frustration is quite extraordinary for those of us who sit around and see there is virtually no clearer relationship on any social issues that we face than poverty and performance of kids at schools. We can see it and to have others deny the relationship and to think that somehow more business apprenticeship programs in Grade 12 will make a significant difference in the lives of those kids is so discouraging. For those of us who think that the relationship we see is as evident to the outside world as it is to us around this table, I suppose it is an encouragement to all of us to continue to make the points, and I will thank you endlessly and quote you endlessly for your excellent work on educational impacts. It will be extraordinarily useful to us, as will, the entire report.

Mr. Allan Bacon, Vice-President, Canadian Teachers' Federation: Madam Chairperson, perhaps I could make a couple of observations. One of the problems we face in the schools on a daily basis is that we are dealing with kids who are right in this poverty cycle. This morning as I drove in, I was reflecting on an announcement right here in the national capital that the Ottawa Board of Education wanted to set up a breakfast program for kids who are coming to school without having been fed. That is one of the problems we have to deal with.

We are also dealing with many mixed messages. For example, at the provincial level figures were released recently in Ontario showing that the retention rates have significantly improved over the past decade. Yet we know the dropout rate among the kids at the lower end of the income scale is significantly increasing.

We also have problems with provincial directions because education is a provincial matter. In our view, that problem will probably get worse. For example, there is the issue of destreaming. Destreaming may be fine, but the kids who really

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élèves qui abandonnent leurs études. Soixante-quinze personnes assistaient à la réunion. Après avoir fait un excellent exposé sur le sujet, les deux auteurs ont fait remarquer qu'ils auraient pu s'épargner tout ce boulot s'ils avaient simplement incriminé des facteurs socio-économiques.

Ensuite, nous nous sommes constitués en petits groupes de travail pour examiner différents sujets, comme par exemple les écoles de commerce ou la façon dont les entreprises pourraient soutenir les écoles secondaires. Sur les 75 personnes présentes, trois se sont penchées sur la question de la prévention.

Ensuite, on nous a invités à faire des suggestions. Le ministère tient en effet à mettre en place des mesures pour réduire le nombre de jeunes qui abandonnent leurs études. J'ai proposé deux plans visant les adolescentes, plans qui prennent la suite de quelques études que nous avons entreprises nous-mêmes et dont une, notamment, porte sur les mesures d'aide aux étudiants réfugiés inscrits dans nos écoles. Un groupe s'est penché sur les différents moyens d'offrir des repas aux enfants à l'école. Mais on nous a dit que tous ces projets n'avaient rien à voir avec le fait que les jeunes abandonnent leurs études.

Pour les enseignants, il est tout à fait évident qu'il existe un lien de cause à effet entre la pauvreté et les résultats scolaires. Comment les gens peuvent-ils s'imaginer que des programmes d'apprentissage pour les élèves de 12^e année puissent changer quoi que ce soit pour ces jeunes? C'est vraiment décourageant. Pour nous, ce lien est tout à fait évident entre la pauvreté et les résultats scolaires, et nous avons continué à essayer d'en convaincre les autres. Je tiens donc à vous féliciter de votre excellent rapport, qui sera certainement très utile.

M. Allan Bacon, vice-président, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants: Un de nos gros problèmes dans les écoles, c'est que bon nombre de nos élèves sont prisonniers de la pauvreté. Ce matin même, le conseil scolaire d'Ottawa a fait savoir qu'il comptait offrir le petit déjeuner aux élèves qui venaient à l'école le ventre vide.

D'après les statistiques publiées récemment par le gouvernement provincial de l'Ontario, le nombre d'élèves qui poursuivent leurs études a sensiblement augmenté depuis dix ans, alors que nous savons fort bien que le nombre d'élèves venant de familles économiquement faibles qui abandonnent leurs études est en augmentation constante.

Les directives adressées aux enseignants constituent également un problème, l'éducation étant du ressort provincial. Et la situation risque de s'aggraver. Il y a par exemple la question des voies. Peut-être est-ce une bonne idée de les supprimer,

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get squeezed in a destreaming process are the kids at the bottom end, who would be dropping out in any case, who need individualized instruction and classes. That will not be there. As directions are occurring, we see that aggravating the problem.

There are other things that have nothing to do with education as such, but in the national capital a number of major developers in the rental market are moving out of the rental market. That will make affordable housing even less available to those who most need it. All these things are impacting, and education is affected by all of those things. In a sense, we do not know how to break out of that cycle but there has to be a political will to do it somehow. We see the results on a daily basis.

The Chairman: We found the housing issue to be a particularly difficult one. There is a lot more in the housing question that we certainly were not able to explore and I think it is a major issue.

Perhaps we could hear finally from Denise Avard.

Ms. Denise Avard, Canadian Institute of Child Health: Thank you. I only want to repeat the applause that this information is out in public, and I hope the recommendations will eventually have timelines and perhaps will be prioritized in such a way that out of 16 or so recommendations there is a hierarchy of needs that should be answered first and foremost.

One of the things that I appreciated in the report and would like to underline is a recognition of the cycle of disadvantages, and also the cycles starting early in pregnancy. When we talk about poor children, we are also talking about pregnant mothers. If we intend to try and have an impact, it has to start very early on, and this fits in with the idea of prevention. The income aspect is very important when trying to address the poverty problem, and it is not a welfare approach.

On the service side, I have some concerns about what we mean by services. We have seen some examples, particularly now with job retraining, and we see it in the provision of certain types of medical services. If we want more services, are we asking for more of the same? I think, right now, there is a problem with the types of services that are being provided, in that they come from above and they come with a certain model. In the medical world, they come from a medical model, and with a certain element of "we know best", and that we are trying to repair.

As Ovide Mercredi correctly pointed out, we need to have people feeling good about themselves, people having self-esteem. That is what will have the greatest impact on poverty. In redesigning our services, let us not make the mistake of thinking that we need more of the same services. We need to reconsider the whole make-up of what those services are, and they may not be at all in a medical world, and they may not be in education or employment of the nature we saw where it obviously does not work. I would like to see a more in-depth understanding of the service component of the recommendations involved.

As a final remark, I lament the fact that at the time the report should have been presented, we were in the midst of the war crisis, and therefore did not surface. Right now it is sur-

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mais les jeunes qui risquent d'en faire les frais sont les derniers de classe, qui abandonneront leurs études de toute façon et qui auraient besoin d'un enseignement sur mesure. Or, ce n'est pas ce qui va se passer, bien au contraire.

Il y a d'autres problèmes qui ne touchent pas directement à l'enseignement. Ainsi, à Ottawa, un certain nombre de grands promoteurs comptent se retirer du marché locatif, ce qui réduira d'autant le nombre de logements à prix abordable. Or, les résultats scolaires se ressentent de tous ces facteurs. Sans volonté politique, il n'y aura pas moyen de se sortir de ce cercle infernal.

La présidente: La question du logement est effectivement cruciale et, malheureusement, nous n'avons pas pu l'examiner à fond.

Je donne maintenant la parole à Denise Avard.

Mme Denise Avard, Institut canadien de la santé infantile: Je voudrais moi aussi vous féliciter d'avoir publié votre rapport, et j'espère qu'un ordre de priorité sera établi parmi vos 16 recommandations.

Ce que j'ai particulièrement apprécié dans votre rapport, c'est que vous insistez sur l'importance des facteurs qui aggravent la situation des défavorisés, facteurs qui commencent dès la grossesse. Lorsqu'on parle des enfants pauvres, il faut également tenir compte des femmes enceintes. Pour changer la situation, il est essentiel de commencer le plus tôt possible, ce qui est le principe même de la prévention. L'assistance sociale n'est pas une solution au problème de la pauvreté.

Par ailleurs, je me demande ce que l'on entend au juste par services. On pourrait citer entre autres les programmes de recyclage ou certains services médicaux. Faut-il étendre les services existants ou bien en concevoir d'autres? La plupart des services existants sont conçus et imposés par en haut; c'est certainement le cas en médecine.

Ainsi qu'Ovide Mercredi l'a fait remarquer, il est essentiel que les gens s'estiment eux-mêmes. Ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'on parviendra à venir à bout de la pauvreté. Les différents services existants devraient être entièrement repensés, qu'il s'agisse des soins de santé, de l'éducation et de l'emploi. C'est la notion même de services qui doit être revue.

Malheureusement, le rapport a été publié au moment de la guerre du Golfe, ce qui fait qu'on n'en a pas beaucoup parlé. Comme la guerre fait toujours les manchettes, je propose qu'on

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facing in a very soft-spoken way. Obviously, war grabs attention, so lets use the same lingo and say that we are launching a war on poverty. We are talking about the same issues. What was happening in this war was because of the problems of a poor country vis-à-vis a very rich country. What is happening to the poor children in Canada as a result of money going into that war? Let us use the war idea, if it can still be carried and used for exploration of this issue.

Senator Thériault: I would like to ask a question of the teaching people here. I see now that the federal government and provincial governments are fighting over who will be responsible for manpower retraining. I see in various communities thousands and thousands of dollars spent trying to teach kids who have dropped out of school. I am happy about that. However, I am asking you, is that the way to go about solving the problem when more and more people are dropping out of school? God help those who have dropped out, I know it is sad. However, if we cannot afford to do both, would it not be a better prospect and a better investment to spend that money keeping those kids in school right now?

Ms. Robertson: I agree.

Senator Thériault: I do not hear the teaching profession saying that; not in my province at least.

Mr. Bacon: I think we are saying that, and also I think one of the things that is being actively explored is alternate methods of delivering that education. In my board, for example, we have alternate schools which are for children who would have dropped out and been lost to the system altogether but who are now able to come back in and learn life skills, and begin to build up some self-esteem. I would say that that money is well spent.

Senator Thériault: I know it is well spent but if we can't keep the kids that we have in school now, what are we gaining? Ten, 20 years from now we will be doing the same thing.

The Chairman: We are at the end of our allotted time. First, I would like to thank all of you for coming this morning. Many of you were witnesses before the committee, and I hope we reflected at least of some of your views— not all of them we realize, but you have been extremely helpful. I would also like to remind everybody that the testimony is all available and that the richness of that testimony is something that should not be lost, particularly to those of you who have students who are interested in this subject. That testimony is very good data for all kinds of studies. This report will be widely distributed. Of course it will be sent to the interested community. We are distributing it across the country.

Although most of you do not here about it, senators give an average of probably 2 speeches a week somewhere in this country. We tend to speak on the work that our committees have been doing. Senator Marshall's committee on Veterans Affairs for example, has recently published a report that has received widespread distribution and generated considerable interest. We will be doing the same thing with the Child Poverty Report. We hope that others will do the same. Of course, you can contact the clerk of the committee if you need additional

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partie en guerre contre la pauvreté. D'ailleurs, les problèmes sont les mêmes. C'était une guerre entre les riches et les pauvres. Qu'est-ce qui va arriver aux enfants pauvres du Canada à cause de l'argent utilisé pour cette guerre? Peut-être que le vocabulaire de la guerre nous permettra de résoudre le problème de la pauvreté.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je voudrais poser une question aux enseignants présents dans la salle. Les autorités fédérales et provinciales se disputent la compétence en matière de recyclage de la main-d'œuvre. On dépense des milliers de dollars pour l'éducation des jeunes qui ont abandonné leurs études, ce qui est une bonne chose. Je me demande cependant si c'est la meilleure façon de faire, vu le nombre croissant de jeunes qui abandonnent leurs études. Ne serait-il pas préférable de consacrer cet argent aux enfants qui poursuivent leur scolarité?

Mme Robertson: Je suis d'accord.

Le sénateur Thériault: Je n'ai rien entendu de tel de la part des enseignants, du moins dans ma province.

M. Bacon: Nous le disons, et parmi les solutions envisagées sérieusement, il y a les méthodes innovatrices. Par exemple, nous avons chez nous des écoles innovatrices pour les enfants qui ont abandonné leurs études et qui ont quitté le système à un certain moment; ils peuvent revenir, acquérir des aptitudes à la vie quotidienne et rebâtir leur amour-propre. Je pense que c'est un bon placement pour l'avenir.

Le sénateur Thériault: J'en conviens, mais si nous ne pouvons pas garder les enfants à l'école maintenant, que gagnons-nous? Dans 20 ans, nous devons recommencer.

La présidente: Nous avons écoulé tout le temps qui nous était alloué. Je voudrais vous remercier tous de votre présence ici ce matin. Beaucoup d'entre vous ont agi comme témoins; j'espère que nous avons pu refléter au moins certaines de vos vues sur la question—sûrement pas toutes, mais vous nous avez été très utiles. Je vous rappelle également que tous les témoignages sont disponibles et qu'ils constituent une information très riche, particulièrement pour ceux qui ont des étudiants qui s'intéressent de près au sujet. Les témoignages peuvent être utilisés pour toutes sortes de travaux. Ce rapport sera également largement diffusé. Il sera envoyé à tous les intéressés un peu partout au pays.

Même si la plupart d'entre vous ne le savent pas, les sénateurs font en moyenne probablement deux discours par semaine à divers endroits au pays. Ils parlent généralement de ce que font leurs comités. Le comité du sénateur Marshall sur les affaires des anciens combattants, par exemple, vient de publier un rapport qui a été largement distribué et qui a suscité beaucoup d'intérêt. Nous suivrons ce modèle pour notre rapport sur la pauvreté dans l'enfance. Vous pouvez évidemment communiquer avec le greffier du comité si jamais vous avez

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copies of this report. We are hoping that it will feature fairly large in the debate.

We know that we are only one of the groups that is looking at this issue of child poverty. We have here this morning a representative of the committee from the other place, and they are also working on this issue. We know that the Ontario government has just audited its programs, and probably other provincial governments are doing the same thing. The Canadian Institute for Advanced Research has taken up the question of child health in the first three years of life. The Child Use and Family Policy Research Centre is doing something, and one could go on and mention others, in addition to the people here. So we recognize that we are one voice in that very large community of people who think that this issue is right at the top of the agenda. In that sense we have tried to provide in this report 16 recommendations which we are absolutely convinced could be implemented now.

No one has mentioned the federal minimum wage. It is the lowest minimum wage in the country. It could be higher. Even with two people working full time for a full year on the minimum wage, they are still living in poverty, and so are their children. That is one recommendation among many that we believe could be implemented now.

Therefore, our committee will not forget the issue of child poverty. We do not intend to drop it. We will remain very interested, and we appreciate very much what you have contributed to this effort and the work you are doing now and continue to do in this effort. Thank you.

We will take a short break.

(Short recess)

The Chairman: I call the meeting back to order. We shall now proceed with our study of Bill C-258. Our witness is the author of that bill, Mr. Patrick Boyer, M.P. for Etobicoke-Lakeshore. Mr. Boyer has served on the Standing Committees on Communication and Culture, Justice and Legal Affairs, and Privileges and Elections, but is here as the sponsor of this bill in the House of Commons, which has previously come before this committee. Thank you for coming, Mr. Boyer, and please proceed.

Mr. Patrick Boyer, M.P.: Thank you very much, Senator Marsden, and distinguished fellow parliamentarians. I appreciate the chance this morning to say a few words about this bill. Even though it is a short bill, I do not think there is any legislation that goes through Parliament that does not require some explanation, and that is what I am happy to do now.

The purpose of the bill is really twofold: It is to do something specific and it is to do something symbolic.

L'article 4 de ce projet de loi traite du but spécifique des fonds.

L'aspect symbolique du projet de loi est d'établir une association directe entre les personnes handicapées de notre pays et la flamme de la fontaine du centenaire et ce que cette flamme représente comme message de vie, d'espoir et de continuité.

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besoin d'exemplaires supplémentaires du rapport. Nous espérons qu'il aura une grande influence sur le débat en cours.

Nous n'ignorons pas que nous ne sommes pas le seul groupe qui examine le problème de la pauvreté chez les enfants. Nous avons parmi nous ce matin un représentant du comité de l'autre endroit qui se penche également sur la question. Nous savons également que le gouvernement de l'Ontario vient de faire la vérification de ses programmes et que d'autres gouvernements provinciaux s'apprentent à faire de même. L'Institut canadien des recherches avancées a examiné la question de la santé des enfants au cours des trois premières années de la vie. Le *Child, Youth and Family Policy Research Centre* mène une étude, et il y a d'autres organismes et personnes qui s'impliquent. Nous ne sommes qu'un groupe parmi tant d'autres qui considèrent la question comme prioritaire. C'est ainsi que nous avons essayé de formuler 16 recommandations qui, nous en sommes convaincus, peuvent être appliquées immédiatement.

Personne n'a parlé du salaire minimum fédéral. C'est le plus bas au pays. Il pourrait certainement être rajusté. Même si deux personnes travaillaient à plein temps toute une année en touchant ce salaire minimum, elles seraient forcées, ainsi que leurs enfants, de vivre dans la pauvreté. C'est une des recommandations qui pourraient s'appliquer dès maintenant, croyons-nous.

Notre comité n'a pas l'intention de lâcher prise en ce qui concerne le problème de la pauvreté chez les enfants. Nous resterons très actifs. Nous vous remercions de votre concours et du travail que vous faites et continuerez de faire à ce niveau. Merci.

Nous allons maintenant faire une brève pause.

(Brève pause)

La présidente: Nous reprenons notre séance. Nous passons maintenant à l'étude du projet de loi C-258, et notre témoin est le parrain de ce projet de loi, M. Patrick Boyer, député d'Etobicoke-Lakeshore. M. Boyer a siégé aux comités permanents des communications et de la culture, de la justice et des questions juridiques, et des privilèges et élections, mais il comparait aujourd'hui à titre de parrain de ce projet de loi présenté à la Chambre des communes et dont notre comité a déjà été saisi. Merci d'être venu, monsieur Boyer. Nous vous écoutons.

M. Patrick Boyer, député: Merci beaucoup, sénateur Marsden et éminents collègues parlementaires. Je suis heureux d'avoir l'occasion ce matin de dire quelques mots au sujet du projet de loi. Même s'il est bref, il mérite quelques explications, au même titre que toutes les mesures législatives soumises au Parlement. Je vais donc vous le présenter avec plaisir.

Le projet de loi a un double objet: il vise à atteindre un but précis et il a aussi un rôle symbolique.

Clause 4 of the Bill deals with the specific aim of the fund.

The symbolic aspect of the Bill is to establish a direct connection between the people of this country who are disabled in some way and the Centennial Flame and fountain, with its message of life, hope and continuity.

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As I am sure members of this committee know, we have 3.3 million fellow citizens who are mentally or physically disabled. That represents 13.2 per cent of the population of our country. In these days when we talk so much about national unity, it may not be too much to envisage that one of the things that truly unites Canadians from coast to coast to coast is the fact that people living with mental and physical challenges have a common, shared experience across this country. I believe that we do not achieve unity in our country by any one single magic act but rather by a thousand small victories, and that is why this bill is before you here. It is one that, I think, can do something symbolic in making a connection between the Centennial Flame, and all that it represents, and the people of our country who are disabled. That is the symbolic aspect of this bill.

Turning to the specific nature of the bill, I should like to discuss three main areas: The amount of the award; the administrative aspects; and the reporting of the results, the research and what will be done with all of the money.

First, as to the amount of the award, we are dealing here, of course, with the money that is scooped up; all of the coins that are thrown over the course of each year into the fountain. It seems that wherever you create a fountain, people will come by and throw money into it. It does not matter where it is; it has some attraction for people. Indeed, I was interested to learn that religious emblems, including crucifixes and many other small items, are thrown into the fountain. I have also seen prayer vigils being conducted around the Centennial Flame. It is a place where much happens that is symbolic and interesting and important.

When people throw coins into a fountain, apart from any wish they may or may not make, if something special can be done with that "found" money, then I think we should take the opportunity to do it. The amount that is retrieved by the Department of Public Works annually fluctuates somewhat. That should not surprise anyone. This past year, the figure was \$1,752. It has been higher and it has been lower.

The first of two points that I would like to make about the amount of the award is that there is honour and recognition that will go with this award. It will be a unique research award in our country, and should be recognized as having a significance that is quite independent of the dollar amount involved. I think we have to recognize that more motivates the human spirit than the value system of a sharp-pencilled accountant. Many of you would be aware of the Marvin Gelber Award provided by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The amount of that award is \$1,000. The honour associated with receiving that award and having the essay that won it published in the *Journal of the CIIA* is very significant and makes a lasting contribution. The \$1,000, in and of itself, is not the beginning and the end of the award.

The second point relating to the amount of the award is that I believe it can be significantly increased. Certainly, publicity about the proceeds being used for research on the contribution of Canadians with disabilities to the parliamentary and public

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Comme les membres du comité le savent certainement, il y a au Canada 3,3 millions de personnes atteintes de handicaps physiques ou mentaux. Cela représente 13,2 p. 100 de la population totale. À notre époque, où l'on parle beaucoup de l'unité nationale, il est normal de penser que l'un des facteurs qui unissent véritablement les Canadiens d'une côte à l'autre, c'est que tous ceux qui font face à des handicaps physiques et mentaux vivent la même expérience à travers le pays. Nous ne pourrions pas unifier notre pays par un simple coup de baguette magique, mais plutôt grâce à une longue série de petites victoires, et c'est pourquoi ce projet de loi vous est soumis aujourd'hui. Il peut, à mon avis, jouer un rôle symbolique pour établir un lien entre la flamme du centenaire et tout ce qu'elle représente et les Canadiens handicapés. Voilà pour l'aspect symbolique de ce projet de loi.

Venons-en maintenant à l'objectif précis du projet de loi. Ma discussion portera sur trois questions principales: le montant de la bourse, les aspects administratifs et les rapports sur les résultats, les recherches et l'utilisation de tout cet argent.

Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne le montant de la bourse, nous parlons ici, bien entendu, de l'argent qui est récupéré, de toutes les pièces qui sont jetées au cours de l'année dans la fontaine. Il semble que chaque fois qu'une fontaine est inaugurée, les gens qui viennent la voir jettent de l'argent dans l'eau. Peu importe où elle se trouve, cela attire les gens. En fait, j'ai appris avec intérêt que l'on jetait parfois dans la fontaine des emblèmes religieux, comme des crucifix et divers autres petits articles. J'ai même vu des séances de prière organisées autour de la flamme du centenaire. Tous les événements qui se déroulent à cet endroit revêtent une importance symbolique et fort intéressante.

Lorsque les gens jettent des pièces dans une fontaine, mis à part le souhait qu'ils font à l'occasion, si l'on peut prendre des mesures spéciales grâce à cet argent «trouvé», je pense que nous devrions saisir l'occasion de le faire. Le montant récupéré tous les ans par le ministère des Travaux publics varie beaucoup. Cela n'a rien de surprenant. L'an dernier, on a récupéré 1,752\$. Ce montant a déjà été plus élevé, mais il a aussi été plus faible.

J'ai deux remarques à faire au sujet du montant de la bourse. Tout d'abord, il faut reconnaître que l'honneur et la publicité qui entoureront cette bourse de recherche très particulière auront une importance certaine, quel que soit le montant en cause. Nous devons tenir compte du fait que l'être humain n'est pas uniquement motivé par le système de valeurs d'un comptable obnubilé par l'aspect financier. Bon nombre d'entre vous ont sans doute entendu parler du prix Marvin Gelber octroyé par l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales et dont le montant est de 1,000\$. Toutefois, c'est un grand honneur de recevoir ce prix et de voir l'essai qu'il vise à récompenser publié dans la revue de l'institut, et cela représente une contribution durable. L'importance de ce prix ne se limite pas au montant de 1,000\$ proprement dit.

En second lieu, en ce qui concerne le montant de la bourse, je suis convaincu qu'il augmentera de façon très importante. Il est évident que, compte tenu de la publicité qui entourera cette bourse et du fait qu'elle servira à des recherches sur la partici-

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life of our country will, I have no doubt, increase the amount of money that is thrown into the fountain.

I hope that you would have occasion to look at the bronze plaque that is embedded in the pavement just in front of the fountain. Right now, of course, as it is the middle of winter, it is covered with snow, but when it is exposed, you can see that one-third of the space on the plaque is still blank, in both the French and English language versions, almost as if there were still something to be written there. I think it would be wonderful, after explaining how the flame was lit by Prime Minister Pearson at the beginning of the Centennial celebrations and what the flame symbolizes, to add a statement saying that, by an Act of Parliament, the proceeds from this fountain fund research on the contributions of Canadians with disabilities to the public and parliamentary life of our country. I think there is space for that. That kind of message would be one way of increasing publicity and increasing the amount that goes into the fountain.

There are also many other ways that come to mind. For instance, once visiting school children, seniors and other organizations that tour the hill know of this program, I think it will become a special act to throw money into the fountain. Members of Parliament, senators and cabinet ministers sometimes receive honoraria for public speaking. I have spoken with the Assistant Deputy Registrar General about these fees and the conflict of interest provisions, and have had it clarified in writing that the Centennial Flame Research Fund may be a designated recipient of those funds.

In fact, I spoke at Barrie, Ontario a few months ago, and today I heard Senator Marsden say to the previous group that every week senators give at least a couple of speeches somewhere in the country. Recently, I have noticed that instead of receiving a book, pen set or other memento, the service club expresses its appreciation by making a donation in the name of the speaker to a charity of their choice. In anticipation of this bill becoming law, I have twice directed funds to the Centennial Flame Research Award. In other words, the money that goes into this fund does not have to get wet first by getting thrown into the fountain in the form of coins.

The board of Internal Economy and the Speaker's Office in the House of Commons have already made arrangements to establish an account to handle the funds. There are also other ways of publicizing this award by inviting people to remember this fund in their wills and having service clubs make direct donations. Therefore, I am confident that, in coming years, the dollar amount can be significantly increased beyond its past and present levels. Those are the two points I wanted to make with respect to the amount of the award.

Turning to the administrative aspects of how the fund would operate, there is currently a system for recovering those coins.

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pation des Canadiens handicapés aux affaires publiques et parlementaires de notre pays, le nombre de pièces jetées dans la fontaine augmentera, j'en suis certain.

J'espère que vous aurez l'occasion d'examiner la plaque de bronze scellée dans le sol juste devant la fontaine. À l'heure actuelle, elle est recouverte de neige, puisque nous sommes au beau milieu de l'hiver, mais lorsqu'elle est exposée, on peut voir qu'il reste un espace en blanc sur un tiers de la plaque, du côté français comme du côté anglais, comme si l'on avait prévu y ajouter quelque chose. À mon avis, ce serait formidable si, après les textes expliquant comment la flamme a été allumée par le premier ministre Pearson au début des fêtes du centenaire et ce qu'elle symbolise, on ajoutait un paragraphe disant que, en vertu d'une loi du Parlement, l'argent récupéré dans la fontaine servira à financer des recherches sur la participation des Canadiens handicapés aux affaires publiques et parlementaires de notre pays. Il y a suffisamment de place sur la plaque pour cela. Ce message permettrait de faire encore plus de publicité et donc d'augmenter le montant d'argent jeté dans la fontaine.

Il existe aussi de nombreux autres moyens. Par exemple, lorsque les groupes d'élèves, les personnes âgées et les autres groupes qui viennent visiter la colline connaîtront ce programme, je pense qu'ils se feront un point d'honneur de jeter de l'argent dans la fontaine. Les députés, les sénateurs et les ministres du Cabinet touchent parfois des honoraires lorsqu'ils prennent la parole en public. J'ai discuté de ces honoraires et des dispositions relatives aux conflits d'intérêts avec le sous-registraire général adjoint et je lui ai fait préciser par écrit que ces honoraires pourront être versés dans le Fonds de recherche de la flamme du centenaire sans créer de conflits d'intérêts.

En fait, j'ai pris la parole à Barrie, en Ontario, il y a quelques mois, et j'ai entendu le sénateur Marsden déclarer au groupe précédent que toutes les semaines, les sénateurs prononcent au moins deux discours dans une ville ou une autre du pays. J'ai constaté récemment que, au lieu de remettre un livre, un stylo ou autre souvenir, le Club philanthropique de service exprimait sa reconnaissance en faisant un don au nom du conférencier pour qu'il le remette à l'organisme de charité de son choix. Dans l'espoir que ce projet de loi sera adopté, j'ai déjà à deux reprises versé l'argent dans le Fonds de recherche de la flamme du centenaire. Autrement dit, l'argent versé dans cette caisse n'aurait pas besoin d'être mouillé en tombant tout d'abord dans la fontaine.

Le Bureau de régie interne et le Bureau du président de la Chambre des communes ont déjà pris des dispositions pour créer un compte où ces fonds seraient versés. Il existe aussi d'autres moyens de faire de la publicité pour cette bourse, par exemple inviter les gens à ne pas oublier ce fonds dans leur testament et demander aux clubs philanthropiques de faire des dons directs. C'est pourquoi je suis convaincu que dans les années à venir, la somme récupérée augmentera considérablement par rapport à ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui. Voilà les deux remarques que je voulais faire au sujet du montant de la bourse.

En ce qui concerne les aspects administratifs du fonctionnement de la caisse, il existe déjà un système pour récupérer les

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They are held in an account and, once a year, a cheque is issued to one or two charitable organizations. I do not think anyone would question that that is a good designated use of those funds. However, when you look at the list of recipients you will find that it is different each year. Many years, relatively small amounts are divided between one or two existing funds, whether it be for multiple sclerosis or cystic. The question then becomes: Can we do something with this amount of money by using the Centennial Flame as a vehicle for raising consciousness to do more with that money without costing more in the process? The answer is definitely yes.

I have had discussions with the Speaker's Office of the House of Commons, Mr. John Fraser, who is personally very committed to making a lot of changes such as improving access to Parliament Hill, whether it be elevators, washrooms, the grey and green buses, to make the precincts of Canada's Parliament accessible to all Canadians. So he has taken an active role in determining that the administrative procedures of this award would involve no increase in operating overhead and require no additional people. The administrative aspects of this fund would be easily accommodated within the existing operations. We could explore that in greater detail if anyone has further questions.

The reporting of the results is envisaged as being one of the main purposes of the Centennial Flame Research Award. The individual who received the award annually would conduct research into the contributions made by an individual or group of individuals to the public or parliamentary life of our country. For example, one can think of individuals in the public service who have disabilities. I remember the Honourable Edward Dunlop who was a cabinet minister in Ontario. He is blind. I also know several members in provincial legislatures who are disabled but who contribute to public life.

However, it need not necessarily refer to those who are elected to public office. In the main, it would apply to those who contribute to the public life of our country in a broad way. We are looking at largely a voiceless section of our country; people who do not have a way of being recognized in our society. That is what this bill is all about. It is to help raise awareness and consciousness. So the report, which can take any medium that is appropriate to the researcher, whether it be on tape, written in braille or whatever, would then be presented to Parliament on an annual basis for the purpose of permitting further publicity and promotion based on that research.

We are not looking at rigid, scientific research and statistical documentation of the condition of people with disabilities in our community. That is already being undertaken by Statistics Canada and many other agencies and departments of government and non-governmental organizations. What we are talking about is giving a human message that can inspire and ennoble the story of individuals in our country who, in spite of

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pièces. Elles sont versées dans un compte et, une fois par an, un chèque est émis au nom d'un ou deux organismes de charité. Personne ne niera qu'il s'agit là d'une bonne façon d'utiliser ces fonds; toutefois, lorsqu'on examine la liste des bénéficiaires, on constate qu'elle est différente chaque année. Bien souvent, des sommes relativement restreintes sont partagées entre un ou deux fonds existants, qu'il s'agisse de la recherche sur la sclérose en plaques ou de la fibrose kystique. Il faut alors nous demander si nous pouvons faire quelque chose grâce à cet argent en utilisant la flamme du centenaire comme moyen de sensibiliser les gens à faire plus avec cet argent sans accroître nos dépenses administratives. La réponse est oui, sans aucun doute.

J'en ai discuté avec le président de la Chambre, M. John Fraser, qui est personnellement déterminé à apporter de nombreux changements, par exemple pour faciliter l'accès à la colline du Parlement, qu'il s'agisse d'ascenseurs, de toilettes, des navettes grises et vertes, afin de rendre l'enceinte du Parlement accessible à tous les Canadiens. Après avoir examiné la question, il a décidé avec d'autres que les procédures administratives entourant cette bourse n'entraîneraient aucune augmentation des dépenses générales de fonctionnement et n'exigeraient pas de personnel supplémentaire. Les aspects administratifs de cette caisse pourraient très facilement être réglés dans le cadre des activités actuelles. Nous pourrions approfondir cette question si quelqu'un a des questions à poser à ce sujet.

Quant au rapport sur les résultats, il s'agira de l'un des objectifs principaux du Fonds de recherche de la flamme du centenaire. La personne qui aura touché la bourse effectuera des recherches sur la participation d'une personne ou d'un groupe de personnes aux affaires parlementaires ou publiques de notre pays. Par exemple, on peut penser à des fonctionnaires atteints de certains handicaps. Je me rappelle l'honorable Edward Dunlop, qui était ministre du Cabinet de l'Ontario. Il est aveugle. Je connais aussi plusieurs députés d'assemblées législatives provinciales qui sont handicapés, mais qui jouent quand même un rôle sur la scène publique.

Il n'est pas indispensable toutefois de prêter son attention sur les représentants élus. Cela pourrait s'appliquer à toutes les personnes qui participent d'une façon quelconque aux affaires publiques de notre pays. Nous cherchons à toucher un secteur de notre population qui n'a aucun moyen de s'exprimer et d'avoir voix au chapitre dans notre société. Voilà l'objectif fondamental de ce projet de loi. Il vise à sensibiliser les gens et à leur faire prendre conscience du problème. Ce rapport, qui peut être présenté de la façon qui convient le mieux au chercheur, c'est-à-dire sur bande magnétique, en braille, etc., sera ensuite soumis au Parlement une fois par an dans le but de faire encore plus de publicité et de promotion au sujet de ces recherches.

Ce que nous recherchons, ce n'est pas une documentation statistique et scientifique stricte sur la situation des personnes handicapées de notre société. Statistique Canada s'en charge déjà, ainsi que de nombreux autres organismes et ministères fédéraux et organismes non gouvernementaux. Il s'agit ici de faire passer un message humain en vue de mettre en lumière la vie de certaines personnes qui, malgré leur handicap, ont apporté une contribution à notre pays. Voilà l'objet du rapport.

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their limitations, have made their contribution. That is the purpose of the report.

Again, with respect to administration, the bill talks about a committee that has the responsibility of dealing with issues affecting Canadians with disabilities. On the House of Commons side, that is left to the Standing Committee on Human Rights and the Status of Disabled Persons. The idea would be that, through the publications of the various disabled communities in Canada, awareness of this award could be promoted.

Those who are interested in applying for the award would simply get in touch with the committee, and the committee, or a subcommittee thereof, it would study the applications made over the course of the year and decide which was the most deserving and most appropriate award recipient for that year.

I would conclude these general remarks by putting this matter in a larger context. It was eight years ago, in 1983, that the United Nations adopted the World Action Plan concerning disabled persons. In that global action plan, under the heading of Information and Public Education, one of the recommendations states that member states, which certainly includes Canada, should encourage a public information program about the contributions of disabled persons that would reach all concerned, including the general public. In this connection, attitude change should be given special importance.

We are coming to the end of the United Nations Decade of the Disabled. There are a number of principles enunciated in the Declaration of the Disabled which was signed for Canada. The eleventh of those states that there shall be action and public education to remedy social attitudes evolving from ignorance, indifference and fear which impede the full participation of individuals with disabilities.

Therefore, it is in keeping with the spirit of both the United Nations Global Action Plan and the Declaration of the Rights of the Disabled that has been signed for Canada that Bill C-258 plays a modest but, I believe, important part in that overall approach.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Boyer.

Senator Kinsella: First and foremost I think all senators would like to congratulate the honourable member for his initiative. I noticed that it was on December 10, Human Rights Day, that the House of Commons passed the bill in that chamber.

In your presentation you have answered my concerns with regard to the cost of administering the fund. It was not clear to me whether we would have to pay for the collecting of the coins. I understand, and correct me if I am wrong, that the Department of Public Works would continue to do that and the funds would be transferred to the Internal Economy Committee of the House of Commons.

Mr. Boyer: Yes, that is correct. There is no change in that procedure. In fact, that is how I first learned about this situation. I was walking onto the Hill early one morning and saw two people from the Department of Public Works scooping coins out of the fountain, and the question came to my mind as

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Pour revenir sur les questions administratives, le projet de loi prévoit qu'un comité soit chargé d'examiner les questions relatives aux Canadiens handicapés. À la Chambre des communes, cette tâche reviendrait au Comité permanent des droits de la personne et de la condition des personnes handicapées. L'objectif visé est de faire connaître l'existence de cette bourse grâce aux publications des divers groupes de personnes handicapées du pays.

Ceux qui veulent entreprendre un projet et présenter une demande de bourse pourront simplement communiquer avec le comité, lequel, ou un sous-comité, étudiera les demandes présentées au cours de l'année et choisira le bénéficiaire de la bourse le plus méritant cette année-là.

Je conclurai ces observations générales en les replaçant dans un plus vaste contexte. Il y a huit ans, en 1983, les Nations Unies ont adopté le Plan d'action mondial visant les personnes handicapées. En vertu de ce plan, sous la rubrique information et éducation du public, l'une des recommandations porte que les États membres, dont le Canada, bien entendu, doivent favoriser la mise sur pied d'un programme d'information relatif à la participation des personnes handicapées qui atteindrait tous les intéressés, y compris le grand public. À cet égard, il convient de mettre l'accent sur un changement d'attitude.

La décennie des personnes handicapées instaurée par les Nations Unies arrive à sa fin. Un certain nombre de principes sont énoncés dans la déclaration des personnes handicapées qui a été signée pour le Canada. Le 11^e principe stipule qu'il faudra prendre des initiatives et informer le public en vue de modifier certaines attitudes sociales découlant de l'ignorance, de l'indifférence et de la crainte et qui empêchent les personnes handicapées de participer pleinement à la vie de notre société.

C'est pourquoi, conformément à l'esprit du Plan d'action international des Nations Unies et de la Déclaration des droits des personnes handicapées qui a été signée au nom du Canada, le projet de loi C-258 joue un rôle modeste, quoique important, selon moi, dans cette démarche générale.

La présidente: Merci beaucoup, monsieur Boyer.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Tout d'abord, je pense que tous les sénateurs sont prêts à féliciter le député de son initiative. J'ai remarqué que la Chambre des communes a adopté ce projet de loi justement le 10 décembre, déclaré Journée des droits de la personne.

Au cours de votre exposé, vous avez répondu à certaines de mes préoccupations concernant les frais d'administration de ce fonds. Je n'ai pas bien compris s'il nous faudrait payer pour récupérer les pièces. Je crois savoir, et n'hésitez pas à me corriger si je me trompe, que le ministère des Travaux publics continuera à le faire et que l'argent sera transmis au Bureau de régie interne de la Chambre des communes.

M. Boyer: C'est exact. Sur ce point, les choses se dérouleront comme par le passé. En fait, c'est de cette façon que j'en ai entendu parler pour la première fois. Je me promenais sur la colline, un beau matin, et j'ai vu deux employés du ministère des Travaux publics récupérer les pièces dans la fontaine. Je

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to what happens with them. It was then, in 1988, that I placed a question on the Order Paper and one thing led to another.

This bill certainly would not change any of the physical aspects of the operation. That is a small component of the overall responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the Hill. It is simply a point of how this money is allocated. It is already going to worthy causes but in the broader scheme of things this money can be allocated to something which all parliamentarians would feel would make a greater impact where there is a very important need, but it would not change any of the existing structures.

Senator Kinsella: Within the context of the present times, Dr. Halliday's committee on human rights and persons with disabilities would give notice and make people aware that this award exists. I assume that the clerk of that committee would receive applications and proposals, and the committee itself would establish the criteria it would use in assessing these applications.

Mr. Boyer: That is correctly stated.

Senator Kinsella: Just one final and slightly technical question. Clause 6(1) of your bill, Mr. Boyer, says:

The funds for the award shall consist of all money collected . . . during the fiscal year preceding . . . “

If, for example, in one year they collected \$1,300, that would be the amount of the award for the subsequent year. I was interested in your elaboration of this concept. I am sure that Senator Marsden would command a very large honorarium if she were speaking at some event in the United States. If the group had budgeted \$500 or \$1,000 and she designated the flame fund, would clause 6 require that it would have to be \$1,800? It says that all money must be given, but is that the kind of thing that experience would dictate? Is your reading of clause 6(1) such that the committee could determine that all funds do not have to be given if, for example, a benefactor gave \$50,000?

Mr. Boyer: You are raising a good point, Senator Kinsella. When I drafted this motion some time ago, the point was a simple one. I just wanted to say that all the money that comes out of the fountain will go into this special fund. Later, I began to get some other ideas as to how we could increase the amount and these additional methods came along. The interpretation that has been given by the Assistant Deputy Registrar General to the Board of Internal Economy, which is prepared to create this account, is that it would receive all money designated as being Centennial Flame Fountain funds. I can appreciate that in retrospect one might have changed the wording slightly. It could certainly be interpreted to incorporate such money, and that certainly is the intention.

Senator Bosa: Madam Chairman, I want to congratulate Mr. Boyer for a very detailed explanation of this bill. When we first considered this matter, we thought it was quite insignifi-

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me suis alors demandé ce que l'on en faisait. C'est alors, en 1988, que j'ai inscrit une question au Feuilleton, et tout le reste a suivi.

Ce projet ne changera rien au plan de l'organisation matérielle. Il s'agit d'un petit élément de la responsabilité globale relative à l'entretien et au fonctionnement de la colline. Il s'agit simplement de changer l'affectation des fonds. Cet argent est déjà destiné à des causes valables, mais en général, il pourrait être utilisé pour un projet qui contribuerait davantage à répondre à un besoin très réel, de l'avis de tous les parlementaires, sans rien changer toutefois à l'organisation actuelle.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Dans les circonstances actuelles, le Comité des droits de la personne et de la condition des personnes handicapées, présidé par M. Halliday, annoncerait cette bourse pour la faire connaître aux gens. Je suppose que le greffier du comité recevrait les demandes et les propositions et que le comité fixerait lui-même les critères qu'il appliquerait pour évaluer les demandes.

M. Boyer: C'est exact.

Le sénateur Kinsella: J'ai une dernière question légèrement technique. Voici le texte du paragraphe 6.(1) de votre projet de loi, monsieur Boyer:

La bourse est constituée de la somme d'argent déposée . . . au cours de l'exercice qui précède . . .

Si, par exemple, on récupère 1,300 \$ dans la fontaine, ce sera le montant de la bourse pour l'année suivante. J'ai écouté avec intérêt vos explications à ce sujet. Je suis sûr que le sénateur Marsden demanderait des honoraires très élevés si elle prenait la parole au cours d'une fonction quelconque aux États-Unis. Si l'organisme qui l'a invitée lui remet un chèque de 500 \$ ou de 1 000 \$ et qu'elle décide de le verser au fonds de la flamme du centenaire, le montant de la bourse devra-t-il être de 1 800 \$, conformément à l'article 6? Cet article porte que tout l'argent doit être donné, mais est-ce que cela dépendrait des circonstances du moment? D'après votre interprétation du paragraphe 6.(1), le comité pourrait-il déterminer que tout l'argent n'a pas besoin d'être donné si, par exemple, un bienfaiteur fait un don de 50 000 \$?

M. Boyer: Vous soulevez une question intéressante, sénateur Kinsella. Lorsque j'ai rédigé ce projet de loi, il y a quelque temps, mon objectif était simple. Je voulais simplement demander que tout l'argent récupéré dans la fontaine soit versé à cette bourse. Plus tard, il m'est venu d'autres idées sur la façon d'accroître le montant et sur ces nouvelles sources de financement. D'après les explications que le sous-registraire général adjoint a fournies au Bureau de régie interne, qui est prêt à ouvrir ce compte, c'est le bureau qui recevrait tout l'argent désigné comme fonds de la fontaine de la flamme du centenaire. Je me rends compte, après coup, que l'on aurait pu modifier légèrement le libellé. On aurait sans nul doute pu y ajouter cette possibilité, et c'est sans aucun doute l'objectif poursuivi.

Le sénateur Bosa: Madame la présidente, je tiens à féliciter M. Boyer des explications très précises qu'il a fournies au sujet de ce projet de loi. Lorsque nous avons examiné la question la

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cant and we could not understand the purpose of putting a bill through Parliament to dispose of several hundred dollars collected yearly in the Centennial Flame. However, after your explanation I am completely sold on the idea, and I see the significant importance of adopting such a bill.

I am a little disappointed that clause 6(2), which provides for the board of Internal Economy of the House of Commons to supervise and deal with this matter, does not include the Senate since the Centennial Flame is on Parliament Hill and affects all of Parliament. If the Senate had been involved in this I would have felt a little bit better.

The Chairman: If I may piggyback onto that question, clause 7(2) concerns the annual report, which only goes to the house now and not to the Senate. Presumably the Senate can also have it, but at the same time the bill might reflect the nature of Parliament.

Senator Bosa: Senator Kinsella raised a point that is not presently clear in clause 6(2), concerning how the moneys should be disposed of in the event that they are in the thousands or tens of thousands of dollars. Perhaps an amendment in the future could also take care of this anomaly.

Mr. Boyer: Yes. I fully agree that, as in any first effort at trying to put something together in legislative form or a plan to do something, even a small matter like this can benefit from experience. I would be open to those changes, especially as we gain experience from running it for one or two years. I do not disagree at all with the comments that you have made and that the chairman has made regarding the fact that Parliament comprises both houses and the bill should have reflected that fact.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator Bosa: I wish to put a question to Senator Marsden. If the bill were amended in the Senate and sent back, I am sure that this bill would get speedy approval in the House of Commons, would it not?

Mr. Boyer: I would hope so. It certainly received all-party support in the house—that is, unanimous support in the house. Therefore, the only question is: If there is to be a prorogation in the near future are we likely to lose the bill? It is rare that a private members bill does pass in the House of Commons and even reaches your chamber. I am not at all adverse to any improvements that can be made by amending it. My only concern would be that, if in trying to do the fine-tuning and the polishing of the bill, we end up losing it all because of the timetable, over which I have no control. I do not have any real information as to what that timetable is and how speedily the amended bill could be passed in the House of Commons.

Senator Bosa: Could we explore this matter further to find out whether it is possible to have the bill dealt with, for example, by next week or even this week, and whether, if it went

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première fois, nous n'en avons pas saisi l'importance et nous avons eu du mal à comprendre ce qui justifiait la présentation d'un projet de loi au Parlement en vue de disposer de plusieurs centaines de dollars déposés tous les ans auprès de la flamme du centenaire. Cependant, après vos explications, j'appuie sans réserve ce projet et je comprends pourquoi il importe d'adopter cette mesure législative.

Je suis un peu déçu de voir que le paragraphe 6.(2), en vertu duquel le Bureau de régie interne de la Chambre des communes est chargé de la perception et de la gestion de cet argent, ne fait pas mention du Sénat, puisque la flamme du centenaire se trouve sur la colline du Parlement et qu'elle concerne le Parlement tout entier. J'aurais mieux aimé que le Sénat participe à ce projet.

La présidente: Permettez-moi de faire une observation à ce sujet. Le paragraphe 7.(2) a trait au rapport annuel, lequel est présenté seulement à la Chambre pour l'instant, et non pas au Sénat. Le Sénat pourrait sans doute l'obtenir, mais le projet de loi pourrait également essayer de refléter la nature du Parlement.

Le sénateur Bosa: Le sénateur Kinsella a soulevé un point qui n'est pas actuellement très clair au paragraphe 6.(2); il a trait à l'utilisation de l'argent au cas où le montant pourrait atteindre des milliers ou des dizaines de milliers de dollars. Il pourrait peut-être y avoir un autre amendement à l'avenir pour corriger cette anomalie.

M. Boyer: Comme pour n'importe quelle démarche législative ou autre qui s'attaque à quelque chose de nouveau, il y a des améliorations qui peuvent être apportées avec le temps. Je serais prêt à envisager des modifications, fort de l'expérience d'une ou deux années. Je souscris à ce que vous avez dit et à ce qu'a dit la présidente concernant le fait que le Parlement se compose de deux chambres et que le projet de loi devrait le refléter.

La présidente: Merci.

Le sénateur Bosa: J'aimerais poser une question au sénateur Marsden. Si le projet de loi est modifié au Sénat et renvoyé à la Chambre des communes, n'a-t-il pas de bonnes chances d'y être approuvé rapidement?

M. Boyer: J'oserais l'espérer. Il a reçu l'appui de tous les partis—c'est-à-dire l'appui unanime de la Chambre. La seule question qui se pose est de savoir si le projet de loi ne risque pas de rester en plan en cas de prorogation. Il est rare qu'un projet de loi d'initiative parlementaire franchisse avec succès l'étape de la Chambre des communes et parvienne à votre Chambre. Je n'ai rien contre toute amélioration qui pourrait y être apportée. Ma seule crainte est qu'en essayant de le figurer et d'y apporter la dernière touche, il finisse par rester en plan à cause de circonstances sur lesquelles nous n'avons aucun contrôle. Comme je ne sais rien du programme prévu, j'ignore dans quel délai le projet de loi modifié pourrait être adopté par la Chambre des communes.

Le sénateur Bosa: Ne pouvons-nous pas essayer de savoir si le projet de loi pourrait être examiné d'ici à la fin de la semaine prochaine, ou même d'ici à la fin de cette semaine, s'il

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back to the House of Commons, it would resurface again immediately? In other words, it would not go through the same procedure that a private member's bill usually goes through in the House of Commons, where numbers are drawn. We could deal with it in the Senate, perhaps, in one day.

Senator Marshall: But you would lose your priority with the bill. It would have to go back into the hat.

Mr. Boyer: It would not have to go back into the hat, but it would have to go to its place on the order paper, which would exclude it from ever getting on the agenda in time.

Senator Bosa, we talked about amendments in two places referring to the Senate and the House of Commons, rather than just the House of Commons. Are those the amendments that you had in mind?

Senator Bosa: There is also the one that Senator Kinsella mentioned, dealing with the size of the award in the event that the amount collected is of a substantial nature.

Senator Kinsella: Right now, the Internal Economy Committee of the House of Commons will look after the management of the award, the criteria for it, and so on. If the Internal Economy Committee of the Senate were involved as well, would there not have to be a joint committee? You are into a situation of creating another committee, are you not? That might be problematic. However, I do not have your experience on how these joint committees work.

The Chairman: Perhaps we could let Senator Hébert ask our question and then come back to this. We may be trying to plan for a non-eventuality.

Senator Hébert: Do not count on me to try and solve your problem.

I agree with my colleagues that it is an interesting concept and is one that shows imagination. It answers my question, because I always wondered what they did with those coins. Your idea is quite good.

I am trying hard to find some weaknesses in this bill. Perhaps I will not, but I will try.

In clause 4 of the bill it states: "... to conduct research and prepare a report..." When you gave your presentation, you used the expression that it would be a "human message or human story". But if it contains a human message or a human story, it could not be called research in a research report—at least it does not sound to me as though it has the aura of importance that is the result of real research.

I also realize that not much research can be done considering the amount of money. Even if we hope that it will become twice that amount, it is not a lot of money for research. We are all aware of that fact. If it is not research, and if it is not a worthwhile human story or message, would that bring the same kind of message that you have mentioned in your example of the other organization? You state that the amount is not much but there is a lot of prestige involved in receiving it because this research is published in this magazine, or whatever. In this case I do not see how it will be published. You even referred to a cassette that could be given to the Library,

[Traduction]

était renvoyé à la Chambre des communes et repris immédiatement? En d'autres termes, il n'aurait pas à être repris à partir du début comme c'est le cas pour les projets d'initiative parlementaire ordinaires; il ne serait pas soumis au tirage. Et au Sénat, nous pourrions en disposer en une journée.

Le sénateur Marshall: Il perdrait sa priorité. Il serait placé dans le chapeau avec les autres.

M. Boyer: Il ne serait pas placé dans le chapeau avec les autres, mais il faudrait qu'il soit réinscrit au *Feuilleton*, ce qui l'empêcherait de revenir à l'ordre du jour suffisamment à temps.

Sénateur Bosa, les amendements proposés sont bien les amendements à deux endroits où il faudrait substituer le Sénat et la Chambre des communes à la Chambre des communes seule?

Le sénateur Bosa: Il y a également celui du sénateur Kinsella ayant trait au montant de la bourse au cas où l'argent recueilli représenterait une somme très importante.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Pour l'instant, c'est le Bureau de régie interne de la Chambre des communes qui administre la bourse, les critères qui y donnent droit, etc. Si le Bureau de régie interne du Sénat était impliqué également, ne faudrait-il pas un comité mixte? Ne faudrait-il pas envisager la création d'un autre comité? La situation pourrait devenir complexe. Je dois dire que je ne connais pas tellement le fonctionnement des comités mixtes.

La présidente: Nous pourrions peut-être permettre au sénateur Hébert de poser ses questions. Nous reviendrons à ce point. Nous nous en faisons peut-être pour rien.

Le sénateur Hébert: Ne comptez pas sur moi pour régler votre problème.

Je conviens avec mes collègues que c'est un concept intéressant et qui fait preuve d'imagination. Il répond à la question que je me posais, parce que je me demandais ce qu'il advenait de ces pièces. Je dois dire que l'idée est excellente.

Je fais de grands efforts pour trouver des faiblesses au projet de loi. Je ne sais pas si j'y parviendrai.

L'article 4 du projet de loi dit: «permettre de mener des recherches et de préparer un rapport». Dans votre exposé, vous avez parlé d'un «message humain ou d'un message concernant une vie». Dans ce cas, il ne pourrait s'agir d'une recherche ou d'un rapport sur une recherche dans le vrai sens du mot—l'expression que vous avez utilisée n'évoque pas une recherche réelle, avec tout ce que cela implique.

Par ailleurs, je sais bien que la recherche ne pourrait pas être très poussée, compte tenu du montant d'argent en cause. Même s'il doublait, comme nous l'espérons, il ne représenterait pas grand-chose. Si le résultat de la démarche n'était pas de la recherche réelle, l'exemple que vous avez donné de cet autre organisme continuerait-il de s'appliquer? Vous avez indiqué que même si le montant de l'argent recueilli n'était pas tellement élevé, il donnerait à la recherche quelque chose de prestigieux parce que le tout serait publié dans un magazine ou sous une autre forme. Si le résultat n'était pas de la recherche réelle, je vois mal comment il pourrait être publié. Vous avez même mentionné une cassette qui pourrait être cédée à la

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but that cassette will stay there forever and will probably not be listened to by anyone.

The Chairman: I have questions along the same line. Perhaps you can answer them all at once.

Clause 7 and the last three clauses of the bill deal with this report. If this report is laid before the committee and the committee presumably calls the recipient as a witness, then that is all recorded on the record. But who actually makes a judgment? It is conceivable that someone might write a report that was full of good intentions but also full of errors. Research is a real undertaking and a real enterprise. It is not something that can necessarily be done by everyone. For example, if the report stated that someone was doing a worthy activity but had these other faults, would this be dealt with? Is there to be an elaborate screening process of who does what? If that is the case, does this become partisan because it is before of a bipartisan or tripartisan committee? I share some of Senator Hébert's concerns about the product.

Mr. Boyer: In both your questions, I hear two points. One concerns the nature of research; the other concerns the nature of the publicity that will come from this program.

As to the research aspect, of course there is scientific research, applied research, and many different types of research. I am not talking here about vigorous statistical number-crunching, and so forth. I am talking about the kind of research that, for example, I have been doing for a biography that I am writing about J.C. McClure.

I am talking about the kind of research that one might have done to write about two innocents in China. You go, you see, you make impressions, you discuss with people, you learn about a story and you tell the story and what was discovered there. It does not always have to include numbers. It does not always have to include anything more than pointing out what the contribution of an individual or a group of individuals with disabilities is to Canadian public life and Canadian parliamentary life. The scope for the imagination here is something that we should give free rein to.

As to errors in research, of course we must always reserve critical judgment on anything that we read or receive. However, I would hope that the same exacting standards and concerns would be applied to some of the heavily footnoted and multi-appendixed research studies that plunk on our desks daily here whether it be from an academic or non-governmental organization or indeed from governmental departments. They are not written without bias; they are not written without error; they are not written without a constrained view of broader reality. Therefore, I do not have any particular fear that someone who is trying to do research on the anecdotal side rather than on the scientific applied research side could not come up with something that would be better than nothing.

That leads then to the second point, the publicity. Perhaps after five years of this, there is raw material for a book, for a short series of television programs, for the National Film Board and so on to actually take these stories and make some-

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bibliothèque et qui y resterait à perpétuité. Elle ne serait probablement écoutée par personne.

La présidente: J'ai également quelques questions à poser dans le même sens. Vous pourriez peut-être répondre à toutes en même temps.

L'article 7 et les trois derniers paragraphes du projet de loi ont trait au rapport. Si le rapport est déposé devant le comité et que le comité convoque le bénéficiaire de la bourse comme témoin, le tout est consigné au compte rendu. Cependant, qui est appelé à juger? Il est possible que quelqu'un rédige un rapport rempli de bonnes intentions, mais également rempli d'erreurs. La recherche est une démarche sérieuse. Elle n'est pas à la portée de tout le monde. Si le rapport indiquait que quelqu'un s'est livré à une activité louable, mais que plusieurs erreurs ont été commises, qu'advierait-il? Doit-il y avoir un processus d'examen? Ce processus, qui se déroulerait devant un comité bipartite ou tripartite, serait-il entaché d'esprit partisan? Je partage dans une certaine mesure la préoccupation du sénateur Hébert au sujet du produit fini.

M. Boyer: Je crois déceler deux points principaux dans vos questions. Vous vous interrogez au sujet de la nature de la recherche, d'une part, et de la nature de la publicité qui doit découler de ce programme, d'autre part.

En ce qui concerne la recherche, il y a évidemment la recherche scientifique, la recherche appliquée, d'autres sortes de recherches. Je ne parle pas ici d'une recherche vigoureuse, commandant toutes sortes de chiffres. Je parle d'un genre de recherches auxquelles je me suis adonné, par exemple, en vue de la biographie de J.C. McClure que je suis en train d'écrire.

Je parle du genre de recherches qui auraient été nécessaires pour écrire au sujet de deux innocents en Chine. Quelqu'un peut vouloir aller voir, recueillir des impressions, discuter avec les gens, apprendre une histoire et raconter cette histoire ainsi que tout ce qui l'entoure. Il n'est pas toujours nécessaire de citer des chiffres. Il peut s'agir simplement de souligner la participation de personnes handicapées ou de groupes de personnes handicapées aux affaires publiques et parlementaires canadiennes. Ce qu'il faut faire ici, c'est donner libre cours à l'imagination.

Pour ce qui est d'erreurs possibles qui pourraient être commises, nous serions évidemment toujours libres d'exercer notre jugement critique. Je souhaiterais que nous appliquions les mêmes normes strictes à l'avalanche d'études remplies de notes en bas de page et contenant une multitude d'annexes que nous recevons quotidiennement de professeurs d'université et d'organismes non gouvernementaux et gouvernementaux. Elles ne sont pas toujours sans préjugés, sans erreurs, sans cloisons. Donc, je ne crains nullement que quelqu'un qui s'attache au côté anecdotique des choses fasse moins bien que quelqu'un qui se préoccupe strictement de l'aspect scientifique et pratique.

Ce qui m'amène au deuxième point, la publicité qui entourera cette recherche. Après cinq ans, il y aura peut-être suffisamment de matière pour un livre, une courte série d'émissions télévisées, un film de l'Office national du film, ou quelque

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thing out of them. Patrick Watson, who is currently President of the CBC—

Senator Hébert: Acting President.

Mr. Boyer: No, he is now finally the president. Even in Ottawa eventually things happen. He has been doing something called a 60-second feature film. This was outside of the CBC, but the idea, whether it was about Jacques Plante developing the face mask for goaltenders, whether it was about the three men from the same street in Winnipeg who won the Victoria Cross, or whatever, he has developed a number of these stories which are told as one-minute feature movies. I have seen some previews of them and they have tremendous production value and they will be run in the breaks when otherwise you would be seeing commercials. They are telling about the heritage of our country and the role of people. What this is therefore generating is the raw material for organizations that represent people with disabilities, for those who write for our media or broadcast networks in the country, and for those of us who are in public life. All of this is raw material that can then be used as part of raising the consciousness, raising the awareness, bringing out the story that in fact there are 3,300,000 of our fellow citizens, who have disabilities and who are in many ways contributing, and often in ways that are unsung and untold. That is why I would see this kind of research as being a way of bringing that story forward.

Senator Bosa: You stated with some degree of assurance that there are in Canada something like 13 per cent of its people who are—

Mr. Boyer: Thirteen point two, to be exact.

Senator Bosa: —that are handicapped, either physically or mentally. Is there a national register kept on the disabled in Canada?

Mr. Boyer: This information was developed by Statistics Canada in the post-census survey that was completed after the last national census. It was the first time in this country, or in any country, that a complete inventory or cataloging of the people with disabilities was done. This is a great but little-known success story for our country. After Statistics Canada did this important pioneering work, officials from StatsCan were invited by the United Nations, UNESCO, to help develop a method of doing this in other countries.

In every country where there are programs being developed for the benefit of those with disabilities, like many of our government programs, there is the assumption that there are a number of people who need those programs. However, senator, this information was accumulated by asking individuals if they considered themselves to be disabled. There was a definition of disability that related to restriction in performing a physical or mental function within the range normally associated with doing that function. Therefore, it was auto-definition, self-definition rather than what has always been the case of medical definitions being applied; for example, so and so has this condition, therefore she is disabled. I know an individual who goes around daily wearing a body brace, but she does not consider herself disabled. Terribly inconvenienced, often in some real physical pain, but she does not consider herself to be

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chose d'autre. Patrick Watson, le président actuel de la Société Radio-Canada...

Le sénateur Hébert: Le président par intérim.

M. Boyer: Non, il est finalement président. Même à Ottawa, il y a toutes sortes de choses qui se passent. Il a réalisé, non pas à Radio-Canada, une série de petits films de 60 secondes. Il pouvait s'agir de Jacques Plante, qui avait mis au point le masque qui protège les gardiens de but, ou encore de trois hommes de la même rue de Winnipeg décorés de la Croix de Victoria. Il a produit toute une série de vignettes. J'en ai vu en avant-première et je peux affirmer qu'elles sont très intéressantes. Elles sont projetées lors des pauses à la place des annonces commerciales. Elles parlent de notre patrimoine et des habitants de notre pays. Ce programme, finalement, permettra d'amasser de la matière que les organismes qui représentent les handicapés, les gens qui écrivent pour les médias, les réseaux de radio ou de télévision, nous tous qui œuvrons dans la vie publique, nous pourrions utiliser pour mieux sensibiliser nos concitoyens au fait qu'il y en a 3 300 000 parmi nous qui ont des handicaps et qui apportent leur contribution au pays très souvent sans attirer quelque attention que ce soit. Je pensais que cette recherche pouvait contribuer à mieux faire connaître leur vie.

Le sénateur Bosa: Vous avez affirmé sur un ton assuré qu'il y a au Canada quelque 13 p. 100 de la population qui...

M. Boyer: C'est 13,2 p. 100, pour être précis.

Le sénateur Bosa: ... est handicapée physiquement ou mentalement. Y a-t-il un registre national pour les personnes handicapées au Canada?

M. Boyer: Cette information a été établie par Statistique Canada lors d'une enquête qui a suivi le dernier recensement national. C'était la première fois au pays ou ailleurs qu'une liste complète des personnes ayant un handicap était dressée. C'est un autre programme de notre pays qui a eu beaucoup de succès, mais qui est peu connu. Après avoir fait œuvre de pionnier ici, Statistique Canada a été invitée par les Nations Unies, l'UNESCO, à aider à mettre au point des méthodes qui s'appliquent à d'autres pays.

Dans tous les pays où il y a des programmes pour les personnes handicapées, comme dans beaucoup d'autres programmes mis au point par notre propre gouvernement, on part de l'hypothèse qu'il y a une certaine clientèle, mais on a recueilli cette information, sénateur, en demandant aux personnes si elles se considéraient elles-mêmes comme handicapées. Il y avait une définition de handicap qui parlait de limitations des fonctions physiques ou mentales par rapport à une échelle normale. Donc, les personnes devaient surtout se définir; jusqu'ici, il s'était agi d'une opinion médicale; telle personne avait telle ou telle maladie; donc, elle était handicapée. Je connais une femme qui doit porter quotidiennement une orthèse, mais qui ne se considère nullement handicapée. Elle peut être terriblement incommodée, elle peut éprouver une réelle souffrance à certains moments, mais elle ne se considère pas comme handi-

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disabled. Therefore, this was an accurate statement for the first time in our country coming from the people themselves, and that is the number, 13.2 per cent which translates into 3,300,000 Canadians.

The Chairman: May I just ask you then if your definition of disabled person in section 2 includes not only all of that, but people who believe that a potential employer would likely consider them so disadvantaged. Why did you add that? Why an employer? Why not other members of the community?

Mr. Boyer: I think that that reflects one of the largest impediments that people with disabilities face, and it has to be overcome through changed attitudes. When we are talking about the five most important areas for people with disabilities, we are talking about housing, education, transportation, employment and recreation. Those are the five main areas. If you really want to see progress, it must be in those areas. It is not whether there is a telethon on to raise money, or whether someone is doing something specific. Those are the five areas that we really have to examine to see progress.

Employment is a fundamental one. The report in June of 1990 by the House committee chaired by Dr. Halliday had as its whole focus the economic integration of people with disabilities into the community so that these individuals can be, to the greatest extent possible, self-supporting, self-sustaining, and involved in the community. It is the employer or prospective employer who might see or believe that there is a limitation, but in fact there is not, or in any event it would be overlooked with someone who is supposedly able-bodied. This was sort of the background. I agree that it raises the question. I hope that this is a sufficient answer.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator Bosa: Would this study include, for instance, a person who is mute and deaf but who has the ability to use a word processor or something? Would that person be considered disabled in the statistics published by Statistics Canada?

Mr. Boyer: Yes, very likely. Again, the individual is asked—

Senator Bosa: I ask because I know of a specific case. We employ a person like that in Toronto.

The Chairman: It is still reported data. If they say they are disabled, then it is counted. If they do not, then it is not.

Thank you very much indeed, Mr. Boyer. We are out of time. I would like to hear from senators who have proposed amendments as to whether they would like this bill to be amended and reported with an amendment to the Senate.

Senator Kinsella: I move we report the bill without amendment. I know this also reflects the opinion of my colleague, Senator Robertson, who is the Vice-Chairman of the committee.

[Traduction]

capée. C'était donc la première liste exacte qui était établie au pays et qui reflétait l'évaluation des personnes elles-mêmes; elle en arrivait à un pourcentage de 13,2 p. 100, ou 3,300,000 Canadiens qui se déclareraient handicapés.

La présidente: À l'article 2, dans votre définition de personne handicapée, vous incluez toutes ces personnes, mais également les personnes qui estiment qu'un employeur éventuel les considérerait probablement comme handicapées. Pourquoi précisez-vous: un employeur? Pourquoi ne dites-vous pas n'importe qui à l'intérieur de la collectivité?

M. Boyer: Je pense que c'est pour reconnaître l'un des plus grands obstacles auxquels font face les personnes qui ont un handicap. Il faut que les attitudes changent à cet égard. Les cinq domaines les plus importants pour les personnes handicapées sont le logement, l'éducation, le transport, l'emploi et les loisirs. Pour pouvoir faire des progrès, il faut intervenir à ces cinq niveaux. Tout le reste est accessoire, qu'il s'agisse de téléthons pour recueillir des fonds, ou de quoi que ce soit d'autre.

L'emploi est un de ces cinq domaines fondamentaux. Le rapport de juin 1990 du comité de la Chambre des communes présidé par M. Halliday avait comme thème central l'intégration économique dans la collectivité des personnes handicapées de façon à ce qu'elles puissent subvenir le plus possible à leurs propres besoins et participer à la vie de la collectivité. L'employeur, ou l'employeur potentiel, peut être porté à voir une limitation là où il n'y en a pas ou là où elle serait ignorée chez une personne en apparence en bonne santé. Voilà donc quel a été mon point de départ. Je conviens avec vous que la définition soulève un point d'interrogation. Et j'espère y avoir répondu.

La présidente: Merci.

Le sénateur Bosa: Cette étude portera-t-elle, par exemple, sur une personne sourde-muette, mais capable d'utiliser une machine de traitement de texte ou autre? Cette personne sera-t-elle considérée comme handicapée dans les statistiques publiées par Statistique Canada?

M. Boyer: Oui, très probablement. Là encore, on demande à la personne...

Le sénateur Bosa: Je pose la question parce que je connais un cas précis. Nous employons une personne semblable à Toronto.

La présidente: Ces personnes font partie des statistiques à condition qu'elles déclarent leur handicap.

Merci beaucoup, monsieur Boyer. Il ne nous reste plus de temps. Je voudrais que les sénateurs qui ont proposé des amendements nous disent s'ils souhaitent que ce projet de loi soit modifié et que le comité en fasse rapport au Sénat avec une proposition d'amendement.

Le sénateur Kinsella: Je propose de faire rapport du projet de loi sans proposition d'amendement. Je sais que cela reflète aussi l'opinion de ma collègue, le sénateur Robertson, vice-présidente du comité.

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The Chairman: You suggest that we report the bill without amendment on the understanding that something would come later.

Senator Bosa: I am prepared to suggest the same thing. I would like the bill to go through. I would like to see the amendments. I am sure that some other senator will raise this matter in the Senate. It will be spotted right away. There is sensitivity in this area. The Senate has been kicked repeatedly and consistently in this regard, and some senator is bound to raise it.

I do not object to reporting the bill without amendment, with the proviso that there be a note accompanying the bill saying that an amendment should be made to contemplate these changes.

The Chairman: Mr. Boyer?

Mr. Boyer: I know you are at the stage now where you are discussing whether there should be an amendment or not. I would like to make a suggestion, if it would be helpful to you.

For the committee that will be looking at these award applications, there will have to be some rules and procedures committed to paper to govern how they do it, as well as with the Board of Internal Economy. I would be involved in that.

I would give my own personal undertaking to you to see, in matters such as the report, that the situation be clarified and that the Senate also be the recipient of that report, in trying to incorporate the provisions that you have suggested this morning. I know this is not the same as it being in the bill. However, at this stage, in order to get something launched, it is helpful. Certainly, it can always be amended at another time.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Boyer.

Are honourable senators ready to vote on the motion to report the bill without amendment, but with commentary? We have no drafted commentary. It would have to be approved by the committee. Are you prepared to speak when the bill comes up, Senator Bosa? Who was the sponsor of the bill?

Mr. Boyer: Senator Teed.

The Chairman: Perhaps you could speak to her, Mr. Boyer, and see if she would be prepared on your behalf to make those commitments when the question arises.

Are we agreed?

Hon. Senators: Agreed.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Boyer. Thank you all very much.

Honourable senators, we will meet again at the call of the Chair. The meeting is now adjourned.

The committee adjourned.

[Traduction]

La présidente: Vous proposez de faire rapport du projet de loi sans proposition d'amendement, étant entendu que quelque chose se passera plus tard.

Le sénateur Bosa: Je suis disposé à proposer la même chose. Je voudrais que ce projet de loi soit adopté, et je voudrais aussi qu'il y ait des amendements. Je suis certain que d'autres sénateurs soulèveront la question au Sénat. Ce projet de loi sera remarqué immédiatement, car il porte sur une question délicate qui a souvent et continuellement été portée à l'attention du Sénat. Un sénateur ne manquera pas de la soulever.

Je ne m'oppose pas à ce que l'on fasse rapport du projet de loi sans proposition d'amendement, à condition de l'accompagner d'une note disant qu'il conviendrait d'apporter une modification allant dans ce sens.

La présidente: Monsieur Boyer?

M. Boyer: Je sais que vous discutez actuellement pour savoir s'il faut proposer un amendement ou non. J'aimerais faire une suggestion, si elle peut vous être utile.

Le comité qui sera chargé d'examiner les demandes de bourses devra respecter certaines règles et directives prévues par écrit, et il devra aussi traiter avec le Bureau de régie interne. J'aurais mon mot à dire là-dedans.

Je m'engage personnellement à faire en sorte que diverses questions, comme celle du rapport, soient tirées au clair et que le Sénat ait aussi un rôle à jouer en essayant d'inclure les dispositions que vous avez proposées ce matin. Je sais que ce n'est pas la même chose que d'être mentionné expressément dans le projet de loi. Cependant, pour le moment, c'est utile si l'on veut lancer ce projet. Il pourra toujours être modifié à un autre moment.

La présidente: Merci, monsieur Boyer.

Les honorables sénateurs sont-ils prêts à se prononcer sur la motion voulant que l'on fasse rapport du projet de loi sans proposition d'amendement, mais avec un commentaire? Nous n'avons rien couché sur le papier pour le moment, et le texte devra en être approuvé par le comité. Êtes-vous disposé à intervenir lorsque le projet de loi sera mis en délibération, sénateur Bosa? Qui était le parrain du projet de loi au Sénat?

M. Boyer: Le sénateur Teed.

La présidente: Vous pourriez peut-être lui parler, monsieur Boyer, pour voir si elle est disposée à prendre ces engagements en votre nom lorsque la question sera mise en délibération.

Êtes-vous d'accord?

Des voix: D'accord.

La présidente: Merci, monsieur Boyer. Nous vous remercions beaucoup.

Honorable sénateurs, la séance est levée jusqu'à nouvelle convocation de la présidente.

Le comité s'ajourne.



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WITNESS—TÉMOIN

Mr. Patrick Boyer, M.P.

M. Patrick Boyer, député.



Second Session
Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1989-91

Deuxième session de la
trente-quatrième législature, 1989-1991

SENATE OF CANADA

SÉNAT DU CANADA

Standing Senate Committee on

Comité sénatorial permanent des

**Social Affairs, Science
and Technology**

**Affaires sociales, des
sciences
et de la technologie**

Chairman:
The Honourable LORNA MARSDEN

Président:
L'honorable LORNA MARSDEN

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Witnesses

- Akhtal, Shakeel, President, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages
- Angus, Douglas E., Queen's University, Department of Community Health and Epidemiology
- Avar, Denise, Vice-President, Research, Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities; Canadian Institute of Child Health
- Bacon, Allan, Vice-President, Canadian Teachers' Federation
- Battle, Ken, Consultant to the Committee
- Beatty, Hon. Perrin, Minister of National Health and Welfare
- Bedier, Donald, Senior Advisor, Policy and Coordination, Atlantic/Northern Territories, Department of Transport
- Bell, Noreen, Project Co-ordinator, Women Against Poverty Campaign, Alberta Status of Women Action Committee
- Bergeron, Laurent, Executive Vice-President, Canadian Space Agency
- Blais, Hon. Pierre, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs
- Bradfield, Michael, Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Dalhousie University
- Bradshaw, Claudette, Executive Director, Moncton Headstart Program
- Broadbent, David, Deputy Minister, Department of Veterans Affairs
- Brochu, Mireille, Secretary General, National Research Council
- Brunet, Jacques, First Vice-President, Association des hôpitaux du Québec
- Brunton, Richard, Director of Legislation, Department of Veterans Affairs
- Cardozo, Andrew, Executive Director, Canadian Ethnocultural Council
- Castrilli, Annamaria P., Past President, Congress of Italian Canadians
- Chan, Lewis, President, Canadian Ethnocultural Council
- Chance, Graham, President, Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities
- Clark, Michelle, Research Officer, Canadian Council on Children and Youth
- Clemen, Carol, President, Canadian Hospital Association
- Collin, Arthur E., Vice-President, Precarn Associates Inc.
- Contandriopoulos, André-Pierre, Director, Interdisciplinary Health Research Group, Faculty of Medicine, University of Montreal
- Corbeil, Hon. Jean, Minister of Labour
- Corn, George, Past President, Canadian Ethnocultural Council
- Daniel, Johanne, Legal Analyst, Intellectual Property Review Branch, Legislative Review Directorate, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs
- De Iulio, Celestino, First Vice-President, National Congress of Italian Canadians
- Deber, Raisa, Department of Health Administration and Department of Political Science, University of Toronto
- Dewar, Marion, Executive Director, Canadian Council on Children and Youth

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Témoins

- Akhtal, Shakeel, président, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages
- Angus, Douglas E., Département de la santé communautaire et de l'épidémiologie, Queen's University
- Avar, Denise, vice-présidente, recherches, Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement; Institut canadien de la santé infantile
- Bacon, Allan, vice-président, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants
- Battle, Ken, expert-conseil auprès du Comité
- Beatty, honorable Perrin, ministre de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social
- Bedier, Donald, conseiller principal, Politiques et coordination, Atlantique/Territoires du Nord, ministère des Transports
- Bell, Noreen, coordonnatrice de projets, Campagnes des femmes contre la pauvreté, Alberta Status of Women Action Committee
- Bergeron, Laurent, vice-président administratif, Agence spatiale canadienne
- Blais, honorable Pierre, ministre des Consommateurs et des Sociétés
- Bradfield, Michael, professeur agrégé au département d'économie de l'Université Dalhousie
- Bradshaw, Claudette, directrice générale, programme Headstart de Moncton
- Broadbent, David, sous-ministre, ministère des Anciens combattants
- Brochu, Mireille, secrétaire générale, Conseil national de recherches
- Brunet, Jacques, premier vice-président, Association des hôpitaux du Québec
- Brunton, Richard, directeur de la législation, ministère des Anciens combattants
- Cardozo, Andrew, directeur administratif, Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada
- Castrilli, Annamaria P., présidente sortante, Congrès national des Italo-canadiens
- Chan, Lewis, président, Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada
- Chance, Graham, président, Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement
- Clark, Michelle, attachée de recherche, Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse
- Clemen, Carol, présidente, Association des hôpitaux du Canada
- Collin, Arthur E., vice-président, Precarn Associates Inc.
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- Corbeil, honorable Jean, ministre du Travail
- Corn, George, ancien président, Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada
- Daniel, Johanne, Analyste juridique, Direction de la révision législative: propriété intellectuelle, Direction générale de la révision législative, ministère des Consommateurs et des Sociétés

Witnesses—*Cont'd*

- Drown, Dan, President and Chief Executive Officer, Canadian Institute of Child Health
- Dubrule, Robert, Senior Tax Policy Officer
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- Dyer, Sandy, Member, Nova Scotia Nutrition Council
- Edwards, Jim, Parliamentary Secretary to Minister of Communications
- Edwards, John, Secretary General, National Museums of Canada
- Fabre, Henri, President, Association des hôpitaux du Québec
- Ferguson, Gordon, Executive Director, New Brunswick Extra-Mural Hospital
- Fournier, Jean T., Under-Secretary of State, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada
- Fyke, Kenneth, President and Chief Executif Officer, Greater Victoria Hospital Society
- Gamble, Paul, Executive Director, Hospital Council of Metropolitan Toronto
- Gaughan, Gerry, M.S.W., C.S.W., Member, Board of Directors, Family Service Canada
- Geekie, Douglas, Director, Communications and Government Relations, Canadian Medical Association
- Ghent-Mallet, Jocelyn, Director General, Policy and Planning, Canadian Space Agency
- Gilbert, Nathan, Executive Director, Laidlaw Foundation
- Glossop, Robert, Coordinator, Programs and Research, Vanier Institute of the Family
- Glynn, Peter, Assistant Deputy Minister, Health Services and Promotion Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare
- Goldberg, Michael, Director of research, Social Planning and Research Council, British Columbia
- Gordon, Robert, Director General, Labour Adjustment, Information and Outreach Directorate, Department of Labour
- Gualtieri, Roberto, Assistant Deputy Minister, Science Sector, Department of Industry, Science and Technology
- Hayday, Bryan, Executive Director, Ontario Prevention Clearing House, Laidlaw Foundation
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- Horne, John, Senior Vice-President, Corporate Planning and Development, Health Sciences Centre, Winnipeg, Manitoba
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- Issacs, Karen, Policy Analyst, Assembly of First Nations
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- Kenney-Wallace, Geraldine A., Chairman, Science Council of Canada
- Kerr, Yvonne, President, Canadian Citizenship Federation
- Kerwin, Larkin, President, Canadian Space Agency
- King, Peter, Past President, Canadian Association of University Teachers; Professor, Department Head, Computer Science, University of Manitoba (Winnipeg)
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- Lajoie, Robert, Director, Corporate Relations Office, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
- Last, Rebecca, Executive Director, Canadian Cerebral Palsy Association; Canadian Coalition for the Prevention of Developmental Disabilities
- Le Touzé, Daniel, Senior Scientist, Health Sciences Division, International Development Research Centre (Personal presentation)
- Lee, Joanne, Group chief, Legislative Group, Pensions and Special Projects Division, Treasury Board (Secretariat)

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- De Iulius, Celestino, premier vice-président, Congrès national des Italo-canadiens
- Deber, Raisa, département de l'Administration sanitaire et département de Sciences politiques, University of Toronto
- Dewar, Marion, directrice exécutive, Conseil canadien de l'enfance et de la jeunesse
- Drown, Dan, président et directeur général, Institut canadien de la santé infantile
- Dubrule, Robert, agent principal de la politique de l'impôt
- Duquette, Marie-Paule, diététicienne, Dispensaire diététique de Montréal
- Dyer, Sandy, membre, Nova Scotia Nutrition Council
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- Gualtieri, Roberto, sous-ministre adjoint, Secteur scientifique, ministère de l'Industrie des Sciences et de la Technologie
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- Jobs, Claus, directeur exécutif, Congrès germano-canadien
- Keffer, James F., vice-président, recherche, University of Toronto
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- Lindberg, Garry, Vice-President, Corporate Services and Research, Canadian Space Agency
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- Luciuk, L., Research Director, Ukrainian Canadian Congress Commission on Civil Liberties
- MacDiarmid, Hugh, President and Chief Executive Officer, Lumonics Inc.
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- McGee, Charles, Director General, Museums and Heritage Policy and Programs, Department of Communications
- McGregor, Maurice, President, Conseil d'évaluation des technologies de la santé, Québec
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- Pigot, Susan, Chair, Child Poverty Action Group
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- Redway, Hon. Alan, Minister of State, Housing
- Reese, Lionel, Chairman, Committee on Hospitals, Canadian Medical Association
- Richstone, Jeff, Legal Counsel, Department of Labour
- Ritchie, Judith, President, Canadian Nurses' Association
- Robertson, Heather-Jane, Director, Professional Development Service, Canadian Teachers' Federation
- Robichaud, Jean Bernard, Director of Communications and Editor and chief of Perceptions, Canadian Council on Social Development
- Rogers, Harry G., Deputy Minister of Regional Industrial Expansion and Secretary of the Ministry of State for Science and Technology, Department of Industry, Science and Technology
- Rose, Alan, Executive Vice-President, Canadian Jewish Congress

Témoins—Suite

- Lajoie, Robert, directeur, Bureau des relations de la Société, Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement
- Last, Rebecca, directrice générale de l'Association canadienne de la paralysie cérébrale; Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement
- Le Touzé, Daniel, scientifique principal, division des sciences de la santé, Centre de recherches pour le développement international (présentation personnelle)
- Lee, Joanne, chef du Groupe de la législation, Division des pensions et des projets spéciaux, Conseil du Trésor (Secrétariat)
- Lindberg, Garry, vice-président, Services intégrés et recherche, Agence spatiale canadienne
- Little, Robert, sous-ministre adjoint responsable des finances, de la gestion du personnel et de l'administration, ministère de l'Industrie, des Sciences, et de la Technologie
- Logan, Norma, présidente du Comité du développement économique, Conseil consultatif canadien sur la situation de la femme
- Luciuk, L., directeur de la recherche, Commission des libertés civiles du Congrès canadien des Ukrainiens
- MacDiarmid, Hugh, président directeur général, Lumonics Inc.
- Maguire-Wellington, Louise, avocat général, Secrétariat d'Etat du Canada
- Manga, Pran, faculté d'administration, Université d'Ottawa
- Marcoux, Gérard, directeur général, Conseil de la santé et des services sociaux de la région de Montréal métropolitain
- McCourt, Catherine, directrice adjointe du Département des services de santé de l'Association médicale canadienne; Coalition canadienne pour la prévention des troubles du développement
- McDowell, Stirling, secrétaire général, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants
- McGee, Charles, directeur général, Musées et politique et programmes du patrimoine, ministère des Communications
- McGregor, Maurice, président, Conseil d'évaluation des technologies de la santé, Québec
- McMillan, Colin, président, Comité des affaires politiques, Association médicale canadienne
- Mercredi, Ovide William, chef régional, Manitoba, Assemblée des Premières nations
- Merrithew, honorable Gerald S., ministre des Anciens combattants
- Mortimore, Harry G., directeur, Association canadienne des sociétés d'investissement en capital de risque
- Moscovitch, Alan, professeur, faculté de travail social, Carleton University
- Munter, Alex, membre du conseil exécutif et membre du Congrès germano-canadien; Conseil ethnoculturel du Canada
- Murphy, Michael, sous-ministre adjoint, secrétaire, Etude de l'évolution démographique et son incidence sur la politique économique et sociale, ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social
- Nadeau, Jacques, vice-président exécutif, Association des hôpitaux du Québec
- Nadeau, Léandre, vice-président, Systèmes de gestion, Association des hôpitaux du Québec
- Norton, Ruth, directrice (Education), Assemblée des Premières nations
- Novick, Marvyn, faculté des services communautaires, Ryerson Institute, Laidlaw Foundation; coordonnateur de la politique sociale, Child Poverty Action Group
- Nurr, Henry, directeur, Elaboration des normes juridiques et liaison, ministère du Travail
- O'Callaghan, Kitty, présidente, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants
- Offord, Dan R., département de psychiatrie, McMaster University
- O'Neill, Tim J., président du Conseil économique des provinces de l'Atlantique
- Oulton, Judith, directrice exécutive, Association des infirmières et infirmiers du Canada

Witnesses—Cont'd

- Ross, David P., Social Economics Consultants
- Roth, John, Executive Vice-President, Product Line Management, Northern Telecom Ltd.
- Rudzik, Orest H.T., Vice-President, Ukrainian Canadian Congress Commission on Civil Liberties
- Russell, Carol, Project Design Co-ordinator, Primary Prevention-Early Intervention, Children's Services Branch, Ministry of Community and Social Services (Ontario)
- Scott, Joan, Research Analyst, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
- Scully, Hugh, Chairman, Council on Economics, Canadian Medical Association
- Serafini, Shirley, Assistant Under Secretary of State, Multiculturalism, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada
- Shears, Elizabeth, Chairman, Nova Scotia Nutrition Council
- Shillington, Richard, Social Policy Analyst
- Sicard, Pierre, Special Advisor, Information Management Technology, Treasury Board (Secretariat)
- Silverman, Elly, Director of Research, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
- Simard, Michel, Public and Government Relations Manager, Canadian Nurses' Association
- Simms, Glenda, President, Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
- Smith, Pamela J., President, Canadian Association of University Teachers; Chairperson, Sample Survey and Data Bank Unit, University of Regina
- Swan, Neil, Senior Research Director, Economic Council of Canada
- Taylor, Mary-Frances, Head, Pension Reform, Public Service Pension Reform, Pensions and Special Projects Division, Treasury Board (Secretariat)
- Vaillancourt, Marc C., President, Association of Canadian Venture Capital Companies
- Vernon, Eric, Director General, Canadian Jewish Congress
- Volpe, Richard, Institute of Child Study, University of Toronto, Laidlaw Foundation
- Walker, Robin, President, Canadian Council on Children and Youth
- Waller, Irving, Department of Criminology, University of Ottawa
- Weiner, Hon. Gerald, Minister of State, Multiculturalism and Citizenship
- Weinzer, Gerry, President, German-Canadian Congress
- Williams, Trevor, President, Family Service Canada
- Wilson, Pamela, Executive Director, Saskatchewan Organization for Heritage Languages
- Winegard, Hon. William Charles, Minister of State, Science and Technology

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- Reese, Lionel, président, Comité des hôpitaux, Association médicale canadienne
- Richstone, Jeff, conseiller juridique, ministère du Travail
- Ritchie, Judith, présidente, Association des infirmières et infirmiers du Canada
- Robertson, Heather-Jane, directeur, Service de perfectionnement professionnel, Fédération canadienne des enseignantes et enseignants
- Robichaud, Jean Bernard, principal associé en matière d'orientation, Conseil canadien de développement social
- Rogers, Harry G., sous-ministre de l'Expansion industrielle régionale et secrétaire du ministère d'Etat chargé des Sciences et de la Technologie
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- Weinzer, Gerry, président, Congrès germano-canadien
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- Winegard, honorable William Charles, ministre d'Etat, Sciences et Technologie

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